Women and the Travel Guidebook 1870–c.1910

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List of Abbreviations

WRTA	Women's Rest Tour Association
MTS	Medieval Towns Series
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
RA	Royal Academy

Long Abstract

Despite the large printing giants of John Murray and Karl Baedeker dominating the nineteenth-century travel guidebook market, women were important producers and consumers of travel guidebooks between 1870–c.1914. My thesis argues that in the late nineteenth century, women were key cultural producers of travel guidebooks, an important form of non-fiction mass media, during an upsurge and shift in European travel and tourism. While a few studies have identified a small number of female-authored guidebooks, this is the first to take a broad view of women's place within the guidebook market, situating female-authored texts within a large and competitive book market to understand the role of gender in guidebook publication. Like the guidebooks it focuses on, this thesis is interdisciplinary in nature. It straddles book and publishing history, women's history, the history of travel, and cultural history. Drawing on Robert Darnton's theory of the *communications circuit* which considers the roles of the author, publisher, bookseller, and readers in the production of print as circular and emphasizes the system as a holistic process, this thesis investigates the role of women as both readers and writers of guidebooks. I argue that the line between the role of writer and reader was often blurred. My thesis also draws from Georg Simmel's theory of the *web of group affiliations* to stress the significance of social networks to women's guidebook writing, as well as to argue for the inclusion of some among those examined into the framework of *intellectual aristocracy*, expanding this group beyond the predominantly male and England-focused studies of Noel Annan and William Whyte.

The sources underpinning this study are 367 guidebooks to Europe, with a primary focus on Italy as a destination, as well as a large body of unpublished correspondence. Given Italy's historic religious, cultural, and artistic significance to the

Anglophone world, guides to Italy were perhaps the most numerous among all the guidebooks targeted at travellers from the United Kingdom and North America in the nineteenth-century. The resurgent interest in Italy as a tourist destination during the latter-half of the nineteenth century, coupled with the growth in middle-class tourism and improvements to travel infrastructure, provided new audiences for guidebooks, and innovations in print manufacturing and copyright laws allowed more guides to flood the market. Focusing on guides to Italy thus centres attention on a particularly dynamic segment of the guidebook market. While my thesis aims to take a wider view of women in the guidebook market, it also offers a case study of a specific series with a significant number of women authors and illustrators, the Medieval Towns Series (1898–1939). A sociogram of all the female authors of this series, and of their larger social networks is included as an appendix, along with a brief biography of each person for context. The thesis is organized into two parts, each consisting of three chapters.

Part one examines the conditions which precipitated an increasing number of female-authored guidebooks. Chapter one explores the nineteenth-century English language guidebook market for guidebooks to Italy, highlighting trends in guidebook publishing that led to the development of three subgenres (general interest, practical, and scholarly) within the market. Investigating the late-nineteenth century market for guidebooks to Italy, this chapter reveals the diversity and range of the genre beyond the large franchises of John Murray and Karl Baedeker. The chapter argues that guidebooks of different subgenres were created and marketed in ways that were intended to avoid direct competition with one another. This particular feature of the market presented the perfect conditions for women to write guides, as it created niches in the market where women could stake their claim. While women writers were active in all three identified

subgenres, they published most often in the practical and scholarly subgenres. The oversaturation of the market and the relative monopoly over general interest guidebooks by large franchise names served as a deterrent for women writers interested in the general guidebook subgenre. Also paying particular attention to the way the gender of the traveller was addressed in big franchise guides, the second part of Chapter One argues that advice tailored to women was often missing or overly conservative in general interest guides. In response, practical guides were created to address underrepresented concerns, particularly when it came to negotiations around gender and behaviour in foreign countries. The chapter concludes by examining how women writers authored practical guidebooks to address the absence of travel advice for women in general interest guides and responded to issues that arose from conflicting expectations of feminine behaviour across different cultural contexts.

Chapter Two aims to complicate the idea of the female guidebook reader, arguing that women readers used guidebooks in complex ways, often blurring or erasing boundaries between the identities of traveller/tourist and of reader/writer. This chapter draws on the idea of the communications circuit to explore the heavily intertwined relationship between reading and writing. Responses to general interest guidebooks are explored using women's travel accounts and correspondence, showing the diversity of experiences in the actual use of guides. Through an examination of guidebook reading by women authors, the chapter demonstrates that women writers used their awareness of the guidebook market to shape their own writing. Highlighting the practice of co-production in guidebook publishing and women's involvement in the editing and revision process of larger franchises, this chapter again brings the reader back into the production process. The final section demonstrates how guidebook

reading bled into diary and journal writing, and how the common practice of readers adding marginalia to guides eventually altered the way guidebooks were physically constructed by publishers.

The final chapter in part one explores the scholarly guidebook, arguing that this subgenre offered women interested in pursuing scholarly research and receiving public recognition for their work, a space to do so when routes into scholarly publishing might be restricted for women. Like the practical guide, this subgenre was created to provide more in-depth and nuanced information than what was available in general interest guides. Reflecting on readers and the guidebook audience, part one of this chapter links the desire to claim a traveller identity to a market for guidebooks with more rigorous scholarship and an appreciation for art and history. The second part of the chapter examines the relationship between the scholarly guidebook and the immediate conditions under which it was created by focusing on the context, construction of, and reader response to *Walks in Florence* (1873), the first scholarly guidebook to Italy written by women, Susan and Joanna Horner. As the first of its kind, *Walks in Florence* set the foundation for women's scholarly guidebook writing in the period and the important elements that ensured its success provide insights into key characteristics of women's scholarly guidebook publishing, including access to resources, education, and the importance of social class and social connections. This section showcases the scholarly guidebook as an avenue for women's participation in intellectual discourse and demonstrates the success and public recognition they could receive for their scholarship.

Expanding on the insights of part one, part two of the thesis develops a case study of the Medieval Towns Series, a scholarly guidebook series which boasted many

women producers, and which has until now, gone unstudied. Through an examination of the creation and use of social networks in the Medieval Towns Series (MTS), Chapter Four argues that social networks—belonging to certain groups and knowing specific actors (persons or groups)—were critical in facilitating women's scholarly and artistic careers in guidebook publishing. Through the creation and development of such networks, women accessed the education, training, mentorship, and resources needed to succeed in the scholarly guidebook market. Exploration of the MTS guidebook writers' networks reveals that female scholarly guidebook producers were members of a cultural elite which flourished at the end of the century.

Chapter Five expands on the role of networks by investigating the ways in which the spaces of Italy promoted, facilitated, and cultivated opportunities for women's guidebook production. Grounding the Medieval Towns Series and its important and wide-reaching networks more firmly in Italy, this chapter focuses on three important spaces that promoted favourable conditions for guidebook production: the library, the hotel, and the villa. Building on insights from Chapter Four about the significance of complex social networks, this chapter argues that these key spaces in Italy were favourable to guidebook production in many ways; it demonstrates that these spaces fostered the social networks upon which women relied for their professional development. Chapter Five also expands our understanding of 'intellectual aristocracy' in two ways: by demonstrating that the women of the MTS were members of the group, and by demonstrating that this group was more international in nature than previously believed.

Finally, Chapter Six focuses on the development of women's professional identities and authority through the writing and illustration of Medieval Towns

guidebooks. Interrogating the scholarly guidebook more closely, the chapter argues that this genre offered women a platform to pursue their non-fiction writing careers and develop or extend their identities as scholars, artists, and writers at various stages of their professional lives. The Medieval Towns Series offers unique insights into the professional development of women in the guidebook market as well as the wider literary world. Using Alison Chapman's criteria through which women might claim the standing of professional writers, the chapter is divided into three sections: claiming authority, financial success, and reputation. The first section analyzes how guidebook writing cultivated intellectual authority and enabled women to establish or reaffirm identities as scholars and artists. Part two of the chapter uncovers the financial aspect of guidebook publishing, arguing that women attempted to exert control over the financial aspect of publishing in a professional manner. Finally, using published reviews and private correspondence, the last part of the chapter looks at the reputations women gained from guidebook writing and the results of their acclaim. Throughout, the chapter seeks to underline the professional approach of women guidebook writers, demonstrating the degree to which women sought to control various elements of their work and careers.

This thesis extends historical knowledge of women's non-fiction publishing and reveals trends in women's guidebook production that have previously been ignored. It demonstrates that women were active in shaping the late-nineteenth century guidebook market, and in turn, uncovers the means through which women could use guidebook writing to further their political, professional, scholarly, or artistic aspirations. In studying women's production of travel guides, the thesis offers new and exciting

insights into women's history, history of the book, and travel history in the *fin-de-siècle.*

Introduction

This thesis makes the case that travel guidebooks were an important form of non-fiction writing for women in the late-nineteenth century. While large publishing giants John Murray and Karl Baedeker dominated the nineteenth-century travel guidebook market, my research shows that women were important producers and consumers of English-language guidebooks between 1870–c.1910, a period when European travel and tourism was rapidly shifting and expanding. Over six chapters, focusing on guidebooks to Italy in particular, this thesis demonstrates the ways in which the guidebook functioned as a platform for women's scholarly writing, facilitated discussions of womanhood, and encouraged female independence through solo travel.

Publishing technology, tourism and transportation infrastructure, and cultural rediscovery all evolved simultaneously between 1870–1910, a key reason for the focus on this period. By the end of the nineteenth century, a developed tourist industry and reduction in travel costs contributed to the increased accessibility of travel.[1] The period saw an unprecedented rise in the volume of tourists.[2] Guidebooks were created to meet this demand, and with print runs of well over a thousand for each edition of popular guides, the two guidebook publishing giants John Murray and Karl Baedeker easily

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[1] Historian John Pemble estimates that by 1882, more than 500,000 people were crossing the English Channel annually, and by 1913 this number was over 660,000: see John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 1; As cited in François, "If It's 1815," 75.

[2] For an example of tourist numbers, the French ports of Calais, Boulogne and Dieppe received 224,626 passengers in 1870 and in 1890 it had more than quadrupled to 992,000. See, Paul Gerbod, *Voyages Au Pays Des Mangeurs De Grenouilles: La France Vue Par Les Britanniques Du XVIIIe Siècle à Nos Jours*, Bibliothèque Albin Michel De L'histoire (Paris: Albin Michel, 1991), 135.

printed over 600,000 guidebooks in half a century.[3] In addition to becoming more numerous as travellers, women made up a significant portion of guidebook authors and travel writers in this period.[4]

Italy had held importance for travellers since the Grand Tour, but in the late-Victorian period, the country saw an increase in tourism from both America and Britain in response to the growing interest in the Renaissance.[5] By examining guides to Italy, therefore, my thesis focuses on a particularly dynamic section of the guidebook market. In addition, many who travelled to Italy often stayed for long periods of time, while others simply never left. This was particularly the case near cities like Florence, which became centres of expatriate intellectual exchange. The expatriate communities of Italy, moreover, were a hotbed of cultural germination, welcoming some of the most important cultural figures of the day, including Mary and Bernard Berenson, Grant Allen, Edith Wharton, John Addington Symonds, Mark Twain, and Vernon Lee. From these circles emerged a significant number of the female guidebook writers and illustrators of the Medieval Towns Series (hereafter MTS), a collection of scholarly

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[3] Print-runs for guidebooks generally did not exceed 5,000 copies. See, Jean-Yves Mollier and Marie-Françoise Cachin, "A Continent of Texts: Europe 1800–1890," in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, eds. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Wiley- Blackwell, 2009), 309.

[4] Emma Robinson-Tomsett, W*omen, Travel and Identity: Journeys by Rail and Sea, 1870-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 22; Brandon Dupont et al., "Female Share of Overseas Travelers," 43.

[5] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); D. Medina Lasansky, "Reshaping Attitudes Towards the Renaissance: The Fight Against 'Modern Mania' in Florence at the Turn of the Century," in *The Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century: Le XIXe Siècle Renaissant*, ed. Yannick Portebois and Nicholas Terpstra, Essays and Studies 2 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2003).

guides which prominently featured women contributors, and which forms a key focus of this thesis.

The expansion in the number of travellers and in tourism in the late nineteenth century coincided with advances in print manufacturing, decreased production costs, improved copyright laws, and book distribution.[6] Publishers in the United States and United Kingdom sought to capitalize on this influx in travel by producing vast numbers of portable books that could be read while in motion, including the travel guide.[7] Like the tourism industry, the English language book market was increasingly transatlantic in scope, with the growth of the American publishing industry and significant book trade between the two countries.[8] This thesis focuses on Anglo-American women and the English-language guidebook market to Europe, with a particular emphasis on Italy as a way to illuminate the scale and diversity of the guidebook market by the end of the century. Since British and American tourists accounted for most of the visitors to Europe and Italy in the period, English speakers produced the largest body of primary source material on the reading and production of guidebooks.[9]

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[6] John Barnes et al., "A Place in the World," In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. D. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); S. Casper, *A History of the Book in America: The industrial book, 1840-1880*, vol. 3 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Robert Spoo, "Courtesy Paratexts: Informal Publishing Norms and the Copyright Vacuum in Nineteenth-Century America," *Stanford Law Review* 69, no. 637 (2017); L. Brake, "The Serial and the Book in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Intersections, Extensions, Transformations," *Mémoires du livre* 8, no.2 (2017).

[7] Richard D. Altick, "From Aldine to Everyman: Cheap Reprint Series of the English Classics 1830-1906," *Studies in Bibliography* 11 (1958): 16; John Barnes et al., "A Place in the World," 600.

[8] Spoo, "Courtesy Paratexts," 611.

[9] The British alone accounted for 52-60% of passengers to French ports between 1870-1914, and in 1883 of the 391,000 total travellers through La Gare du Nord, English tourists accounted for 164,000. See Gerbod, *Voyages au pays*, 135-136; for Americans, over 100,000 tourists travelled overseas in 1900. See Dupont et al., "Figure 2: Numbers of Americans Traveling Overseas, 1900–1950," 41.

In both their private and published writing, women frequently commented on their use of guidebooks. It has been estimated that over 660,000 people were crossing the English Channel into Europe every year by 1913.[10] A growing percentage of these travellers were women. Emma Robinson-Tomsett has roughly established that from the port of Liverpool in 1890, 37,534 British women journeyed abroad on ships, while in 1910 the number rose to 57,047.[11] Women also made up a significant portion of American travellers, accounting for roughly 30% of cabin passengers in 1870, reaching 40% by 1910.[12] Together, these statistics indicate the high probability that thousands of women read guidebooks while travelling abroad in the late-nineteenth century.

The growing number of visitors able to make the journey to Europe created a cultural discourse around what constituted authentic travel. Authenticity in travel writing, and broader discourses on travel, was usually constructed through "denunciation, evasion, and putative transcendence of merely 'touristic' purposes and behaviour."[13] As James Buzard, John Urry, and Dean MacCannell have all identified, those pursuing leisure in Europe were often classed as either *tourist* or *traveller*, the latter defined as being the antithesis of the tourist, the *anti-tourist*.[14] Those seeking to claim traveller status purposefully sought to construct an identity that was inherently opposite from that of the tourist, a discourse popularized in travel writing that began to

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[10] Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, 1.
[11] Robinson-Tomsett, *Women, Travel and Identity*, 22.
[12] Dupont et al., "Figure 4: Female Share of Overseas Travelers," 43.
[13] James Buzard, "Tourism and Anti-Tourism," *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 81.
[14] Buzard, "Tourism and Anti-Tourism"; Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976); John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: SAGE, 2002).

take root even at the height of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century.[15] By the late-nineteenth century, this tourist/traveller dichotomy was a well-established cultural discourse, and the rejection of tourism and tourists an already well-worn trope in travel literature.[16] As symbols of tourism, guidebooks were tied to cultural attitudes towards tourists throughout the period. The way people of both sexes read, understood, and spoke of guidebooks was often correlated with the negative associations attributed to tourism. Guidebooks were mocked and rejected just as tourists were, and this too became a common literary trope both in published and private travel writing.

As my research demonstrates, however, the reality of who read guidebooks and the impact of these texts on their journeys and writing was more complex than the binary of *tourist* or *traveller* suggests.[17] Even those who publicly expressed distaste for guides were often still guidebook readers in practice. My work further demonstrates that the female readers of guidebooks, who have not been studied in any depth, had complex responses to such guides, partly as a result of prevailing ideas of identity, authenticity, and travel culture. This challenges previous assertions by scholars that women were more willing than men to accept travel advice from sources such as guidebooks.[18] By analyzing female guidebook readership, my thesis also links guidebook reading with guidebook writing. Drawing on Robert Darnton's theory of the

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[15] Buzard, "Tourism and Anti-Tourism," 97.
[16] Buzard, "Tourism and Anti-Tourism," 160; Lori Brister, "Looking for the Picturesque: Tourism, Visual Culture, and the Literature of Travel in the Long Nineteenth Century," The George Washington University, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2015: 56–57.
[17] For a work which examines this contradictory tendency in women's writing about guidebooks to Norway see, Kathryn Walchester, "Travelling with the Masses; British Women Travellers in Late Nineteenth-Century Norway and the 'Anti-Tourist'" *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 33, no. 1 (2011).
[18] Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 21.

"communications circuit," which considers the roles of the author, publisher, bookseller, and readers as circular and emphasizes the system as a holistic process, this thesis investigates the role of women as both readers and writers of guidebooks in greater depth and reveals that the line between the role of writer and reader was often more blurred than previously believed.[19]

The scholarship examining nineteenth-century guidebooks has been historically focused on the rise, success, and ultimate decline of the two main guidebook franchises Murray and Baedeker.[20] In the context of the Murray franchise, the role of women as guidebook writers, critical readers, and editors has been explored by scholars like Carl Thompson and Marjorie Morgan.[21] My thesis further develops an understanding of women's guidebook writing and reading by extending the study beyond the two publishing giants while also demonstrating that women's interactions with the guidebook were diverse and wide-ranging.

Those who have specifically studied women guidebook authors have primarily focused on the early nineteenth-century writer Mariana Starke. Scholars like Rebecca Butler, Karin Baumgartner, Susan Pickford, Kathryn Walchester, Caroline Palmer, Hilary Fraser, and Dúnlaith Bird, have all demonstrated Starke's importance in the

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[19] Robert Darnton, "What is the history of books?," *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (Summer, 1982): 65–83.
[20] James Buzard, "A Scripted Continent: British and American Travel-Writers in Europe, c.1825–1875," in *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Gráinne Goodwin and Gordon Johnston, "Guidebook Publishing in the Nineteenth Century: John Murray's 'Handbooks for Travellers,'" *Studies in Travel Writing* 17, no. 1 (February 2013): 43–61, https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2012.747791.
[21] Carl Edward Thompson, "Women Travellers, Romantic-era science and the Banksian empire," *The Royal Society Journal of The History of Science* 73, no. 4 (2019); Morgan, *National Identities and Travel*.

development of the modern guidebook.[22] These scholars have also shown how Starke's work evolved and challenged the limits of women's non-fiction writing; in particular, emphasizing the guidebook as a genre through which women could publicly demonstrate expertise and authority. While this thesis also highlights the latter aspect of the guidebook genre, it does so within a different context. This thesis sheds new light on the ways guidebook authorship offered opportunities to women writers by focusing on the later nineteenth century, demonstrating how women writers established themselves as experts during a period of significant change and evolution in guidebook publishing, art historical/historical scholarship, and women's lives more broadly.

The few existing studies that focus on the latter half of the century typically concentrate on practical guidebooks and individual authors outside of the larger market context. William Stowe was perhaps the first scholar to briefly mention guides specifically aimed at women, however, he was only able to identify three: May Alcott Nieriker's *How to Study Art and Do it Cheaply* (1879), Mary Cadwalader Jones' *European Travel for Women* (1900), and the Women's Rest Tour Association's (WRTA), *A Summer in England* (1891).[23] Nieriker's *How to Study Art and Do it*

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[22] Rebecca Butler, "'Can any one fancy travellers without Murray's universal red books?' Mariana Starke, John Murray, and 1832 Guidebook Culture," *Yearbook of English Studies* 48 (2018): 148–170; Karin Baumgartner, "Travel, Tourism, and Cultural Identity in Mariana Starke's Letters from Italy (1800) and Goethe's Italienische Reise (1816–17)," *Publications Of The English Goethe Society* 83:3 (2014): 177–195; Susan Pickford, "The Page as Private/Public Space in Mariana Starke's Travel Writings on Italy," in *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, Routledge Research in Travel Writing, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (London: Routledge, 2009); Dúnlaith Bird, "Travel writing and gender," in *Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Edward Thompson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Kathryn Walchester, "Mariana Starke's 'Junket'," in *"Our Own Fair Italy": Nineteenth-Century Women's Travel Writing and Italy, 1800–1844* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007).

[23] William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 37.

Cheaply (1879), has more recently been examined by Julia Dabbs, who has argued that the guidebook was a "vehicle for socio-historical commentary."[24] Dabbs has also pointed to the guidebook's ability to empower women to travel and act as a "venue for criticism of gender discrimination."[25] The WRTA and their guidebook, *A Summer in England* (1891), has also been analyzed as a means of female empowerment by Libby Bischoff, Julia Carlson, and Kristin L. Hoganson who have stressed the significance of the WRTA in promoting independent American female travel.[26] In an examination of the two reading lists in *A Summer in England*, one for England and one for the Continent, Carlson argues that while the association was in some ways a progressive one, it was balanced by "a socially conservative side, which manifested itself clearly in the class bias of the Membership Committee and... the bibliographies of its handbook."[27] While her work sheds light on the importance of class and gender within the travel community, Carlson's focus only on Baedeker guides despite the presence of other female-authored guides, misses opportunities to compare female-authored guides because of misclassification of these texts.[28]

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[24] Julia Dabbs, "The multivalence of May Alcott Nieriker's 'Studying Art Abroad and How to Do It Cheaply'," *Studies in Travel Writing* (16:3, 2012): 304; See also Julia Dabbs, "Empowering American Women Artists: the Travel Writings of May Alcott Nieriker." *Nineteenth-Century ArtWorldwide* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 2016).
[25] Dabbs, "The multivalence of May Alcott Nieriker," 304.
[26] Libby Bischoff, "A Summer in England: The Women's Rest Tour Association of Boston and the Encouragement of Independent Transatlantic Travel for American Women" in *Transatlantic Women: Nineteenth-century American Women Writers and Great Britain,* eds. Beth L. Lueck and Brigitte Bailey (Lebanon NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2012); Julia Carlson, "Reading the Bibliographies of the Women's Rest Tour Association: Cultural Travel in the Long Nineteenth Century," *Transatlantica* 1 (2018); Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
[27] Carlson, "Reading the Bibliographies," 2.
[28] Carlson, "Reading the Bibliographies," 4.

My research, however, suggests that we need a broader definition of the guidebook genre. On the basis of my research, as will be demonstrated more fully in Chapter One, I suggest that the nineteenth-century guidebook is best defined as including both texts which contained practical tourist information and historic/artistic information in a single text *and* texts which treated these topics separately while still maintaining didactic and spatial elements.[29] This more expansive definition of the guidebook offers two important contributions: it provides an explanation as to why recommending other guidebooks was perceived as acceptable by guidebook writers, and it aids scholars in avoiding the misclassification of guides as other forms of travel literature. Misclassification of these texts has prevented them from being appropriately examined within the context of the wider market, resulting in a myopic understanding of women's contribution to the guidebook genre and causing many individuals and works to remain overlooked. As a result, there has been no thorough and comparative approach, and trends in late-nineteenth century women's guidebook publishing have, until now, gone unnoticed. The definition of the guidebook I develop here will aid future research in the identification and comparison of guides.

As previously noted, studies focusing on the latter-half of the nineteenth century have tended to examine only single texts or individual female authors. In art historical scholarship, Ilaria della Monica, Hannah Sikstrom, and Julia Dabbs have written articles on female guidebook authors Mary Berenson, Susan Horner, and May Alcott

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[29] Jasmine Proteau, "'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook': Gender and the Redefinition of the Nineteenth-Century Guidebook," *Studies in Travel Writing* 23, no. 2 (April 3, 2019): 119–38, https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2019.1691808.

Nieriker.[30] Yet, while these studies have all touched upon important elements of women's guidebook writing, scholars have yet to produce a study which analyzes female-authored guides as a group in any systematic way. My research aims to fill this gap in scholarship by understanding women's guidebook writing as a more frequent occurrence in this period, noting trends, discovering new authors, and placing them within the wider context of the market as a whole. This is the first in-depth study to take a broad and transatlantic view of women's place within the market, situating texts within a large and competitive industry to understand the role of gender in guidebook publication. As guidebooks were produced on such a massive scale, they heavily influenced travel culture during a period when travel was becoming much more accessible—both financially and physically—through improved infrastructure and more affordable costs. Women as guidebook producers remain under-recognized for their contribution to the genre, and by extension, the wider culture this genre influenced.

Scholarship on women's cultural production in the nineteenth century centres on two broad areas of inquiry. The first seeks to understand the conditions under which women became writers, including their family backgrounds, education, training, networks, spatial context, and mentorship. Many scholars, such as Pauline Nestor, Linda Hughes, Tanya Fitzgerald, Elizabeth Smyth, Claudia Capancioni, Jill Ehnen, and Isobel Hurst have examined the importance of strong female networks among women in

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[30] Ilaria della Monica, "Mary Berenson and *The Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court,*" *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 19, no. 28 (2019): 1; Hannah Sikstrom, "Susan Horner's Journeys, Journals and Gems: The Unpublished Travel Accounts of an Intellectual Woman in Italy," *Women's Writing* 24, no. 2 (2017): 227–247; Julia K. Dabbs, "Empowering American Women Artists: the Travel Writings of May Alcott Nieriker," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 15, no.3 (Autumn 2016): 1–23; Julia K. Dabbs, "The multivalence of May Alcott Nieriker".

relation to cultural production and intellectual development.[31] The second area of inquiry focuses on how women circumvented, mitigated, or inverted challenges to their knowledge and authority, including restricted access to places of higher learning and research, lack of financial support, and the hegemony of certain literary genres over others.[32] If we apply these two main bodies of investigation to guidebook writing, we uncover trends, patterns and differences that significantly extend our understanding of women's participation in cultural production.

Travelling and living abroad created a unique environment for women guidebook writers. The draw of Italy in particular for women in the nineteenth century has been studied by historians of gender, literature, and travel and it has been repeatedly shown that travel opened up new opportunities for female creativity and professional

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[31] Pauline Anne Nestor, "Female Friendships in Mid-Victorian England: New Patterns and Possibilities," *Literature & History-Third Series* 17, no. 1 (2008): 36–47; Pauline Nestor, *Female Friendships and Communities: Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell* (Oxford, 1985); Linda Hughes, "A Club of Their Own: The 'Literary Ladies,' New Women Writers, and 'Fin-de-Siècle' Authorship" *Victorian Literature and Culture* 35, no. 1 (2007): 233–60; Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth M. Smyth, eds. *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks 1900–1960* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Claudia Capancioni, "Janet Ross's Intergenerational Life Writing"; Isobel Hurst, *Victorian Women Writers and the Classics: The Feminine of Homer*, Classical Presences (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 58.

[32] Christine L. Krueger, "Why She Lived at the PRO: Mary Anne Everett Green and the Profession of History," *Journal of British Studies* 42, no. 1 (January 2003): 65–90, https://doi.org/10.1086/342686; Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice*, 1st Harvard University Press pbk., ACLS Humanities E-Book (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000); Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand & Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Julia Taylor McCain, "Women and Libraries," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Alistair Black and Peter Hoare, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 543–47, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521780971.044; Amy Thompson McCandless, "Rooms of Our Own: Race, Region, Religion, and Class in the Higher Education of Women," *Journal of Women's History* 23, no. 2 (2011): 200–207, https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2011.0018; Hilary Fraser, "Girl Guides: Travel, Translation, Ekphrasis," in *Women Writing Art History in the Nineteenth Century: Looking like a Woman*, 2014, 10; Elise Garritzen, "Women Historians, Gender and Fashioning the Authoritative Self in Paratexts in Late-Victorian Britain," *Women's History Review*, August 19, 2020, 1–19, https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2020.1804111.

aspirations.[33] Alison Chapman and Jane Stabler have noted that these experiences were not always positive and that sometimes an "encounter with Italy involved complex and painful anxieties about professional identity and vocation…"[34] But despite any anxieties women may have experienced, Italy presented "an educational and intellectual experience" which in turn led to "growth and self-discovery," particularly by offering new avenues for women interested in writing in the fields of history and art.[35]

In Italy, women were given the opportunity to observe and analyze the subjects of their study first-hand. Although "the locus of Victorian upper-middle-class female education was the home,"[36] women transformed other settings into their own classrooms: private libraries, private collections, and restricted access areas of galleries and archives were opened and shared by male academics. This phenomenon not only presents itself in the study of the Medieval Towns series in the 1890s and early 1900s, but it is also evident in the earlier period of the 1860s and 1870s with the work of Susan and Joanna Horner. This thesis highlights Italy as a conducive space for women interested in guidebook production and non-fiction publishing. It demonstrates that

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[33] Mirella Agorni, *Translating Italy for the eighteenth century: women, translation and travel writing, 1739–1797* (Northampton, MA: St. Jerome Pub., 2002); Alison Chapman and Jane Stabler, *Unfolding the South: Nineteenth-century British Women Writers and Artists in Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Kathryn Walchester, *"Our Own Fair Italy"*; Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, "Infesting the Galleries of Europe: The Copyist Emma Conant Church in Paris and Rome," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 10, no. 2 (Autumn 2011); Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, "Mapping the 'White, Marmorean Flock': Anne Whitney Abroad, 1867–1868," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, (Vol. 13, No. 2, Autumn 2014); Alison Chapman, *Networking the Nation: British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840–1870*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Rebecca Butler, "Resurgence and Insurgence: British Women Travel Writers and the Italian Risorgimento, 1844–1858," ProQuest Dissertations Publishing (Bangor: Bangor University, 2016); Hannah Sikstrom, "Susan Horner's Journeys"
[34] Chapman et al., *Unfolding the South*, 8.
[35] Giorgia Alù, "Fabricating home: performances of belonging and domesticity in contemporary women's travel writing in English about Italy," *Studies in Travel Writing* 14, no.3 (2010): 287.
[36] M. Jeanne Peterson, *Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 35.

certain spaces in Italy, the library, the hotel, and the villa, provided ideal conditions for professional networking, historical and artistic research, and the dissemination of their work to a wide audience.

In a wider examination of travel literature, Hilary Fraser observes that the guidebook was a genre that could be used by women in different ways and at different stages in their professional careers.[37] Fraser argues that, for some women, writing guides was a way to break into writing about art history and art criticism.[38] Women used the guidebook genre for different purposes but with similar outcomes of establishing expertise and authority. Fraser has argued that in art historical writing, women capitalized on the fact that neither the discipline nor the profession was fully defined.[39] Her brief examination of women in guidebook publication points to the guidebook as a literary genre in which many professional art historians participated, highlighting that many writers of both genders were not defined or "constrained" by our modern definitions of "professionalism," and therefore often published in several literary genres.[40] Fraser argues that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, women used the guidebook as an avenue into art historical writing because they were more "readily acknowledged as professional writers in some fields and genres than in others" and therefore in order to demonstrate their expertise in art history they "practised circumspection."[41] This directly aligns with Caroline Palmer's study on Mariana Starke's early-nineteenth-century guidebook as a form of art historical

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[37] Hilary Fraser, *Women Writing Art History in the Nineteenth Century: Looking Like a Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[38] Fraser, *Women Writing Art History*, 66–67.
[39] Fraser, *Women Writing Art History*, 177.
[40] Fraser, *Women Writing Art History,* 63.
[41] Fraser, *Women Writing Art History,* 63.

connoisseurship.[42] This study builds upon these ideas to show that women continued to use the guidebook's fluidity to access scholarly discourse at the end of the century for a variety of reasons, including circumspection, the building and development of their careers, or to garner greater financial and social independence.

Building on the existing scholarship but seeking to develop a more wide-ranging and comprehensive study, my approach was to first gain a broad understanding of the late-nineteenth century English-language guidebook market. A total of seventy-three titles (over 270 editions) of guidebooks to Italy were surveyed,[43] including the big-franchise names of Murray, Baedeker, and Cook, in addition to authors of both genders that have largely been forgotten today. Research was conducted at the Villa i Tatti Library, British Library, University of Reading Archives, Vieusseux Library, British Institute in Florence, and the University of Bristol Archives. Guidebooks were discovered through library and catalogue searches, periodicals, archives, book advertisements, publishers' lists, and reading lists provided in the guidebooks themselves.

General interest guidebooks published by Murray and Baedeker to Italy were read closely for any mention of gendered travel practicalities. Keyword searches were used for "women/woman" and "ladies/lady" to discover discussions of women travellers. All mentions of women were noted and editions of the same work were compared to analyze any changes or alterations made between editions. Guidebooks written by women from all subgenres were read closely. These were classified into

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[42] Palmer, "'I Will Tell Nothing That I Did Not See'".
[43] For example, I have counted Murray's Handbook to Southern Italy as one title, yet over the forty-year period this title might have had ten editions with information altered in each edition but not completely revised.

subgenres and then compared to others within their grouping as well as noting typical markers of difference between subgenres. Particular attention was paid to any reading lists or mentions of other guidebooks within a work to discover which guidebooks were offered as additional reading material to supplement the text.

Complementing this wide-spectrum analysis of the guidebook market, I also developed a detailed case study of the Medieval Towns series. This series is composed of a collection of the thirty-nine guidebooks to towns with important medieval histories throughout Europe published between 1898–1939.[44] The books all featured a uniform light-blue cloth or leather binding, serial title (*The Story of …*), and decorative cover page. Within the series, a total of fourteen books were authored and twenty-five illustrated by women. Of the MTS guides to Italy (sixteen of the total thirty-nine books in the series), women wrote nine and illustrated thirteen works.[45] My analysis of this series provides a significant case study of women's guidebook production.

Aside from guidebooks, life writing texts provide the second most significant group of primary sources used for this study. Particularly for the Medieval Towns series, a large amount of private correspondence between female guidebook writers supports material found in the guidebooks themselves. Preserved letters from Lina Duff Gordon (1874–1964), Janet Ross (1842–1927), Margaret Symonds (1869–1925), as well as Symonds' sister Katherine Symonds Furse (1875–1952) and mother, Janet Catherine (1837–1913), reveal detailed information about the production of guidebooks and the important literary and cultural networks that supported their work. Literary

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[44] Guides to towns in Italy in this series were largely published before 1910, with a few exceptions.

[45] 56% of guides to Italy in the MTS were authored by women and 81% of guides to Italy in the MTS were illustrated by women.

reviews from the periodical press, borrowing and catalogue records from libraries in the United Kingdom, Italy, and United States, private diaries of Mary Berenson (1864–1945), and biographies of publisher J.M. Dent (1849–1926), Lina Duff Gordon, Kathrine Symonds Furse, and Edith Wharton (1862–1937) have all given greater depth to guidebook publishing practices, art history and history scholarship, and international social networks.

The most important trend in women's life writing are recent studies which examine life writing as a place to observe community, collaboration, and authorship. As Liz Stanley has argued, studying life writing can reveal important social networks and provide a "crucial means of enabling us to get a purchase on other lives."[46] The exchange of letters has been revealed as key evidence to the study of the bluestockings by Elizabeth Eger, in "forming networks of literary exchange and contributing to a new sense of 'female literature'."[47] Life writing reveals "communities [of women] have functioned historically and spatially as sites for writing."[48] Placing this argument in the context of late-nineteenth century Italy, with its high concentration of educated and culturally affluent women, we can start to form links between physical spatial communities (e.g., expatriates in Florence) and conceptual communities (formed through life writing) in nurturing and developing women's professional and scholarly interests.

The importance of collaboration in life writing also extends to guidebook publication. Linda Peterson has argued that women's life stories were constructed using

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[46] Stanley, *The Auto/biographical I*, 10.
[47] Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
[48] Cynthia Huff, *Towards a Geography of Women's Life Writing*, 5.

"different kinds of materials (letters, diaries, etc.) and were helped or edited by other family members, usually other women."[49] There are correlations between these trends in life writing scholarship and theories of cultural production. Both areas of scholarship have moved away from crediting an individual genius to understanding much of women's cultural production as a collective community.[50] This understanding has resulted in the rediscovery of women's contributions to specific genres as well as revealed the breadth and importance of social networks to women cultural producers in supporting and encouraging career development. Life writing of Medieval Towns series' female producers has revealed a strong, distinct, and highly influential community of literary and cultural figures. Writing by women involved in this community, both published and unpublished (letters, guidebook prefaces, and memoirs), brings to light a high level of collaboration in the process of authoring guidebooks and other literary works. Life writing has therefore revealed important details about the production process of guidebooks, the social networks which cultivated and furthered women's guidebook writing, and the response and reception of its readers.

The redefinition of the guidebook, and the expansion of the scope of this study to include smaller guidebooks or alternative subgenres, brings women's contributions to the forefront and illuminates their contributions to the genre, as well as establishing the genre as a place where women asserted intellectual capital with a large degree of success. By approaching the genre using a wider cross section of texts, including

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[49] Linda Peterson, "Women Writers and Self-Writing," 221.
[50] Meaghan Clarke and Francesco Ventrella, "Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship," *Visual Resources* 33, no. 1–2 (April 3, 2017): 5.

women's life writing, and a case study of a popular and long-running guidebook series, my work significantly disrupts the tendency to see the genre as uniquely male while also demonstrating the significance of women's larger contribution to the genre.

My analysis of these texts also draws from Georg Simmel's theory of "web of group affiliations"[51] to stress the significance of social networks to women's guidebook writing, and to argue in the case of some, for their inclusion into the "intellectual aristocracy," expanding this group beyond the predominantly male and geographically England-focused studies of Noel Annan and William Whyte.[52] Simmel argues that, in pre-industrialized society, the average person interacted with only a small number of people in their everyday lives. These interactions created groups of affiliation (e.g., family, friends, coworkers) which were imagined as overlapping circles that formed a relatively uniform whole. With the advancement of transportation and communication, these circles became increasingly geographically varied and diverse, dispersing the patterns of connection so that they were newly envisioned as a web. This theory has been argued to be the "most influential and relevant ... in its explication of how modern social groupings and networks intersect, operate, and form the intricate weblike [sic] patterns."[53]

To one degree or another, most of the scholarship written about women's cultural production stresses the significance and correlation between networking and

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[51] Georg Simmel, Kurt H. Wolff, and Reinhard Bendix, *Conflict*, (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1955).
[52] N.G. Annan, "The Intellectual Aristocracy," in *Studies in Social History*, ed. J.H. Plumb (London: Longmans, 1955), 241–87; William Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 10, no. 1 (January 2005): 15–45, https://doi.org/10.3366/jvc.2005.10.1.15.
[53] Mary Chayko, "The first web theorist? Georg Simmel and the legacy of 'The web of group-affiliations'," *Information, Communication & Society* 18, no.12 (2015): 1419.

career development. In opposition to the "individual performance of attribution" which has so often been emphasized when examining male cultural figures, Clarke and Ventrella have argued that a shift away from the individual towards the "web of collaborations and relations" is crucial to the understanding of the development of women's "culture of connoisseurship."[54] Flipping the concept of a male lone genius on its head, Clarke and Ventrella argue that women's cultural production must be seen through a different lens, one that recognizes the many contributions and support systems in place that enabled a writer to succeed.

Scholars such as Deborah Heller have applied this concept to women writers in particular, using the "web of group-affiliations" theory to describe the importance of the Bluestocking network to the dissemination of ideas in the eighteenth century, while Alison Chapman has investigated the ways in which expatriate women poets formed and used social and intellectual networks in Italy.[55] Pauline Nestor has argued for the increasing importance of female-friendships in the professional careers of mid-nineteenth century women, and Katie Halsey has used the example of writer Mary Russell Mitford to explore the ways in which women established, developed, and widened their female literary networks.[56] Finally, Alexis Easley has illustrated the ways in which "networking was essential for gaining a foothold in the literary marketplace" for Victorian women writers.[57] My analysis of the women contributors to the guidebook

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[54] Clarke and Ventrella, "Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship," 5.
[55] Deborah Heller ed., *Bluestockings, Now!: The Evolution of a Social Role* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Chapman, *Networking the Nation.*
[56] Nestor, "Female Friendships".
[57] Easley, *Making a Debut*, 16.

market builds on this scholarship to explore the significance of networks and affiliations for these women authors

Building on the existing scholarship and on my extensive research into the guidebook publishing market and the women authors of the MTS series, this thesis makes three main contributions to intersecting historical analyses of women's lives, travel writing, book history, *fin-de-siècle* cultural and literary networks, and Victorian publishing practices. First, it provides and explores a new conceptualization of the nineteenth century guidebook, one which reveals the variety and differentiation of the guidebook market and the opportunities this generated for women.[58] Second, it reveals the significance of the guidebook as an avenue for women's scholarly writing, through an original analysis of a scholarly guidebook series, the Medieval Towns. Finally, through the detailed analysis of women's scholarly guidebook writing, it contributes to a more expansive understanding of the intellectual aristocracy by demonstrating the participation in and contribution to intellectual networks of women guidebook authors.

To develop these three interrelated arguments, the thesis is divided into two parts. The first explores the wider guidebook market and audience. Chapter one outlines the characteristics of the guidebook market to Italy, paying particular attention to the general interest guidebook and large franchises such as those published by John Murray and Karl Baedeker. Arguing that different subgenres of guidebooks were not meant to directly compete with one another, it demonstrates how guidebook writers of both sexes found niches in the market for their work by exploiting areas not covered or under-represented in general interest guides. Focusing on practical guidebooks written by

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[58] Proteau, "'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook'".

women, this chapter also demonstrates how guidebooks could act as a platform for discussing and comparing cultural constructs of womanhood, particularly stereotypes of American women in Europe. Seeking to better understand the guidebook's female audience, the second chapter focuses on the woman reader, showing the complex ways women read and used guidebooks. By illustrating the often-cyclical nature between guidebook reading and writing, this chapter shows a more diverse array of interactions with the guidebook while also highlighting how women's readings of guidebooks often blurred or erased boundaries between traveller/tourist identities and reader/writer roles. Through a wider understanding of the market and the guidebook's female audience, the third chapter examines the scholarly guidebook. This chapter shows that, like the practical guide, the scholarly guidebook emerged both as a response to the information in the general interest guidebook and the common anti-tourist discourse found in discussions of travel. Using *Walks in Florence* (1873) by Susan and Joanna Horner, this chapter sets the groundwork for women's scholarly guidebook publishing, identifying key themes, such as the importance of social networks to career development and resources, that are further explored in part two.

Part two focuses specifically on the Medieval Towns series, with chapter four examining the career development of its women writers, illustrators, and editors. This chapter offers a valuable example of women's active participation in scholarly guidebook production and the conditions which precipitated their entry into the market. Demonstrating that the women writers, illustrators, and editors of the series were members of an educated and culturally affluent elite, the fifth chapter examines how important social networks provided women writers and illustrators with unparalleled opportunities and access to both tangible and intangible resources that promoted their

careers and facilitated their guidebook writing. The last chapter focuses on the development of women's professional identities and authority through the Medieval Town women's guidebook writing and illustration, providing insights into the different dimensions of the guidebook that could be utilized by women in the creation of a professional identity, while also highlighting the barriers that required negotiation or circumvention to achieve success. Not only does the MTS analysis showcase the degree to which women were involved in multiple stages of a guidebook's progress, from initial conception to physical object, it effectively provides an example of the way the guidebook genre facilitated women's scholarly work, increased their public recognition, and provided an outlet for their professional aspirations.

My research firmly establishes women as important producers and consumers of English-language guidebooks in the late-nineteenth century. Based on a new way of conceptualizing and understanding the nineteenth-century guidebook market, it demonstrates that by understanding the market as having contained subgenres, we can better understand how women were able to publish guidebooks in such numbers. It shows that women readers had a variety of complex interactions with the guidebook and that this in turn impacted their own guidebook writing. Guides also created opportunities for female independence. Practical guidebooks, written for women, by women, encouraged unchaperoned travel and enabled other women to journey with the comfort of a guidebook close to hand. The guidebook was used by women to encourage other women to travel independently and correlated with growing calls for women's rights and greater social independence on both sides of the Atlantic. Acting as a space for scholarly pursuits, guidebooks also offered an arena for women to demonstrate their cultural capital and intellectual rigour. The study of the Medieval Towns series reveals

much about cultural and literary networks in general as well as their particular importance to women and contributes to an expanded understanding of the idea of intellectual aristocracy. Developing a gendered analysis of the guidebooks and guidebook market, of guidebook readers, and their authors, sheds new light on a significant aspect of late nineteenth century culture.

Chapter 1
The Guidebook Market

Investigating the late-nineteenth century guidebook market to Italy, this chapter reveals a greater diversity and range of the guidebook market than has been previously understood. As explained in the introduction, my definition of the guidebook identifies the nineteenth-century guide as a text which contained practical tourist information and historic/artistic information in a single text *and* as texts which treated these topics separately while still maintaining didactic and spatial elements.

Scholars of travel literature have struggled to define the guidebook genre, particularly given the similarities with travel accounts.[1] Both travel accounts and guidebooks discuss a journey and the experiences a traveller is offered on this journey. While the guidebook's primary aim is to impart advice or knowledge that will better prepare the traveller, travel accounts can also sometimes offer their readers advice. Classifying a text into one genre or the other often poses methodological problems for scholars of travel literature. Generally, scholars have accepted that the travel guidebook and the travel account are more easily distinguishable after 1836, the year John Murray's firm first published its *Handbook for Travellers*.[2]

Analysis of 367 guidebooks and an equally substantial body of complementary sources—travel accounts, diaries, journals, and articles in the periodical press—

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[1] Victoria Peel and Anders Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks* (Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications, 2016), 4.
[2] Paola Daniela Smecca, "Tourist guidebooks and the image of Sicily in translation," *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 17, no. 2 (June 2009): 110; Pieter François, "If It's 1815, This Must Be Belgium: The Origins of the Modern Travel Guide," *Book History* 15 (2012): 72–73.

however, demonstrates that the guidebook in the nineteenth century was a more fluid genre than the current understanding of the term would suggest. Today a *guidebook* is understood to be a text designed for visitors of a particular location that contains information about travel practicalities,[3] history, art, and architecture in the same work.[4] This definition reflects the lasting impact of the historically dominant guidebook franchises of the nineteenth century (Murray, Baedeker, Cook). In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, however, contemporaries also defined guidebooks as texts which covered spatial and didactic elements while only addressing either travel practicalities or art/historical information separately. In the context of the period, a text should be classified as a guidebook using five criteria: a) Spatial Negotiation b) Authorial Intent c) Accuracy d) Language e) Formatting.[5] Using this set of criteria, we can better identify and analyze this complex literary genre. Guidebooks will present all five criteria in some form, regardless of their topical focus "whereas other forms of travel literature will fail to present all five in the manner that they are found in the guidebook."[6] My analysis of the nineteenth guidebook market reveals that there existed a wider range of texts which contemporaries would have defined as guidebooks.

Adopting this wider more inclusive understanding of the guidebook both better captures the complexity and breadth of the late nineteenth-century guidebook genre and leads to the identification of three subtypes of guide which will be explored in more detail in this chapter: general interest, practical, and scholarly.[65] General interest guides,

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[3] Information regarding hotels, ticket prices, railway routes, opening times, luggage requirements, etc.
[4] The word *guidebook* was used interchangeably by contemporaries with the terms *handbook* and *guide-book* even when referring to the same work.
[5] Proteau, "'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook'," 125.
[6] Proteau, "'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook'," 125.

contained practical information on travel as well as historic and artistic information; practical guides focus on providing travel advice rather than zeroing in on art or history; scholarly guides ignored practical travel information and focused instead on historic or artistic information.

These three subgenres worked together to provide travellers with a range of material to meet their diverse interests and needs. The big franchise guidebooks, such as those published by Karl Baedeker and John Murray, were *general interest* guides. General interest guides, with their large topical scope and need for brevity, appealed to a wide audience. This created opportunities for other writers to construct guides with more niche subject matter, *scholarly* or *practical*, to meet the needs of specific groups within a diversifying community of travellers.[7] By nuancing guidebooks into sub-categories, we can more effectively compare guides. Re-evaluating how we define the guidebook in the nineteenth century not only creates a more solid foundation for the study of guidebooks, it reveals texts which have largely been missed or under-examined and reveals the diversity and range of the guidebook market.

Distinguishing between these subgenres helps to expand our understanding of the guidebook market, and in turn, enables us to situate women within this framework. The chapter reveals that by writing practical or scholarly guidebooks, women were able to publish guides even at the height of large franchise market dominance, a trend in publishing which has gone unremarked in scholarship to date. Recognising the diversity of the genre also uncovers the gendered history of the guidebook, shedding new light on

[7] Proteau, "'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook'".

the ways women read and used a range of guides and highlighting their prominence as key producers and consumers of the genre.

As primers for European travel in the period, general guidebooks dictated what other guidebook writers chose to include in their works and how they positioned themselves and their audience within this market. Regardless of the gender of their authors, guidebooks cannot be adequately studied without first considering the broader market from which all guidebooks emerged. This chapter argues that while women were active in all subgenres of guidebook publication, the market was highly competitive. As a result, women more actively published in the scholarly and practical subgenres than general interest, since this subgenre was already dominated by Murray and Baedeker. To examine this trend in guidebook publishing, the chapter first presents an overview of the market, showing how guidebooks of different subgenres worked together to cover all areas of the market. Examining the general interest guides through the lens of gender reveals these guides lacked travel advice for women. The practical guidebook subgenre will then be shown as one solution to this problem, with female authors addressing the deficiencies of general interest guides by creating practical guidebooks that specifically targeted their advice to independent women travellers.

While several scholars have studied individual female-authored guidebooks, none have attempted to explain the differences in content, target audience, and style of different guides, nor have they proposed a definition which allows all texts under examination to sit under the umbrella term of *guidebook*. At the same time, since existing studies have thus far focused on single texts, they have been less attentive to the broader trends in the late-nineteenth century guidebook publishing market than a more synthetic analysis reveals. This chapter shows that, by understanding the market

as consisting of subgenres, we can understand how and why women guidebook writers were able to find footholds in the market.

To develop a wide understanding of the late-nineteenth century market, this chapter rests on the analysis of 153 guidebooks to Europe (totalling 367 editions) published between 1870 and 1910. I focused particularly on a subsection of this material constituting a sample of seventy-two titles (totalling 299 editions) with a primary focus on Italy as a destination.[8] Of these seventy-two English-language guidebooks to Italy, forty-four (58.7% of the sample) had male authors and thirty-one (41.3% of the sample) had female authors. Texts ranged from all three subgenres and included big-franchise names of Murray, Baedeker, and Cook, as well as authors that have been all-but-forgotten today.[9] Of the thirty-one titles focusing on Italy written by women, the guides were categorized as: one general interest guide, seven practical guides, and twenty-three scholarly guides.[10]

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[8] For a more in-depth look at the criteria and their application, see Proteau, "'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook'".

[9] Some forgotten male franchises are Joseph Pineider, Charles Black, Grant Allen, and perhaps less forgotten, Augustus Hare. Most female-authored guides have been largely overlooked, with perhaps the exception of May Alcott Nieriker's guide, which is undoubtedly a result of her family's fame. This includes women like Susan Horner, Margaret Symonds, Lina Duff Gordon, Janet Ross, Ella Noyes, Mary Cadwalader Jones, and Blanche McManus.

[10] One title may have many editions.

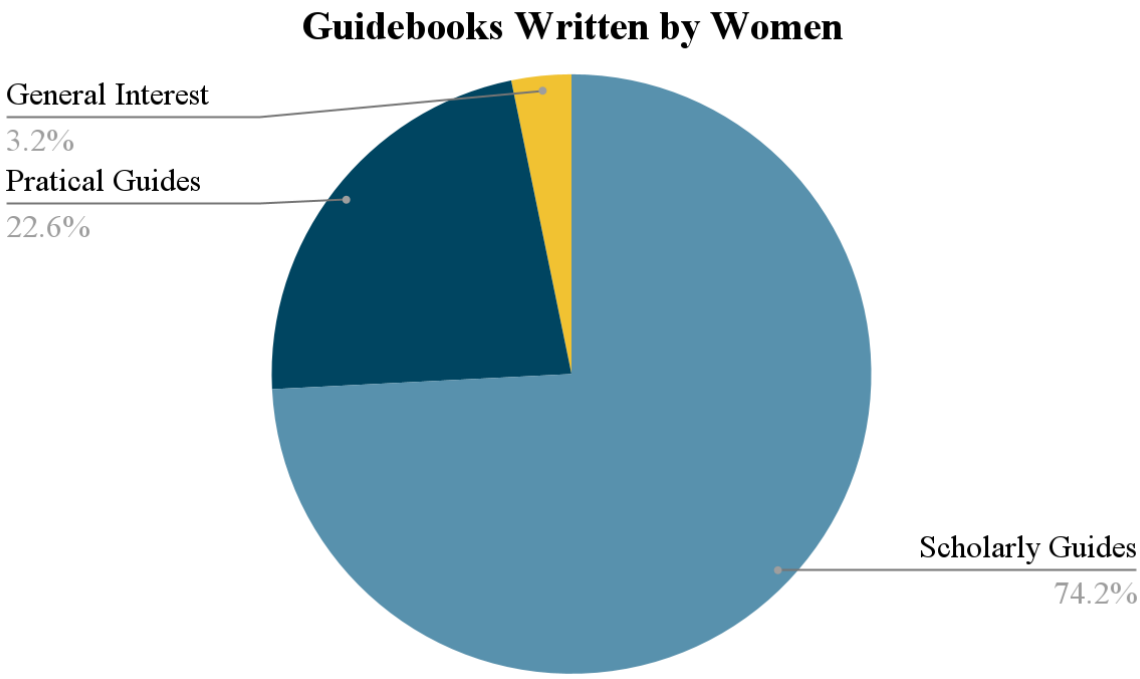


Figure 1 **Female-authored guidebooks by subgenre**

To examine the breadth of the market and how it functioned, Section I of this chapter examines the three subgenres, demonstrating how guidebooks from across different subgenres were designed to be read together and revealing that guides from different subgenres were often not in direct competition with each other. This differentiation of the market is supported by my analysis of the physical presentation of different guidebooks. Section I further offers an explanation as to why women might have opted to publish predominantly scholarly or practical guidebooks (with the scholarly subgenres receiving further attention in Chapter Three and Chapter Six). Section II of the chapter then examines the general subgenre in detail, including the only known general interest guidebook to Italy written by a woman, Elvira Grifi. The concept of subgenres will then be used to exhibit how her work was successful, despite competing directly with big franchise names. I then turn to look at large franchise guidebooks through the lens of gender which reveals what kind of information was not being offered to women travellers, thus prompting demand for practical guidebooks for

women, examined in Section III of this chapter. This final section introduces the range of practical guides published by both men and women before shifting the focus to guidebooks that specifically targeted women. It argues that practical guidebooks were constructed as a direct response to missing information in large franchise guides. Additionally, it reveals trends in practical guidebooks for women, such as the promotion of female independence, national pride, and discussions of womanhood. These themes are presented through an examination of two practical guides for women, *A Summer in England* (1891), by The Women's Rest Tour Association, and *The American Woman Abroad* (1911) by Blanche McManus.

I) Genres and Subgenres: Working Together

Guidebooks to Italy date back to the sixteenth century.[11] Given Italy's historic religious, cultural, and artistic significance to the Anglophone world, guides to Italy were perhaps the most numerous of country-specific guides in the nineteenth-century. The resurgent interest in Italy as a tourist destination during the latter-half of the nineteenth century, coupled with the growth in middle-class tourism and improvements to travel infrastructure, provided new audiences for guidebooks, and innovations in print manufacturing and copyright laws allowed more guides to flood the market.[12] The

[11] For example, the first guidebook to Florence is generally considered to be Francesco Bocchi's *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza*. See, Francesco Bocchi, *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza, dove è pieno di pittura, di scultura, di sacri templi, di palazzi i più notabili artifizi, & più preziosi si contengono* (Firenze: B. Sermatelli, 1591).
[12] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Angela Emanuel, *A Bright Remembrance: The Diaries of Julia Cartwright 1851–1924* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), 13; John Feather, "Copyright and the Creation of Literary Property," in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, 1st ed. (Wiley, 2019), 743–57; Isabella Alexander, *Copyright Law and the Public Interest in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2010); Spoo, "Courtesy Paratexts".

market responded to these changes by prompting the production of subgenres (general interest, practical, and scholarly), whereby a traveller could find a guide(s) that supplied the practical and/or educational information that best suited their specific needs.[13] It is this growth in guidebook production and the diversification of guidebooks into subgenres which facilitated women's increased participation in this genre of non-fiction writing. As Rebecca Butler has correctly pointed out, by "assigning chief editors for different geographical destinations and commissioning authors through his contacts in the literary world, Murray III's industrialization of the guidebook made it virtually impossible for individual authors to compete with the publisher."[14] Rather than challenging the hegemony of general interest guides, scholarly and practical subgenres were specifically designed to complement or work alongside general interest guides; these subgenres were therefore more accessible to women writers who did not have to compete directly with large franchises. Instead, they were able to target areas that they believed were under-represented in general interest guides, such as solo female travellers or educated elites.[15] A female traveller could consult a Baedeker/Murray for general information about a particular theatre, and at the same time, read a gendered practical guidebook to find out what kind of clothing should be worn to the same theatre, or which dining establishment in the vicinity allowed a woman without an

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[13] Proteau, "'Not your ordinary guidebook'".
[14] Rebecca Butler, "'Can any one fancy travellers without Murray's universal red books?' Mariana Starke, John Murray, and 1832' Guidebook Culture*," Yearbook of English Studies* 48 (2018): 153.
[15] As one reviewer for the New York Times exclaimed, "The person who planned the series ...was undoubtedly one of the thousands who have found by experience that the best guidebooks do not furnish the historical details which the student of history longs for when he visits the seats of ancient empire." See, "Two Old Towns. Florence and Constantinople in the Dent Series," *New York Times* (1857–1922), March 16, 1901, 16.

escort to eat before the show.[16] She could then read a scholarly guidebook to find out more about the history of the same theatre or the art and architectural features that decorated it. Read together, guidebooks of different subgenres could offer what a single general guide could not.

Most guidebooks were not only designed to function in tandem with other guidebooks from different subgenres, but they were also openly marketed as doing so. Writers of both genders stressed that their works could be used with other guides from different subgenres.[17] Grant Allen's *Florence* (1897), a scholarly guidebook from his Historical Guide Series, stressed that his guides were not meant to "compete or clash with such existing works [as Murray and Baedeker]; they are rather intended to supplement than to supplant them."[18] Similarly, following Grant Allen's early death, his guidebook series was taken over by the husband-and-wife team, John and Alice Cruickshank, who also noted: "The book is not intended to take the place of such guides as Baedeker or Murray."[19] Female guidebook writers too insisted they were not in competition with the big names. As Lina Duff Gordon explained, "It will be seen that I in no way wish to compete with the Guides[sic] of Murray, Hare, Baedeker, and the rest."[20] Scholarly guides were instead presented by authors and editors as being more carefully curated than general interest guides and therefore attractive to those who considered themselves to be serious students of the places they were visiting. They

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[16] One such practical guide which provides this information is Jones' *European Travel for Women*.
[17] Proteau, "'Not your ordinary guidebook'," 19.
[18] Grant Allen, *Florence* (London: Grant Richards, 1897), 4.
[19] Grant Allen, *The Umbrian Towns*, Grant Allen's Historical Guides, eds. J.W. Cruickshank and A.M. Cruickshank (London: Grant Richards, 1901).
[20] Lina Duff Gordon and Welbore St. Claire Baddeley, *A Concise and Practical Guide to Rome* (London: J.M. Dent, 1905).

acknowledged that they were not a replacement for general interest guides and therefore aimed to remove themselves from direct competition with the publishing giants.

General interest guidebook producers like Baedeker were also aware of guides that gave travellers more specific information than they themselves were able to provide, even going so far as to supply their readers with the titles of these other guidebooks for additional reading. Significantly, Susan and Joanna Horner's work was among Baedekers' most highly recommended guides to Florence in the *Handbook to Northern Italy* from the 1899 edition onwards.[21] Likewise, Josephine Tozier's practical guide, *The Travelers' Handbook* (1906), provided a list of the best local guidebooks for each European country. In Italy, Tozier recommended the Italian publisher Guigoni's guidebooks as they provided "a list of hotels and their prices in the order of their excellence."[22] Having not provided her readers with this information, she saw no issue with pointing them towards another guidebook that did.

Many guidebooks also recommended guides, and other reading material, in languages other than English, highlighting the fact that often travellers would have been able to read at least one foreign language, particularly French and German.[23] Italian guidebooks were translated into English, while English guides like *The Story of Perugia* (1898), were translated into Italian.[24] English-language readers were largely not

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[21] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Italy: Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker. First Part: Northern Italy, Including Leghorn, Florence, Ravenna, The Island of Corsica*, 11th edition (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1899), 416.
[22] Tozier, *The traveler's handbook*, 178; For example, see, *Guida tascabile di Firenze e suoi dintorni* (Milano: Guigoni, 1886).
[23] These were among the most common foreign languages taught to English speakers. See, Christina de Bellaigue, *Educating women: schooling and identity in England and France, 1800–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 170, 174.
[24] Margaret Symonds and Lina Duff Gordon, *Perugia: la sua storia, i suoi monumenti; prima traduzione italiana corredata di nuove note ed aggiunte* (Perugia: Tip. G. Donnini, 1901).

restricted solely to guidebooks written in English, demonstrating that in fact a much wider selection of guides was available to many tourists. English language guidebooks were read alongside foreign language material just as guidebooks of different subgenres could be combined and read together.

Women writers of practical guidebooks also frequently suggested guides from other subgenres that could be used with their own. The Women's Rest Tour Association (WRTA) advised their readers to "cut out the section of Baedeker to be used during the trip" to reduce the weight of their packs when on a walking tour.[25] Mary Cadwalader Jones' practical guidebook, *European Travel for Women* (1900), provided an entire chapter comparing the advantages of different general interest guidebooks, including Murray, Baedeker, and The Satchel Guidebook Series. She advised her readers to "begin to collect [their] guide-books" as soon as it was decided they were going, explaining:

> Murray has excellent descriptions of scenery and objects of historical interest, and its literary quality is better, but Baedeker is rather more convenient to take about with you, and its advice as to the choice of hotels is fuller, and thought by some to be more accurate.[26]

Not only did Jones recommend general interest guidebooks and compare their various merits, she also provided a reading list for each country, which included histories and academic guidebooks written by women. Notable works to Italy included, Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds's *The Story of Perugia* (1898) from the Medieval Towns series, Alethea Wiel's historical text *Venice* (1894), Susan and Joanna Horner's *Walks in Florence* (1873), and Mildred Anna Rosalie Tuker and Hope Malleson's

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[25] WRTA, *A Summer in England*, 16.
[26] Jones, *European Travel for Women*, 60–61.

Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome (1897).[27] Since all of the texts Jones provided were either scholarly guidebooks, literary fiction, or historical works, they did not compete directly with her own practical guidebook. Her inclusion of these titles indicates she believed her guidebook should be used together with others so long as they did not directly compete; it is also likely that for this reason the WRTA's *Summer in England* (1893), a practical guidebook with a similar target audience, was not included on this reading list.

Many male guidebook authors were also aware that their guides did not adequately address travel practicalities specific to women. Instead of trying to add this information into their own works, they simply directed their readers to the guides that already fulfilled this function. Albert A. Hopkins, the author of *The Scientific American Handbook of Travel* (1910) advised:

> Ladies who desire additional information as to preparation for the journey, and special information which will benefit them in traveling abroad, should purchase a copy of Mary Cadwalader Jones' 'European Travel for Women,' which is published in this country at an expense of $1.00.[28]

Similarly, in the Satchel Guide Series, William James Rolfe gave an "unsolicited recommendation" of the WRTA and their guide, *A Summer in England* where "thrifty

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[27] Margaret Symonds and Lina Duff Gordon, *The Story of Perugia*, Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1898); Alethea Wiel, *Venice,* The Story of Nations Series (London: Fisher & Unwin, 1894); Susan and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence and Its Environs: by Susan and Joanna Horner with Illustrations*, 1st ed. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co, 1873); Mildred Anna Rosalie Tuker and Hope Malleson, *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome, Part 1: The Christian Monuments of Rome* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1897).
[28] Albert A. Hopkins, *The Scientific American handbook of travel, with hints for the Ocean Voyage, for European Tours and a Practical Guide to London and Paris* (New York, Munn & co., inc., 1910), 16.

female tourists" could find such information as the kind of clothing to select, hints for summer studies abroad, and skeleton tours of the Continent.[29]

Guidebook authors of both sexes and from all subgenres were aware of what was available in the guidebook market and that others provided information that they did not. Since guidebooks from other subgenres were not in direct competition with each other, they were more than willing to advise their readers on which texts could fill the gaps. This co-operative function of the guidebook market is foundational to understanding how and why women were able to produce guidebooks late in the century when large general interest guidebook firms were already well-established. It not only offers insights into the market but explains how women were able to create spaces for themselves and their work within this context.

The physical appearance of guidebooks offers one of the clearest indications of the way the guidebook market operated with different guides complementing one another and their use for different purposes. Across travel accounts written by men and women both private and published in the nineteenth century, any mention of a red covered book signalled to the reader that a Murray or Baedeker guidebook was present. The influence of these two franchises on the visual culture of travel was such that, when men and women discussed guidebooks in everyday discourse, *Murray*, *Baedeker*, and *red-covered books/guides* were often used interchangeably with the word *guidebook*, even when it bordered on comedic. For example, after receiving a Murray's Handbook as a gift, Janet Ross wrote to (Austen) Henry Layard (1817–1894) that "It was very

[29] William James Rolfe, *A Satchel Guide to Europe* (Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Company, 1893), 292.

kind of Mr. Murray to send me the Murray."[30] The John Murray firm published thousands of books in a range of genres, yet there was an understood assumption between writer and reader that a "Murray" could only be a guidebook. This assumption is telling of the widespread influence of general guidebooks and the impact they had on the collective and visual experience of travel. If, as Kristina Lundblad has argued in her study of book material culture in the nineteenth century, "cloth bindings were a part of the material world whose specific forms were used to create social communities" than people who were seen using specific guidebooks also associated themselves, intentionally or not, with these communities.[31] As a result, someone seen reading a red-covered book gave a particularly strong signal that they belonged to the tourist community, even if the book was not a Murray or Baedeker guide.[32] This could be concerning to those who did not want to be associated with the community of tourists.

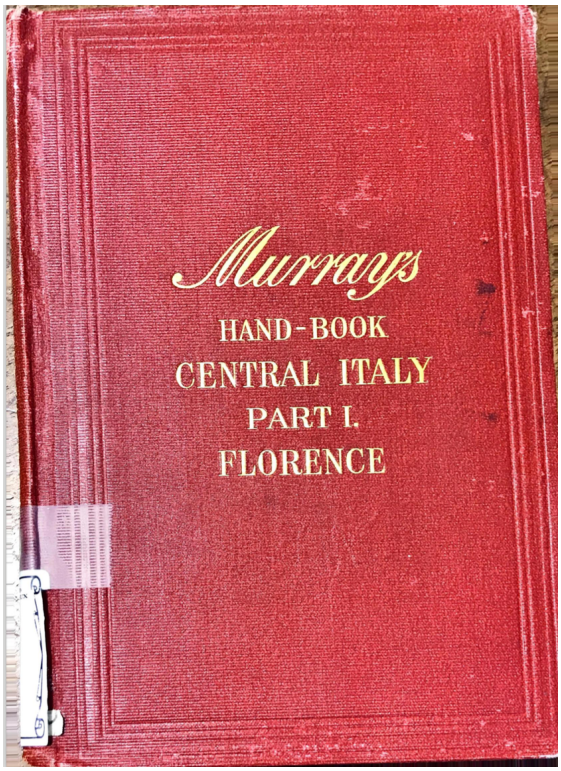


Figure 2 **The iconic red cover of Murray's Guidebook Series**

[30] Correspondence from Janet Ross to Henry Layard, Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, January 16, 1897, WAT:I:G:59:H:1–17, folio 5, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[31] Kristina Lundblad, *Bound to Be Modern: Publishers' Cloth Bindings and the Material Culture of the Book, 1840–1914* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2015), 26.
[32] This trend in binding colour lasted into the twentieth century, as many other guidebook franchises also adopted the iconic red cover. See Stephen L. Harp, "The Michelin Red Guides: Social Differentiation in Early-Twentieth- Century French Tourism," in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford International Publishers Ltd., 2002).

As Mary Alsop King Waddington confessed in her travel account, the Italian guidebook she was given by a friend "was red, like Baedeker, so I looked quite the tourist."[40] Being seen using a Murray or Baedeker, or even another guide that also happened to have a red cover, could therefore imply that one was a tourist, something that—no matter what kind of journeyer one was in practice—was usually presented as an undesirable identity.

The iconic red binding was stereotyped by both travellers and readers as a symbol of tourist ignorance and a lack of appreciation for art and history. As travel-writer Dorothy Nevile Lees contemptuously wrote:

> He carried a flaming Baedeker, which he now consulted, and, prompted by what it told him, turned his attention to the picture above the altar. As a painting it made little impression upon him; the consideration which he gave it was too superficial to produce emotion; it probably, at this cursory glance, struck him as remarkably ugly; but, having been informed by his guide-book that it was valuable, he had entered the chapel; he would then go away and say that he had.[33]

Travel accounts written by both sexes indicate that they believed those who used red-covered books were simply there to complete a required list of things to see, rather than express a true interest and appreciation. Red was therefore presented as the colour of mass-tourism at its basest form.

In response to this visual stereotype, guidebooks in other subgenres were often deliberately distinguished by an alternative binding colour. The publisher of the Medieval Towns guides, a scholarly guidebook series, examined in detail in Part II of this thesis, selected a silvery blue-grey cover with gold debossed lettering. The choice

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[33] Dorothy Nevile Lees, *Scenes and Shrines in Tuscany* (London, J. M. Dent & co. 1907), 296.

not to select red for the series' cover was certainly a calculated one.[34] Since the binding was specifically designed to visually represent the series as a whole, it was emblematic of the large portion of travellers who were looking for "different ways to satisfy the need to be a part of a community and simultaneously to distinguish themselves as unique, independent individuals."[35] By physically differentiating a Medieval Towns Series guide from a general guidebook, the series outward appearance also reflected the guides' specialized content and intended target audience.



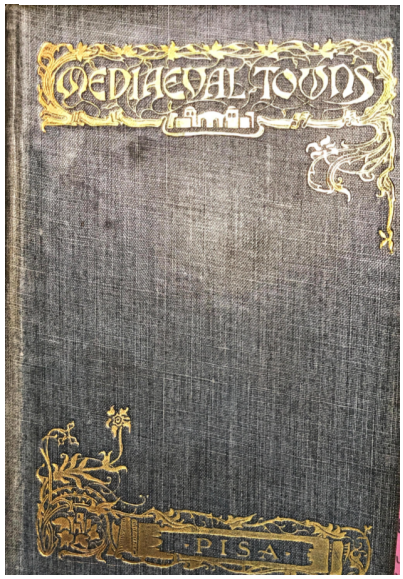
Figure 3 **Blue binding and gold debossed lettering of Medieval Towns series**

The choice for the binding colour was not lost on the authors of the series or their readers. Upon seeing a proof of the cover page and receiving news of the choice of colour for the cover of their guidebook *The Story of Perugia*, Lina Duff Gordon wrote to Margaret Symonds: "Certainly the first page of the P. [Perugia] book is v. [very] elegant & pretty & the cover sounds lovely."[36] Directly following the release of her daughter's guidebook, Janet Catherine Symonds (1837–1913) wrote to Margaret Symonds during her visit to Perugia that visitors walked the streets with books, "'Color di Cenere' [colour of cinders] in their hands."[37] A guidebook's cover colour was therefore an important visual element of travel, and

[34] The original bindings of general interest guidebooks, even those not published by Murray or Baedeker, are quite often red.
[35] Lundblad, *Bound to Be Modern,* 26–27.
[36] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, January 8, 1898, WAT:I:G:64:H:1–14, folio 6, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[37] Translates to "the colour of cinders or ash" which matches the pale blue-grey of the series' cover.

signalled to those around the reader what kind of guide they read, insinuating something about the kind of travel identity they claimed. Those seen reading a Medieval Towns guidebook effectively separated themselves from the masses, while also claiming to belong to a more educated group within the tourist community. The series' distinctive jacket cover also acted as a kind of advertisement as it was unlike any other guidebook on the market, cueing readers to think of Medieval Towns whenever they spotted someone reading a silvery-blue book abroad.

Figure 4 **Cover of *The Story of Pisa* in the Medieval Towns series**



Since the cover implied something about the book and its contents, it also implied something about the book's producers. If, as Maura Ives has argued, "the printed and visual artifacts … through which women's literary celebrity was manifested" are as important as the content, then the colour of the cover also implied something about the quality of the book's contents, and by extension, the authority of the women writers of the series.[38] The women writers of the Medieval Towns series were therefore associated with an iconic series of scholarly guidebooks.

[38] Maura Ives, "Introduction," *Women Writers and the Artifacts of Celebrity in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Ann R. Hawkins and Maura Ives (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 2.

The binding colour implied that their work was of higher quality than that of the general guidebook, elevating the status of their work.



Figure 5 **Bookbinding station at J.M. Dent Publishing, c.1906-1910, Garden City Collection, Letchworth Garden City, UK.**

Producers spent time on the seemingly small details of a book's material components and physical appearance, including even the thickness of the paper. The choice of paper was also another way of differentiating scholarly guides like the Medieval Towns series from general interest guidebooks. Guides like Murray and Baedeker printed their guides on thin, almost translucent paper. This would have undoubtedly cut costs, but it was also likely a way to reduce the overall weight of the books to ensure they remained portable. Tired of waiting for her publisher to select the paper for *Perugia*, Duff Gordon expressed her frustration, insisting that "Dent must live in the clouds on the top of M. Hymettus (spelling?) eating honey instead of studying whether Miss James' illustrations are printed on the proper paper."[39] Higher quality

[39] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 6, 1898, WAT:I:G:65:H:1–6, folio 2, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

paper sent a subtle but physical signal to the reader that the Medieval Towns guides were of a higher quality. This physical differentiation also reflected the intent of the series to present more rigorous scholarly content and more elegant prose than big franchise names.

Materiality was an important part of the guidebook market and it had lasting impacts on the visual culture of travel. The choice of binding colour and paper quality by large franchises directly impacted the choice of publishers in other subgenres who aimed to target different needs of the travelling population. Readers were conscious of how they appeared when reading certain types of guides, and the desire to claim certain travel identities and belong to certain communities may have impacted their reading choices. The material qualities of different guidebooks provide a visual demonstration of the diversity and range of the guidebook market and the way different guides operated in complementary ways.

II) General Interest Guidebooks

Given the international success of large franchises, the general interest guidebook subgenre was a difficult literary arena to enter. Anyone who wanted to write a general interest guidebook would have been in direct competition with large franchises whose guides were already ubiquitous in the hands of tourists and whose popularity meant they were able sell their mass-produced guides at increasingly lower prices. Since publishers would only publish books they believed they could find a market for, it was unlikely they would take a risk on yet another guidebook to Italy if they thought the market was already cornered by Murray and Baedeker.

Yet, while these large franchises were the most dominant, they were not the only kind of general interest guidebooks available. Attempting to compete, other

guidebook writers often selected single cities or regions to provide something new to readers.[40] Male guidebook writers like Joseph Pineider, Augustus Hare, and Charles Black all wrote guides to single cities or regions.[41] Italian male-authored guides were also translated into English for those unable to read Italian, such as Emilio Bacciotti's *Handbook of Florence and Its Environs* (1881), or Enrico Ricci's *The Florentine Cicerone* (1875).[42]

Women's involvement in general interest guidebook writing began in the early-nineteenth century with Mariana Starke, whose ground-breaking guidebook *Travels in Europe: For the use of Travellers on the Continent* (1820) was eventually subsumed into the Murray's Handbook series by her publisher, John Murray.[43] Despite Starke's significant role in the birth of the general interest guidebook and the many contributions of other women writers, editors, and critical readers to the Murray Handbook series, such as Amy Yule (1852–1916), Julia Cartwright Ady (1851–1924), and Maria Graham (1785–1842), few women chose to write general interest guides independent of large franchises in the late-nineteenth century.[44] The only known general interest guidebook written by a woman to Italy during the latter half of the nineteenth century is

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[40] Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 195.
[41] Joseph Pineider, *Handbook of Florence and its environs with views, a map and catalogues of the Galleries* (Florence: Francis and Joseph Pineider, 1882); Augustus J.C. Hare, *Florence*, 1st edition (London: Smith, Elder, & co., 1884); Augustus J.C. Hare, *Venice*, 1st edition, (London: Smith, Elder, & Company, 1884); Charles Black (firm), *Guide to Florence and Environs* (London: A. & C. Black, 1891).
[42] Emilio Bacciotti, *Bacciotti's Handbook of Florence and Its Environs* (Florence: Tipografia Mariani, 1881); Enrico Ricci, *The Florentine Cicerone New Guide-Book to Florence Limited to the Principal monuments to be visited in three days* (Florence: Enrico Ricci, 1875)
[43] For more on Marianna Starke's contribution to guidebook writing, see note 2.
[44] Emanuel, *A Bright Remembrance*; Letters to John Murray from Amy Yule, MS. 41317, John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, "Travel Writing in the Marketplace," in *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 178–179.

Saunterings in Florence (1895) by Elvira Grifi. Examining this work in detail helps to uncover the key features of a general guide.

In the autumn of 1895, Elvira Grifi, an Italian woman living in Florence, addressed the readers of her guidebook: "I thought, although many excellent guide-books of Florence have been written, there was still room for another."[45] Grifi wrote a general interest guidebook with a very clear audience and objective. The title of her work, *Saunterings in Florence: a new artistic and practical hand-book for English and American tourists*, indicates that Grifi intended to provide her audience with a general interest guidebook that aimed to discuss both the artistic and practical merits of the city. Unfortunately, little is known about Grifi who has attracted no secondary scholarship and has proved difficult to locate in Italian historical archives. While it is possible that the author used a pseudonym, the writer's choice to use only an initial for the first name on the guide's cover (E. Grifi), may have been an attempt at masking her gender, suggesting that Elvira Grifi was her real name.

[45] Elvira Grifi, *Saunterings in Florence: a new artistic and practical hand-book for English and American tourists*, 2nd revised edition (Florence: R. Bemporad & figlio, 1898).

The preface to *Saunterings* indicated that it was Grifi's direct involvement with tourism in Florence that gave her the confidence and authority to produce a general interest guidebook.[46] Grifi also stated that she wanted to present her guidebook in such a way that it was accessible to non-specialists. She wrote that she endeavoured to explain "in simple language the principal points of artistic and historic interest" and that she chose to write her work in English because it is the "language understood by the greater number of tourists coming to Florence."[47] Hers was not a guidebook for the experienced art connoisseur, one who might have spoken the native language enough to read Italian texts on the subject, but for the average tourist who was interested in gaining an overview of the city. Her choices suggest that she understood both the tourist and guidebook markets in Florence and that she used the practical knowledge she had gained from this experience to construct a guidebook which improved upon or supplemented information that was already available. [48]

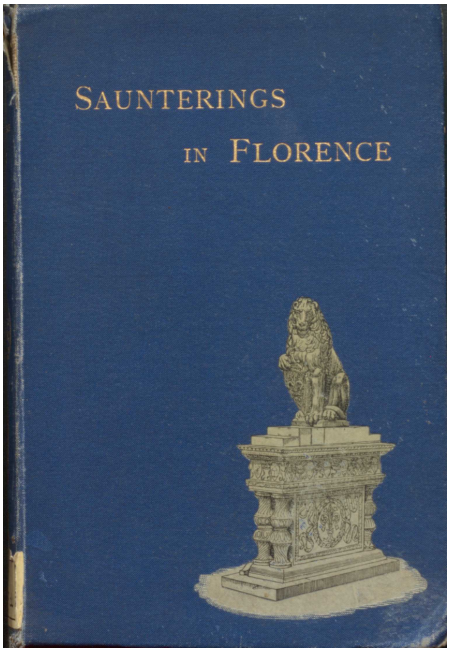


Figure 6 **Blue cover of *Saunterings in Florence* by Elvira Grifi**

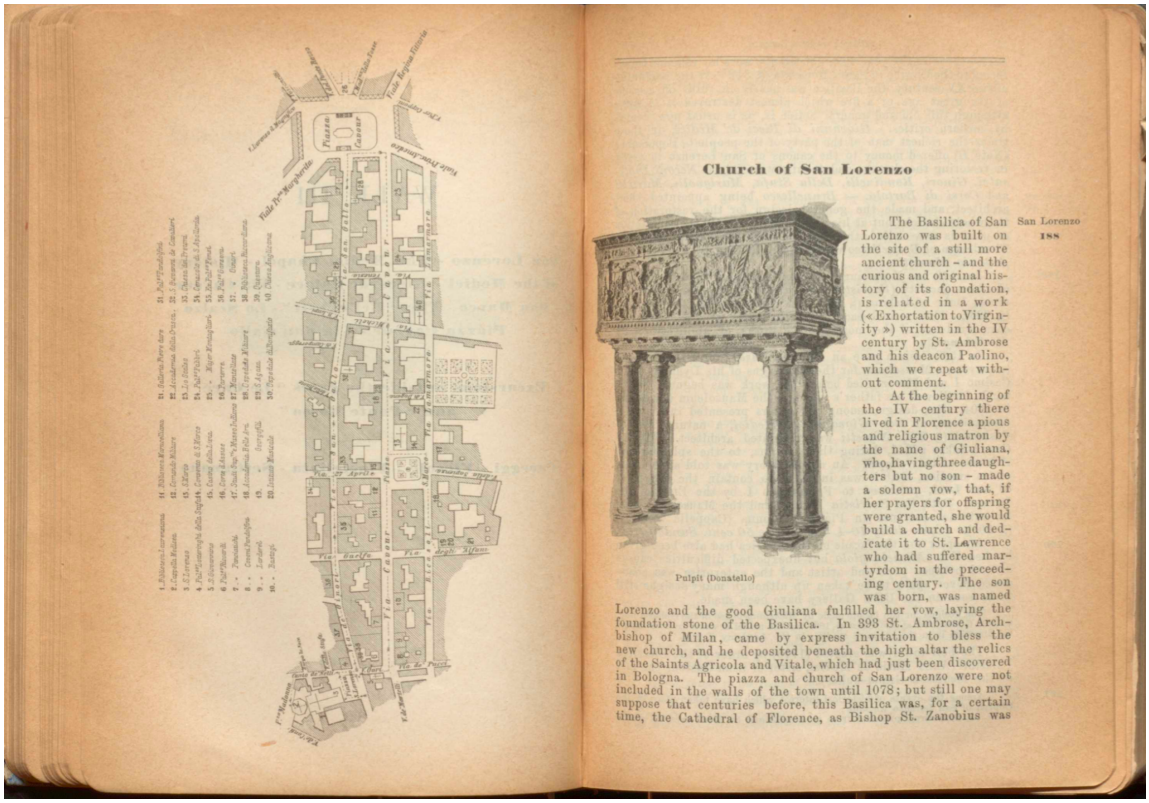
Like Baedeker and Murray, Grifi followed the same outline of most general interest guides, separating the tourist information in the introductory section followed

[46] Elvira Grifi, "To the Reader," n.p.
[47] Elvira Grifi, "To the Reader," n.p.
[48] For example, John Murray publishers insisted that Janet Ross translate letters in Italian, German and French in her work *Three Generations of English Women* to reach a wider audience. See, Claudia Capancioni, "Janet Ross's Intergenerational Life Writing- Female Intellectual Legacy through Memoirs, Correspondence, and Reminiscences," *Life Writing* 14, no. 2 (2017): 238.

by the artistic and historical information in separate chapters. However, *Saunterings* also differed from the large franchises in several ways. First, *Saunterings* offered a richly visual reading experience thanks to its inclusion of "one hundred illustrations and maps."[49] The resulting text is frequently accompanied by sketches of famous art pieces, small cross-section maps of specific city quarters or a selection of a few streets, and blueprint plans of galleries. Such significant use of page space for images was not possible in Murray or Baedeker guidebooks because they focused on larger geographical areas and had more information to cover while still maintaining a book's portability. Compared to these works, with their text heavy pages and small print, Grifi's guide was a more accessible and visually pleasing reading experience for the average tourist.

[49] Grifi, *Saunterings in Florence*, title page.

Figure 7 **An example of small maps and landmark aids in *Saunterings in Florence***



Church of San Lorenzo

San Lorenzo 188

The Basilica of San Lorenzo was built on the site of a still more ancient church – and the curious and original history of its foundation, is related in a work («Exhortation to Virginity ») written in the IV century by St. Ambrose and his deacon Paolino, which we repeat without comment.

At the beginning of the IV century there lived in Florence a pious and religious matron by the name of Giuliana, who, having three daughters but no son – made a solemn vow, that, if her prayers for offspring were granted, she would build a church and dedicate it to St. Lawrence who had suffered martyrdom in the preceding century. The son was born, was named

Pulpit (Donatello)

Lorenzo and the good Giuliana fulfilled her vow, laying the foundation stone of the Basilica. In 393 St. Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, came by express invitation to bless the new church, and he deposited beneath the high altar the relics of the Saints Agricola and Vitale, which had just been discovered in Bologna. The piazza and church of San Lorenzo were not included in the walls of the town until 1078; but still one may suppose that centuries before, this Basilica was, for a certain time, the Cathedral of Florence, as Bishop St. Zanobius was

Grifi's use of images gave the guidebook more visual appeal, but it also echoed another travel-related pastime popular among women at the time: the scrapbook.[50] Maintaining a scrapbook was not only a common leisure activity taken up by women, it was also a long-practised part of guidebook publication. Scrapbooks were used to create further editions of guidebooks, such as the manuscript of Murray's *Handbook to France*, which integrates large pieces of text from the old edition with edits, additions, and even commentary from travellers who submitted contributions.[51] Guidebook authors like Janet Ross and Susan Horner created scrapbooks, the former of newspaper

[50] For more on women and scrapbooking, see Clare Pettitt, "Topos, Taxonomy and Travel in Nineteenth-Century Women's Scrapbooks," in *Travel Writing, Visual Culture and Form, 1760–1900*, ed. M. Henes and B.H. Murray (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
[51] Original Manuscript to the Murray's Handbook of France, 1836, MSS. 42499, folio 657, John Murray Archives, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

clippings that reviewed her works, the latter in the diaries that formed a kind of prototype of her guidebook.[52] Scrapbooking was therefore a visual aid in the creation of guidebooks but also one that was commonly practised by women to preserve and store memory.[53] It is difficult to ascertain whether or not Grifi intended for her guidebook to be used to preserve memories of travel, but its inclusion of so many images made it an ideal souvenir during a time when photography was an expensive and labour intensive hobby; few people before 1870 knew how to operate a camera and even fewer owned their own before the 1890s when cameras became more portable and less costly.[54] Thus, Grifi's guidebook could have been read and used in a variety of ways before, during, and after the journey.

Another marker of difference between Grifi's work and the larger general guides was the layout of the book and the pages which maximized convenience for the reader. As Grifi explained: "I have divided my work into a series of imaginary walks, as if having a friendly talk with the tourist."[55] The walks were written in relation to physical space, giving directional instructions: "Going out of the church through the door by which we entered, and turning to the right…"[56] The reader could follow the book's instructions as if they were following a map. When this physical element was used in

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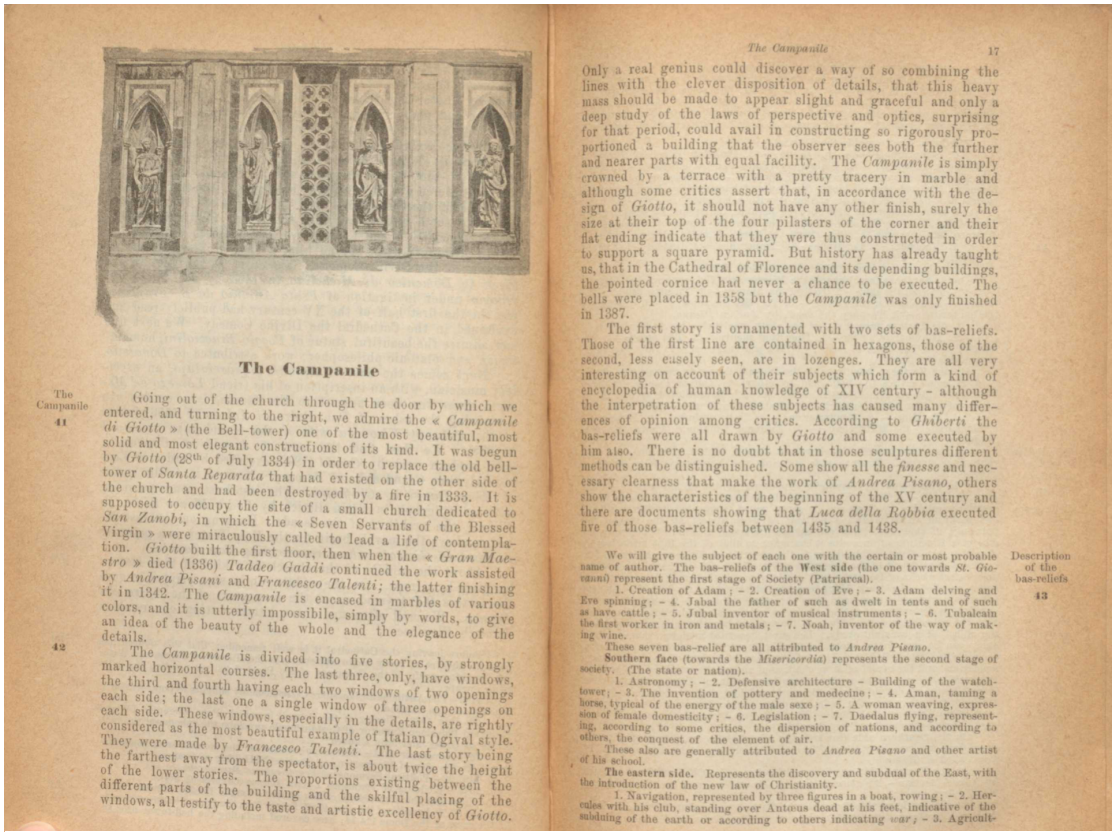
[52] Susan Horner travel journal 1847–1848 and 1861–1862, Horner Collection, British Institute of Florence, British Institute, Florence, Italy; Janet Ross Newspaper Cuttings, Red Book I, 1890–1900, WAT:II:C:2, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[53] Pettitt, "Topos, Taxonomy and Travel".
[54] Before George Eastman invented gelatin emulsion film and revolutionized the camera's size with the Kodak and Brownie cameras, photography was done using heavy metal plates, and large complex models which were not ideal for amateur photographers. For more on Eastman's contribution to mass-market photography, see Richard S. Tedlow, "The Beginning of Mass Marketing in America: George Eastman and Photography as a Case Study," *Journal of Macromarketing* 17, no. 2 (December 1997): 1, 18–19.
[55] Grifi, "To the Reader," n.p.
[56] Grifi, *Saunterings in Florence*, 16.

combination with the first-person plural, Grifi succeeded in creating an imaginary walk taken together by reader and guide. This more personal approach to touring, two friends walking the city together, set it apart from the bare-bones skeleton tours often found in Murray and Baedeker guides; simple lists of places created for travellers who wanted to construct some form of personalized travel itinerary to various destinations. While dividing the chapters into walks created a more engaging book layout, this construction also enabled the reader to practice "goal-oriented reading," scanning the page for what they were looking for in the moment.[57] Important monuments, places, and artworks were printed in bold in the text and then relisted in the margins. Again, with such limited space, Murray's margins were not big enough for any additional text and

[57] Mike Esbester, "Nineteenth-Century Timetables and the History of Reading," *Book History* 12 (2009): 160.

therefore could not perform this function. Grifi's guide therefore offered a more visually appealing experience while also improving the guide's functionality.

There was one similarity between Grifi's guidebook and that of Murray and



The Campanile

The Campanile 41

Going out of the church through the door by which we entered, and turning to the right, we admire the « *Campanile di Giotto* » (the Bell-tower) one of the most beautiful, most solid and most elegant constructions of its kind. It was begun by *Giotto* (28th of July 1334) in order to replace the old bell-tower of *Santa Reparata* that had existed on the other side of the church and had been destroyed by a fire in 1333. It is supposed to occupy the site of a small church dedicated to *San Zanobi*, in which the « Seven Servants of the Blessed Virgin » were miraculously called to lead a life of contemplation. *Giotto* built the first floor, then when the « *Gran Maestro* » died (1336) *Taddeo Gaddi* continued the work assisted by *Andrea Pisani* and *Francesco Talenti*; the latter finishing it in 1342. The *Campanile* is encased in marbles of various colors, and it is utterly impossibile, simply by words, to give an idea of the beauty of the whole and the elegance of the details.

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The *Campanile* is divided into five stories, by strongly marked horizontal courses. The last three, only, have windows, the third and fourth having each two windows of two openings each side; the last one a single window of three openings on each side. These windows, especially in the details, are rightly considered as the most beautiful example of Italian Ogival style. They were made by *Francesco Talenti*. The last story being the farthest away from the spectator, is about twice the height of the lower stories. The proportions existing between the different parts of the building and the skilful placing of the windows, all testify to the taste and artistic excellency of *Giotto*.

The Campanile 17

Only a real genius could discover a way of so combining the lines with the clever disposition of details, that this heavy mass should be made to appear slight and graceful and only a deep study of the laws of perspective and optics, surprising for that period, could avail in constructing so rigorously proportioned a building that the observer sees both the further and nearer parts with equal facility. The *Campanile* is simply crowned by a terrace with a pretty tracery in marble and although some critics assert that, in accordance with the design of *Giotto*, it should not have any other finish, surely the size at their top of the four pilasters of the corner and their flat ending indicate that they were thus constructed in order to support a square pyramid. But history has already taught us, that in the Cathedral of Florence and its depending buildings, the pointed cornice had never a chance to be executed. The bells were placed in 1358 but the *Campanile* was only finished in 1387.

The first story is ornamented with two sets of bas-reliefs. Those of the first line are contained in hexagons, those of the second, less easely seen, are in lozenges. They are all very interesting on account of their subjects which form a kind of encyclopedia of human knowledge of XIV century - although the interpetration of these subjects has caused many differences of opinion among critics. According to *Ghiberti* the bas-reliefs were all drawn by *Giotto* and some executed by him also. There is no doubt that in those sculptures different methods can be distinguished. Some show all the *finesse* and necessary clearness that make the work of *Andrea Pisano*, others show the characteristics of the beginning of the XV century and there are documents showing that *Luca della Robbia* executed five of those bas-reliefs between 1435 and 1438.

Description of the bas-reliefs 43

We will give the subject of each one with the certain or most probable name of author. The bas-reliefs of the **West side** (the one towards *St. Giovanni*) represent the first stage of Society (Patriarcs).

1. Creation of Adam ; - 2. Creation of Eve ; - 3. Adam delving and Eve spinning ; - 4. Jabal the father of such as dwelt in tents and of such as have cattle ; - 5. Jubal inventor of musical instruments ; - 6. Tubalcain the first worker in iron and metals ; - 7. Noah, inventor of the way of making wine.

These seven bas-relief are all attributed to *Andrea Pisano*.

Southern face (towards the *Misericordia*) represents the second stage of society. (The state or nation).

1. Astronomy ; - 2. Defensive architecture - Building of the watch-tower ; - 3. The invention of pottery and medecine ; - 4. Aman, taming a horse, typical of the energy of the male sexe ; - 5. A woman weaving, expression of female domesticity ; - 6. Legislation ; - 7. Daedalus flying, representing, according to some critics, the dispersion of nations, and according to others, the conquest of the element of air.

These also are generally attributed to *Andrea Pisano* and other artist of his school.

The eastern side. Represents the discovery and subdual of the East, with the introduction of the new law of Christianity.

1. Navigation, represented by three figures in a boat, rowing ; - 2. Hercules with his club, standing over Anteus dead at his feet, indicative of the subduing of the earth or according to others indicating *war* ; - 3. Agricult-

Figure 8 **An example of the page layout in *Saunterings in Florence***

Baedeker in that she did not focus her work on accommodating women travellers. Her guidebook had only a few more references to women than Murray or Baedeker guides to Italy and Florence specifically, mentioning the word "lady/ies" fifteen times throughout the book in reference to female travellers.[58] The travel related information provided for women was usually regarding certain locations where women could find shops or goods to purchase, as well as places which did not allow women to enter. For example, "The site of the old Acropolis of Faesulae is occupied by a Franciscan

[58] Grifi, *Saunterings in Florence*.

Monastery (ladies are not allowed to visit it) ..."[59] Grifi included this kind of gendered travel information only when necessary. Providing travel advice specific to women was not a focus of her guidebook; in this way, Grifi's guide was like the conservative style of the larger franchises, as we will see in more detail later in this chapter.

Saunterings in Florence was believed by some readers to be more complete than many of its competitors. As Eustace Reynolds-Ball commented in his own guide, *Mediterranean Winter Resorts* (1908), "None of the innumerable Florentine guides and books of reference, except, of course, Karl Kroly's 'Handbook to the Florence Galleries' … give as full a list as is to be found in Grifi's 'Saunterings in Florence.'"[60] Grifi's guidebook published its fifth edition in 1911, and continued to be published into the 1930s, indicating that it was a popular and enduring choice for travellers. Yet, while Grifi's guidebook was successful, the fact remains that only one female-authored general interest guide to Italy has been discovered to date.[61] This absence of female authorship in the general interest subgenre is a trend that indicates many female writers either avoided or faced barriers in this subgenre because of the dominance of large franchises. Instead, women concentrated on filling the gaps they found in the general interest guidebooks by providing alternative or more detailed information in the other two subgenres.

Examining general interest guidebooks through a gendered lens reveals one way in which the deficiencies of general guides created demand for the practical and

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[59] Grifi, *Saunterings in Florence*, 181.
[60] Eustace Reynolds-Ball, *Mediterranean Winter Resorts: A complete and practical handbook to the principal health and pleasure resorts on the shores of the Mediterranean, South Europe*, 6th edition (London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, 1908).
[61] Women have written other general interest guides to other countries yet rarely under their own names, for example, Amy Yule wrote the 1884 edition of *Murray's Handbook to Greece*.

scholarly guidebooks women more commonly published. Because general interest guidebooks needed to appeal to the public in the broadest sense, they tended to promote relatively conservative ideas of women and their behaviour abroad. When it came to advice directly targeting women, Murray and Baedeker guidebooks were usually silent. Any discussion of gendered travel information was typically reserved for the introduction, where practical information was laid out, but even there it was often sparse. There are five references made to "lady/ies" travelling in Murray's *Handbook of Florence and its Environs* (1874),[62] while in Baedeker's *Italy: Handbook for Travellers. First Part: Northern Italy and Corsica* (1870) "ladies" are referred to only twice.[63] This number does not necessarily see a marked increase as the years progressed and women made up more of the travelling population. Murray's references to "lady/ladies" increased by only two references to seven in the 1892 edition of *Handbook for travellers in central Italy*.[64] In some cases, there was a noticeable decrease in the number of references to women, particularly when certain spaces that had previously barred women became more accessible. This trend was usually most evident in practical sections that discuss entertainment, hotels, and dining. Establishments recommended in general interest guidebooks that women could frequent without fear of risking their reputations shifted gradually throughout the latter-half of

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[62] These numbers are taken when the word "lady/ies" is used when referring to travellers specifically, not when describing artwork, historic episodes, etcetera. See John Murray (firm), *Handbook of Florence and its Environs,* 5th new edition revised (London: John Murray; Florence: Goodban, 1874) vii, viii, xi, 118.
[63] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Italy: Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker, First Part: Northern Italy and Corsica*, 2nd edition (Coblenz: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1870) xviii, xix.
[64] John Murray (firm), *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy: Including Florence, Lucca, Tuscany, Elba, etc., Umbria, the Marches, and part of the late patrimony of St. Peter*, 11th edition revised (London: J. Murray, 1892).

the century. In the 1870 edition of Baedeker's *Northern Italy*, the hotels recommended were "convenient and economical by the *voyageur en garçon*, but are of course rarely visited by ladies."[65] By 1877, this comment was changed to: "convenient and economical by the *voyageur en garçon*, and the better houses of this class may even be visited by ladies."[66] When women were discussed, it was usually to emphasize that a better quality of service should be sought to protect them from any form of unpleasantness they may experience as a result of travelling, lodging, or dining with those of a lower social status. Notably, no mention was made of women who travelled alone or on a restricted budget and required more economical choices.

That both Murray and Baedeker generally assumed that a woman would be travelling with a male companion was a particular issue for solo women travellers. For example, in Baedeker's 1874 edition of *Northern Italy* it is noted that "*Trattorie*, or restaurants, are chiefly frequented by Italians and by travellers unaccompanied by ladies."[67] Women in this case are always presented as travelling in the company of men (men were therefore the default travellers) and the guide provides no advice for women who had chosen to travel without them.[68] However, when comparing the texts over time, subtle changes in the prescribed advice offered demonstrate a shift that suggests travellers did not abide by such conservative advice. For example, five years later, the 1879 edition of *Northern Italy* amended its previous recommendation and noted that

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[65] Baedeker (firm), *Northern Italy and Corsica*, 1870, xviii.
[66] Baedeker (firm), *Northern Italy and Corsica*, 1870, xviii.
[67] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Italy: Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker, First Part: Northern Italy, Including Leghorn, Florence, and Ancona and the Island of Corsica,* 3rd edition revised (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1874), xviii.
[68] For more on the identity of the traveller being traditionally as coded *male* see Robinson-Thomsett, *Women, Travel, Identity*, 203.

"Restaurants (*trattorie*) are chiefly frequented by Italians and gentlemen travelling alone, but those of the better class may be visited by ladies also."[69] Although it was noted that upper or middle-class women could visit higher-end restaurants without putting their status as *ladies* into question, there was still no mention of doing so alone or in a group which consisted only of women. This absence of specifically gendered tourist advice, especially for women travelling without a male companion or an escort, was precisely the kind of information some women wanted.[70] This unfulfilled need drove the creation of practical guidebooks which attended specifically to a diversifying demographic of travelling women and their needs from the 1870s onwards.[71]

Ann Hallamore Caesar has argued that writings for and about women in this period illustrate "the widening gap between cultural constructions of femininity and women's lives."[72] When female travellers were discussed in general guides, the advice given was usually to warn them of possible unpleasant situations or to caution them against certain activities. However, the rupture between the ideal and the lived experience can be demonstrated when we contrast the advice of Baedeker and Murray

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[69] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Italy: Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker, First Part: Northern Italy, Including Leghorn, Florence, Ravenna, The Island of Corsica,* 5th edition (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1879), xix.

[70] For example, the January 1894 Report of the Women's Rest Tour Association lists two inquiries they had from women wishing for advice on how to live and study in Oxford and Paris. See, Records of the Women's Rest Tour Association, 1891–1992, C1/1.31, 1111-94-M173, Women's Rest Tour Association Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Boston.

[71] The earliest practical guidebook that was apparently written by a female author who chose to use only initials and therefore has not yet been identified. See, H.M.L.S, *A Few Words of Advice on Travelling and its requirements, Addressed to Ladies, By a Lady,* 1st edition (London: Thomas Cook and Son, 1875).

[72] Ann Hallamore Caesar, "Proper Behaviour: Women, the Novel, and Conduct books in Nineteenth-Century Italy," *With a Pen in her Hand: Women and Writing in Italy in the Nineteenth Century and Beyond*, Verinia R. Jones and Anna Laura Lepschy eds. (Exeter: The Society for Italian Studies, 2000), 29.

with women's own experiences. Baedeker's comments on the proper decorum of women at masked balls in 1872, advised: "The Masked Balls … present a scene of the most unbridled and boisterous merriment and excitement, and where ladies are of the party should be witnessed by strangers from the boxes only."[73] Here, women are removed from the revelry and separated from the celebration by the protection of the opera box, resigned to being spectators instead of participants. However, when we read Kate Field's (1838–1896) experience of masked balls, written in the same year, it stands in complete rejection of this idea, as she actively immersed herself in the experience:

> To a woman the mask is the first taste of paradise. Behind it she is exempted from all the rules of etiquette, and for the only time in her life has an advantage over men … Women can actually roam at discretion … without recognition and without reproach. Put on a mask and she may be herself.[74]

Field describes the mask as a means of liberating women from the constraints of social etiquette, even declaring that wearing a mask was the one time when women had "an advantage over men."[75] Her celebration of the freedom offered to women at masked balls was in direct conflict with the advice given in general interest guidebooks which removed women from the experience completely.

Written by men for a general audience, Baedeker's approach to masked balls was to present them as places for women to remain separate from the crowd, while women's accounts show that some were evidently ignoring such advice in favour of

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[73] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Paris and Northern France*, 3rd edition (Coblenz: Karl Baedeker, 1872), 35.
[74] Kate Field, "Mask balls - *HapHazard* (1872)," *Telling Travels: Selected Writings by Nineteenth-Century American Women Abroad*, ed. Mary Suzanne Schriber (DeKalb: North Illinois University Press, 1995), 183.
[75] Field, "Mask balls," 183.

liberating self-exploration and new experiences.[76] Given the freedom afforded by the masked ball, there were also opportunities or risks for sexual and romantic exploration, and while Baedeker mitigated this risk by attempting to remove women from the scene to sit in the wings, some women took advantage of the anonymity of the situation. Evidence from diaries and correspondence of travelling women suggests that large franchise general interest guides did not necessarily reflect many women's travel experiences, nor did they approach travelling for women in a way which encouraged women's independence.

The separation between a general guidebook ideal and the lived experience can also be found in physical activities, such as walking and climbing. In an article entitled "Some Old Guidebooks," E.T. Cook reflected on how advice written in the early-nineteenth century from guidebooks for women was thought to be long-outdated. She imagined that the "robust damsel of to-day" would "shudder...in reading this. And not only the robust—for everybody walks and climbs now."[77] Yet Murray's guidebooks continued to present women as needing assistance when faced with physical activity into the late-1870s. At Mount Vesuvius, Octavian Blewitt, the writer of the 1878 edition of *Murray's Handbook to Central Italy*, notes that "Ladies can also ascend in *portantine* or arm-chairs, for which 4 bearers will be necessary, the charge 20 fr."[78] While women evidently felt that they were capable of walking and climbing, and frequently did so

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[76] For more on the fear of sexuality, travel, and reputation see Robinson-Thomsett, *Women, Travel, Identity*, 194–195.
[77] Mrs. E. T. Cook, "Some Old Guide-Books" *The Living Age* (1897–1941), June 19, 1897, 803.
[78] John Murray (firm) [Octavian Blewitt], *Handbook for travellers in Central Italy*, (London: John Murray, 1878), 209.

without assistance, general guides written by men often continued to present women travellers as needing a moderated set of activities.

The cost of travel was another area where Baedeker and Murray remained conservative when it came to women. Since both large franchises assumed that a woman would want to retain all appearances of propriety, remaining separate from the lower classes and travelling in as much comfort and style as possible, both franchises stressed the expense of travelling with women. Baedeker pronounced in 1877 that, "When ladies are of the party, the expenses are generally greater" and this advice continued to endure even into the 1906 edition.[79] On steam ships, women were advised to always travel first class, "but gentlemen of modest requirements" would "find the second cabin very fair."[80] Similarly, when travelling by road Baedeker advised that, if possible, a group with women should secure "*the coupé* (fare one-third higher)" instead of choosing a more affordable option.[81] Yet the costs associated with constantly travelling first class were not within the reach of many women with more moderate budgets, particularly those who travelled alone or relied on their own salaries.

As my analysis demonstrates, general interest guides, particularly the publications of the large franchises, were not written with women in mind and usually presented them as a financial and logistical burden. Women who had successfully travelled to Europe alone saw both a business opportunity and a way to facilitate female

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[79] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Italy: Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker. First Part: Northern Italy, Including Leghorn, Florence, Ravenna, The Island of Corsica*, 4th edition, (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1877), xi; Karl Baedeker (firm), *Italy: Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker. First Part: Northern Italy, Including Leghorn, Florence, Ravenna, The Island of Corsica*, 13th edition (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1906), xi.
[80] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Northern Italy,* 1899, xviii.
[81] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Northern Italy*, 1874, xvi.

travel more easily by addressing the gaps and inaccuracies they saw in general interest guides, creating practical guidebooks that specifically targeted women.

III) Practical Guidebooks

Finding it difficult to compete with Murray and Baedeker, women writers discovered other ways into guidebook publication through underserved niches in the market and, as the preceding section suggests, there was space for guidebooks offering more practical advice, particularly to women. Practical guidebooks, written with the intent of assisting the reader to adapt to new surroundings, could target any number of groups within the larger travelling public. These groups were often distinguished based on gender, nationality, health, or activity of interest (studying art, shopping, etc.). As the same travel advice could often apply to larger geographical regions, they could often afford to be less location-specific and frequently included more than one country, or a selection of cities in their guides. Italy was often one of several countries discussed in a single practical guide because of its historic role as the eventual goal of any tourist. Despite rising competition from countries like France, many late-nineteenth century travellers still considered Italy to be the crowning jewel in their trip to Continental Europe.[82] For example, Grant Allen's practical guidebook *The European Tour: A handbook for Americans and Colonists* (1899) included England and France among other countries but stated quite clearly: "Italy is the goal; and that, after Italy, you will

[82] The growing popularity of modern European cities such as London and Paris drew increasing attention and became travel destinations in and of themselves as opposed to a stop along the way to Italy. Some guides included Italy in its proposed tours but mainly focused on the cities of London and Paris. See Hopkins, *The Scientific American Handbook of Travel*; Others ignored Italy altogether. See Morris Phillips, *Abroad and at Home: Practical Hints for Tourists* (New York: Brentano's, 1891).

understand everything else by the light of what you have learned in 'cities of the soul'—Venice, Rome, and Florence."[83] Italy was therefore featured in practical guidebooks that also highlighted other European countries in both male and female-authored guides.

The intended audience of a practical guidebook dictated what kind of information was relevant. Men and women published practical guidebooks that targeted specific nationalities or groups, such as Americans, British, or white settler colonists from Canada or Australia.[84] Most often, however, practical guidebooks addressed American tourists, as they had a less-established history of travel than their British counterparts, and their journey involved more time, money, and a longer sea voyage.[85] These new audiences provided more opportunity for women to publish guidebooks as there was a greater variety of subject matter for them to address.

Practical guidebooks were the only subgenre where the content of the book could be distinctly cognisant of women travellers and their needs throughout.[86] Of the women who wrote practical guidebooks, an overwhelming majority were American

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[83] Grant Allen, *The European Tour: A handbook for Americans and Colonists* (London: G. Richards, 1899), 33.
[84] Mary Cadwalader Jones, *European Travel for Women; Notes and Suggestions* (New York: Macmillan, 1900); Lillias Campbell Davidson, *Hints to Lady Travellers at Home and Abroad* (London: Iliffe & Son, 1889); Abigail May Alcott Nieriker, *Studying Art Abroad, and How to Do It Cheaply* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1879); Blanche McManus, *The American Woman Abroad* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1911); Grant Allen, *The European Tour: A Handbook for Americans and Colonists* (London: Grant Richards, 1899); Josephine Tozier, *The Travelers' Handbook; a Manual for Transatlantic Tourists* (London ; New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1905).
[85] This will be discussed in more depth on pages 38 – 40 regarding practical guides for women.
[86] There were for example also practical guidebooks written specifically for men, such as one sexually suggestive guidebook for those interested in Parisian nightlife. See *Paris at Night: Sketches and Mysteries of Paris High Life and Demi-Monde* (Boston: Boston and Paris Publ. Co., 1875).

women.[87] Why then did so many American women write practical guidebooks? Like American men, women joined the movement of travelling for leisure later than their British counterparts.[88] Britain could claim a much more long-standing and established travelling culture among the middle and upper classes. Nervous first-time travellers without any experience could also be aided in their journey by choosing to take one of Thomas Cook's organized tour groups from Britain from the 1850s onwards.[89] With less experience, Americans were at a disadvantage when it came to knowing which hotels, routes, exchange rates, etc. were favourable, what to pack, and cultural differences among the European nations. The distance and cost were important additional factors, and while British women merely had to cross the Channel, the Atlantic presented a greater inconvenience and expense which would have further deterred or prevented many women from exploring Europe alone. As Ellen W. Thompson explained, "Armies of people, especially women, yearn all their lives to look on the cathedrals and pictures of Europe, and die without the sight, because some snob has said that there is no comfort in going abroad, unless one can spend a thousand dollars a month."[90] Thus, travel to Continental Europe was longer, more expensive, and further removed culturally for American women, and those without previous experience

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[87] Out of the seven practical guides examined in this study, only two were written by women with ties to Britain; one was an American woman, Lilias Campbell Davidson, who later became a British citizen, while the other was written by an English writer who wrote as a woman, but as they only used the initials (H.M.L.S), their identity has not yet been verified; see H.M.L.S., *A Few Words of Advice on Travelling*; Lillias Campbell Davidson, *Hints to Lady Travellers at Home and Abroad* (London: Iliffe & Son, 1889).
[88] Robinson-Thomsett, *Women, Travel, and Identity*, 26.
[89] Edmund Swinglehurst, *The Romantic Journey: The Story of Thomas Cook and Victorian Travel* (London: Pica Editions, 1974), 38.
[90] Ella W. Thompson, *Beaten Paths, or A Woman's Vacation* (Boston: Lee, Shepard, and Dillingham 1874), 14.

or the ability to travel frequently created a particular audience upon which American women practical guidebook writers sought to capitalize.

Practical guides directed at independent female travellers were the most common form of practical guides written by women. Guidebooks like May Alcott Nieriker's *Studying Art Abroad and How to Do it Cheaply* (1873), The Women's Rest Tour Association's *A Summer in England* (1891), Blanche McManus's *The American Woman Abroad* (1911), Elizabeth Otis Williams's *Sojourning, Shopping & Studying in Paris*, and Mary Cadwalader Jones' *European Travel for Women* (1900) are all examples of guides in this subgenre that provided travel advice specifically to women.[91] These guidebooks promoted and encouraged female independence through solo travel and their works were the result of the growing number of women who travelled abroad without a male companion. As *The American Journal of Nursing* remarked,

> Not with those left behind [at home] can we class Mrs. Jones's 'European Travel for Women,' for though entirely different from the ordinary guide-book [*sic*], it is so seemingly indispensable to the lone woman traveller that one wonders what she did before the book existed. Perhaps the answer is that the book came into existence with the independent woman tourist.[92]

As the author of the journal highlights, as women travellers joined in leisure travel in greater numbers, practical guides were created specifically to cater to this new market. These guidebooks were also created in response to the increase in and changing attitudes towards independent women travelling alone. Women also expressed a desire for this information and directed their questions and needs to female-authored

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[91] Nieriker, *Studying Art Abroad, and How to Do It Cheaply*; McManus, *The American Woman Abroad*; The Women's Rest Tour Association, *A Summer in England*; Elizabeth Otis Williams, *Sojourning, Shopping & Studying in Paris; a Handbook Particularly for Women* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1907); Jones, *European Travel for Women*.
[92] "Review," *The American Journal of Nursing* 4 no. 4 (January, 1904): 289.

guidebook writers. For example, one letter received by the WRTA was from "A young woman doctor going abroad to study, very desirous of learning all she can about cheap living in Paris."[93] This also suggests that practical guides were also targeting the upper-middle class woman as their main audience, one who might earn their own salary but live comfortably enough that they would be able to take a month off for travel to Europe.

Practical guides for women usually provided advice on pre-departure planning, such as clothing selection, ticket purchases, or pre-departure reading, as well as *en route* advice. However, their main concern was enabling women to feel confident abroad by providing them with names of hotels, restaurants, theatres, artist studios, and other establishments which catered to women, all while stressing the affordability of female travel. These aims were particularly important given that general interest guidebooks like Baedeker and Murray often insisted that travelling in the company of women was more expensive; while men were viewed as capable of staying in less-polished establishments or travelling second or third class, middle/upper-class women were actively advised against doing so. Thus, we can observe the direct links between information that was missing from general interest guides and women's ability to fill in the gaps by providing practical guidebooks that addressed these issues. It was the desire to fill such gaps in the guidebook market that sparked the birth of the first large-scale travel association for women, The Women's Rest Tour Association.

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[93] Records of the Women's Rest Tour Association, 1891–1992, C1/1.31, 1111-94-M173, Women's Rest Tour Association Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Boston.

The Women's Rest Tour Association's *A Summer in England* (1891) offers a prime example of a practical guidebook which sought to fill the void in general interest guidebooks when it came to travel information for women. *A Summer in England* was first conceived after a trip taken by two of the four founding members of the WRTA, Alice Brown (1857–1948) and Maria Reed (1855–1930). Despite warnings about the expense of travel for women found in general interest guidebooks, the trip was "planned with great wisdom and carried out for an unbelievably small sum of money."[94] Brown and Reed left America and travelled to England on $3.10 a day in the summer of 1889.[95] As middle-class American women with limited resources, they returned eager to share "how safe and simple it had been and also how cheap."[96] Brown, already a published novelist, became interested in writing about her experiences in order to assist other American women seeking to go abroad alone and with limited means. Brown and Reed were introduced to Louise Imogen Guiney (1861–1920), a writer, and Anna C. Murdock (1860–1950), a schoolteacher, who also became interested in the project.[97] The four women decided to present their experiences, and those of other women, in an easily accessible format: a guidebook. Their work became the practical guide, *A Summer in England* (1891). While the book originally focused solely on travel to

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[94] Helen R. Norton, *Story of the Women's Rest Tour Association*, Women's Rest Tour Association Collection, C1/1.31, 1111-94-M173, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Boston.
[95] Records of the Women's Rest Tour Association, 1891–1992, C1/1.31, 1111-94-M173, Women's Rest Tour Association Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Boston.
[96] Norton, *Story of the Women's Rest Tour Association*, 155.
[97] Clarence Blake's letter of introduction (Miss Reed to Miss Murdock), December 23, 1890, 1891–1992, C1/1.31, 1111-94-M173, Women's Rest Tour Association Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Boston.

England, it quickly grew to accommodate countries in Continental Europe, including Italy.

In order to obtain copyright for their guide, the women were required to form an organization, and in 1891 the Women's English Rest Tour Association was established.[98] The guidebook therefore acted as a catalyst for the first North American women's travel association, a society of travelling women that endured into the 1970s. Advertisements for the club and requests for travel advice were sent to women of the "best social and intellectual standing" and resulted in the club's first 350 members, including Julia Ward Howe (1819–1910) the internationally known American feminist, who was elected as their first president.[99] The association described itself as "a medium between demand and supply by stepping into the place of a confidential friend and adviser to women tourists."[100] Their guidebook was a tool that women used to facilitate travel and the WRTA provided a network of like-minded women who supported and encouraged each other.[101] Promoting independent female travel with a focus on affordability, *A Summer in*



Figure 9 **Cover of *A Summer in England: With a continental supplement*, 1900.**

[98] The word "English" was quickly dropped from the name as they expanded to other European countries besides England almost immediately. Caroline Spicer, "For Breakfast, Go Elsewhere," *Yankee* (October 1979), 179.
[99] Spicer, "For Breakfast, Go Elsewhere," 179.
[100] WRTA, *A Summer in England* 1900, 5.
[101] Bischoff, "A Summer in England".

England specifically targeted areas where general guidebooks had proved to be deficient.

A Summer in England was laid out in a similar manner to guides of the same subgenre; its contents were divided into chapters that outlined the pre-departure planning and *en route* particularities of a place, with sections that addressed topics such as: appropriate attire, where women could dine and entertain themselves, and different social customs of a particular country or place, especially those that applied uniquely to women. Unlike Murray and Baedeker, the WRTA did not advise women to always select the best and most expensive options available when it came to travelling. An article in *The Woman's Journal* noted that the WRTA assisted women travelling abroad "at the lowest possible cost" and that those who were willing to travel with "quiet tastes" could spend a month abroad for $250.[102] *A Summer in England* often advocated for a compromise between travelling affordably and comfortably, giving advice such as: "Always travel third-class on the railway and first-class on boats."[103] Similarly, the WRTA also dispensed with the idea that women were not up to the task when it came to physical exertion, insisting that "nothing can be more ideal than a walking trip… women may undertake them with perfect ease and propriety."[104] *A Summer in England* also featured advertisements that encouraged physical activity. One of the main advertisers in the guide was the American shoe company Sorosis, which the WRTA

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[102] Anonymous, "Women's Rest Tour Association," *The Woman's Journal* 24, no. 13 (1893): 98.
[103] WRTA, *A Summer in England* 1900, 14.
[104] WRTA, *A Summer in England* 1900, 15.

recommended for women who were looking to enjoy "long tramps."[105] The other advertisers also reflected the guide's practical and feminist focus, including associations which promoted women's higher education. This included the Anna Ticknor Library Association whose goal was to "furnish books, photographs, and scientific materials to students in their homes, and to guide their studies, when desired, by supplying them with lists for courses of study."[106] Practical guidebooks therefore promoted a feminist agenda that included women's further education, independent travel, and physical activity; all subjects which general guidebooks either took a conservative stance against or simply avoided.

The book's sales numbers indicate the level of interest in this kind of information by female readers. While *A Summer in England* was not the first practical guide for women, it was perhaps the most widely read.[107] The book's first 500 copies sold in six weeks, requiring a second edition to be printed the following year, with a marked print-run increase to 1,000 copies.[108] The book was also priced within reach of travellers with even the lowest budgets: the first edition sold for ¢20 while the second edition was ¢50, (considerably more affordable than other guidebooks) and the price of their guide further supported the concept of affordable travel for women that the book

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[105] Advertisements only began to be included from the 1900 edition onwards. Women's Rest Tour Association, *A Summer in England, With a Continental Supplement: A Handbook for the Use of American Women*, 6th revised edition (Boston: A.J. Ochs & Co., 1909), 9. Coincidentally, this shoe company also shared a name with the first professional women's club in the United States, founded in 1868, of which many feminist activists were members.
[106] WRTA, *A Summer in England* 1900, 99.
[107] It is difficult to get exact print run numbers of all practical guides to compare as many of the records no longer exist, however, given how many editions the WRTA guide went through and the length of time the WTRA operated, this is likely the case.
[108] Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*, 171.

itself promoted.[109] Given that the guide continued to be printed well into the twentieth-century, it is estimated that the number of copies printed and read was well in the thousands.[110]

A Summer in England provided affordable and accessible travel advice for women, a result of both the rise in American women travellers to Europe and a lack of gendered nuance to travel instructions in general interest guidebooks. The WRTA and *A Summer in England* promoted physical activity, higher education, and self-sufficiency for women who found no such support in the general interest subgenre. The guide's female writers thus successfully capitalized on the missing information in the general interest subgenre and found success by targeting a uniquely female audience.

Practical guidebooks were not only created as a response to a lack of information assisting independent women travellers, they were also created in response to issues that arose when culturally-coded behaviours shifted for women depending on their location.[111] As women travelled abroad, they were often faced with navigating between conforming to local expectations and a retention of their own culture's perceptions of what was considered acceptable feminine behaviour. The conflicting identities women faced while abroad created another avenue for women writers to respond with practical guides that addressed any fears or apprehensions women

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[109] WRTA, *RE: A Summer in England*, November 1891, C1/1.32, 1111-94-M173, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute Harvard, Boston.
[110] If we look at just those published between 1891–1909 and assume that all print-runs were 1,000 copies after the second edition, it totals an estimated 7,500 copies. This of course says nothing about the actual number of readers, which is likely much higher when we consider things like lending books to friends or borrowing from a library.
[111] Robinson-Tomsett, "No nice girl swears" in *Women, travel and identity*, 73-93.

travellers might have faced. This is distinctly visible in the practical guidebook genre, as the majority of female writers were American women.

As many scholars of nineteenth-century American travel have noted, American travel literature was heavily influenced by a narrative of nationalism.[112] Guidebooks, as William W. Stowe observed, were a part of this cultural narrative, as they encouraged tourists to believe they were "deservedly masterful member of a deservedly dominant gender, class, and ethnic group, and by referring explicitly and disdainfully to other groups, guidebooks helped make tourist travel a profoundly empowering activity for individual Americans."[113] Feminist scholars like Shirley Foster, Nina Baym, and Mary Scribner have also highlighted women's role in the advancement of nationalism through travel literature.[114] Foster acknowledged that both Schriber and Baym have demonstrated that nineteenth-century "women were conceived as icons of national destiny; for them, a specifically American mission was implicated in the act of travel,

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[112] William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); Dana Cooper, *Informal Ambassadors: American Women, Transatlantic Marriages, and Anglo-American Relations, 1865–1945*, New Studies in U.S. Foreign Relations (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 2014); Jennifer Bernhardt Steadman, *Traveling Economies: American Women's Travel Writing* (Columbus: Ohio State University Publisher, 2007); Terry Caesar, *Forgiving the Boundaries: Home As Abroad in American Travel Writing* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); Shirley Foster, *American Women Travellers to Europe in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Keele, Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1994); Christopher Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[113] Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 47. American guides were not the only ones to do this, and there is a significant body of literature on British nationalism through guidebooks. Buzard, *The Beaten Track*; Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities & Travel in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Rudy Koshar, "'What Ought to Be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (1998): 323–40.

[114] Baym, *American Women Writers*; Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1997); Shirley Foster, "American Women Travelers and the Material Feminine" in *Becoming Visible: Women's Presence in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2010).

which itself helped to consolidate national identity."[115] One of the ways in which American women consolidated their national identity abroad was through the writing of practical guidebooks for women.[116]

Practical guidebooks for American women, by American women reveal not only the advancement of a narrative nationalism, but they also serve as a direct response to the stereotyped "American woman abroad," popularized by the Henry James novel, *Daisy Miller* (1879).[117] The American woman abroad, described as naïve, shallow, and flirtatious, was often mocked by European women. Janet Catherine Symonds once wrote to her daughter, "I don't mind the Germans who always look at things intelligently — but the American Woman and she abounds— is awful."[118] Some writers even made direct reference to James' novel when discussing American women they met while abroad, mocking the "Beautiful American girls with frocks worthy of Daisy Miller."[119] Overall, their perceived openness, outgoing personalities, and clothing styles were often described as loud, ignorant, or too brazen by their European contemporaries. While some scholars, like Julia Dabbs, have argued that a guidebook for women could present a positive alternative to the stereotypical American woman abroad, this point

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[115] Foster, "American Women Travelers," 263.
[116] The concept of guidebooks as a cultural form of nation building or consolidation has also been explored in the context of Imperial Britain, See John Mackenzie "Empires of Travel: British Guidebooks and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries," in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, edited by John K. Walton, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2005).
[117] Henry James, *Daisy Miller* (London: Harper and Brothers, 1878); For a work which highlights the "invention" of the American woman abroad stereotype in literature, see Sarah Wadsworth, "Innocence Abroad: Henry James and the Re-Invention of the American Woman" in *In the Company of Books: Literature and its "Classes" in Nineteenth-Century America* (Amherst; Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).
[118] Janet Catherine Symonds letter to Margaret Vaughan, August 10, 1899, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Correspondence, Bristol University Archives, Bristol, UK.
[119] The Life of Janet Ross by Margaret Vaughan, WAT:II:D:1:H1-40, 1922, Waterfield Collection, British Institute Archives, Florence, Italy.

has not been examined to its fullest potential. Dabbs only presented a specific case for a single text, May Alcott Nieriker's *How to Study Art Abroad*, when in fact this phenomenon was commonly found in women's practical guidebook writing.[120]

Many American women addressed these stereotypes in their own guidebooks, sometimes to challenge them but sometimes also to suggest changes or modifications in American behaviour. Mary Cadwalader Jones admitted that in an attempt to fit in with European women, "the mistake our women often make is in copying the clothes and manners of people who are not ladies at all."[121] American women were therefore not unaware of this stereotype, but general guidebooks said nothing about what an American woman could do when faced with such perceptions of their presence abroad. In response, American women writers wrote practical guidebooks for their fellow countrywomen to help alleviate any negative impact this had on an American woman's travel experience.

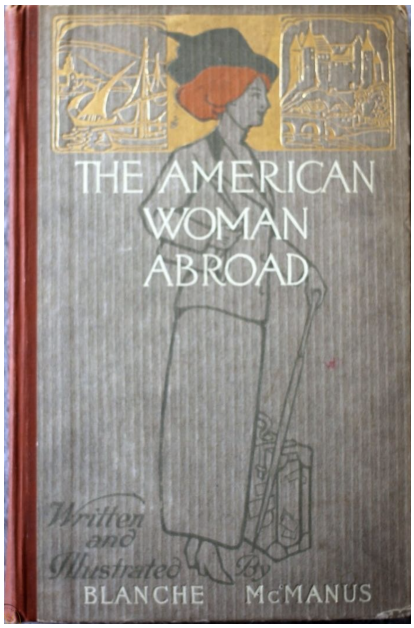


Figure 10 **Cover of *The American Woman Abroad*, Blanche McManus, 1911.**

While many practical guidebooks addressed this issue, one in particular responded directly to this stereotype by promoting American nationalism, *The American Woman Abroad* (1911) by Blanche McManus (1870–1935). McManus was herself an American woman abroad. An accomplished writer and illustrator, McManus

[120] Julia K. Dabbs, "Empowering American Women Artists: the Travel Writings of May Alcott Nieriker," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 2016).
[121] By "not ladies at all" she was referring to prostitutes. Mary Cadwalader Jones, *European Travel For Women*, 16.

had travelled to study art in Paris and London.[122] While in Europe, she met her husband, an American diplomat, writer, and publisher Francis Miltoun (Milburg Francisco Mansfield) (1871–?) and the two travelled frequently, residing in Europe for periods of time before returning to Chicago, where McManus established her art studio.[123]

McManus' guidebook, aimed at American women, promoted American national pride while also assisting American women to navigate the cultural differences between America and Europe. The preface to her book announced confidently:

> The American Woman needs no introduction abroad. Always she is the most welcome of the throngs of self-invited guests who attend the great annual "At Home" which the European world holds for the visiting strangers... All that Europe has to offer is hers on call, so long as she radiates that graciousness and appreciation which everywhere distinguishes her — the most vivacious and distinctive feminine personality of all the women of the world to be seen on the European Play ground [sic].[124]

Flipping the stereotype of the loud and brazen American woman on its head, McManus proudly positioned American women as distinctly feminine, gracious, and vivacious. Not only did McManus refashion the American women abroad as positively distinct from their European cousins, she also insisted that they had succeeded in changing the opinions of the conventional "Old World"' regarding feminine behaviour. She confidently asserted that Europe now recognized and accepted that American women set a "new standard of feminine conduct—freer and more independent than its own, but

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[122] McManus' most iconic illustration is perhaps that of the American copy of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1899) which was published by her husband's short-lived publishing company. See, Lewis Carroll, *Alice in Wonderland*, illustr. Blanche McManus (New York: M. F. Mansfield & A. Wessels, 1899).
[123] Victor Margolin, *The Golden Age of the American Poster* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1976), 29.
[124] McManus, *The American Woman Abroad*, v.

none the less modest and self-protective."[125] McManus asserted that American women were not lacking femininity or modesty, they simply had their own distinct culture which was equal to—if not better than—the European standard of womanhood. The practical guidebook therefore offered a place where women could openly discuss gender and womanhood in the context of nationality, comparing one culture's views and practices to that of another. While many mocked American women, McManus insisted that they had charted a new course, creating a new standard of what it meant to be a woman. In this way, her guidebook offered both practical information to American women and an assertion of national pride in the face of a general inferiority complex often experienced by Americans in Europe.[126] McManus' guide was therefore written in response both to the general guidebook market and to the literary and cultural context of its time.

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[125] McManus, *The American Woman Abroad*, v.
[126] Some women like Mary Berenson, also observed this inferiority complex in American men. Mary Berenson diary entry, November 27, 1891, Disc 1 - 702915, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti Archives, Harvard University, Florence, Italy.

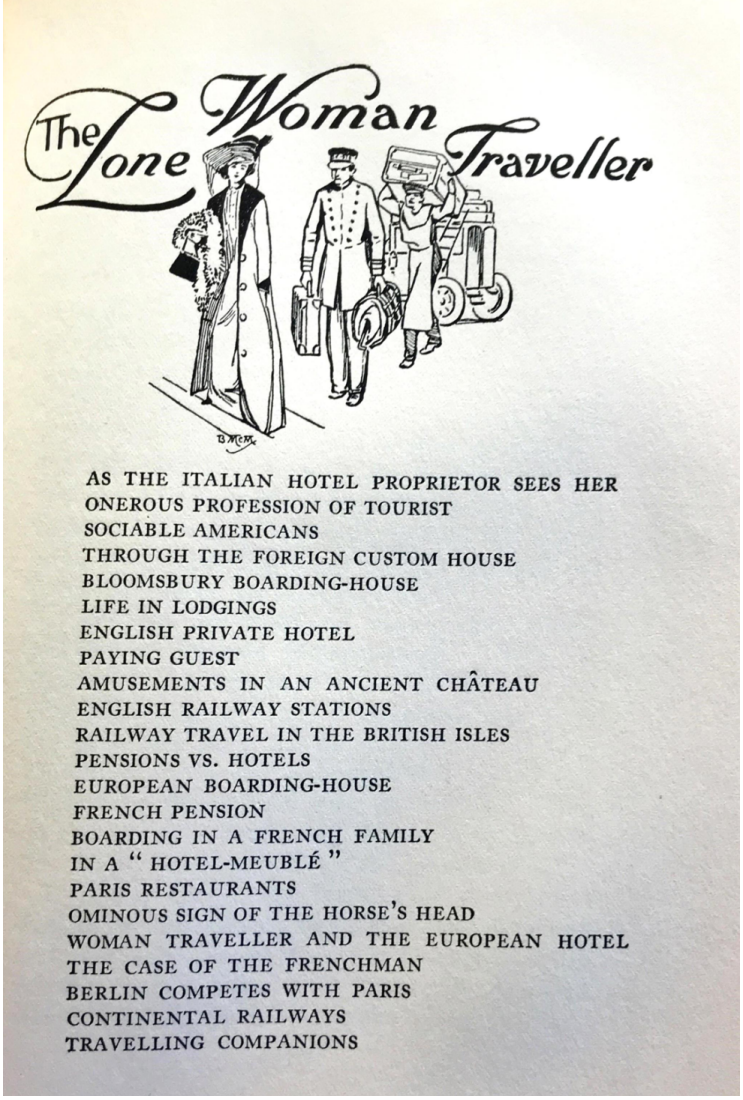


Figure 11 **Chapter titled "The Loan Woman Traveller" in *The American Woman Abroad*, 1911.**

While patriotic pride underlined much of McManus' advice, she also indicated that conforming to local standards of womanhood was sometimes more practical than staunchly adhering to one's own customs. This was particularly stressed when discussing outward appearance:

> The American woman will find it to her advantage to modify...any pronounced style of dress tending to stamp her with too much individuality and unduly blazon her nationality abroad. This is not by desire to discount her patriotism and undervalue her national pride, but simply in her own interests... [by] adopting accessories of toilet … and eliminating any marked mannerisms of dress, the American woman can save herself from many little side annoyances that breed those

> complaints so often made against foreign manners and foreign looks especially.[127]

While American nationalism and American womanhood were promoted as equal to European standards of womanhood in *The American Woman Abroad,* it also encouraged the adoption of local customs for greater ease of travel, proving its utility as a guidebook. In adapting to local customs, McManus stresses that women would receive fewer "foreign looks" and save money by avoiding being taken advantage of in financial transactions where their nationality might have put them at a disadvantage. Practical guidebooks for American women fulfilled two purposes, to encourage American women to travel with confidence, and to assist them in adapting to new surroundings when it was practical or prudent to do so. It provided these two functions in response to cultural shifts in women's independent travel and contrasting codes of female behaviour often defined by nationality, both of which were left unaddressed in other guidebook subgenres.

Practical guidebooks were therefore used by women writers to assist American women navigate the differences in American and European models of female behaviour and gave them a platform to encourage female independence, promote feminist ideas, and assert their own authority. It also acted as a stage on which to display nationalist ideals and assert women's important role in showing Europe what they believed America offered to women: freedom and independence. Practical guidebooks addressed topics that were not found in general guidebooks, and by doing so, they carved a piece

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[127] McManus, *The American Woman Abroad*, 211.

of the market for themselves. In selecting topics that were relevant to many women, female writers were able to find a voice in the guidebook market.

While the women writers of practical guides often targeted women travellers specifically, sometimes gender was not overtly a subject of the book's content. This meant that the author had to find another way of distinguishing their guidebook from others. Most often nationality was the focus, as travel from North America required a different set of preparations and knowledge than was often found in general interest guides. One such practical guidebook was Josephine Tozier's *The Travelers' Handbook: a manual for Transatlantic tourists* (1905), which provided advice to both sexes. Like others of the same subgenre, her guide focused on preparing the traveller for each destination by advising how to properly plan for a journey, such as packing, foreign currency, and advice on tipping in different countries. Tozier organized her book into chapters that dealt with pre-departure and on-route aspects of travel, as well as navigating different destinations, such as Germany, England, and Italy.[128]

Yet, while her primary audience was not women specifically, Tozier's guide was more inclusive to gendered travel advice than some male authored practical guides on certain topics. Male guides with readers of both sexes frequently shied away from describing what kind of clothing women should wear abroad. For example, William James Rolfe, author of *The Satchel Guide* (1893), described at length what men should wear abroad, then wrote: "we have not the masculine presumption to dictate to the ladies what they should wear at sea or on shore."[129] Like general interest guides, the majority of practical guides written by men also did not assist women by providing

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[128] Tozier, *The Traveler's Handbook*, 42–45.
[129] Rolfe, *A Satchel Guide to Europe*, 5.

gendered travel advice. By contrast, Tozier included clothing recommendations for men, women, and children.[130] Similarly, when aboard the steamship Tozier provided advice for both sexes on selecting a room:

> Women in selecting a stateroom should be careful to locate it, if possible, on the same side as the ladies' bathroom. Going through the narrow passages leading from one side of the ship to the other in a bath-gown, or sometimes when there is fog and the compartments are closed being obliged to climb up and down stairs for a morning bath, is not pleasant, especially if the traveler does not feel quite well. The same advice holds good for men, whose bathrooms are generally on another side of the ship.[131]

Women writers could choose to make gender the overt subject of their practical guidebooks or not, however, they were more inclined to add gendered content on certain subjects and sometimes did so by making their guidebooks more inclusive to women in subtle ways. In seeking to work within the guidebook market, practical guidebooks were written with the intent of finding an underserved audience to whom they could direct their advice. This audience was often identified based on aspects which changed the context of travel, such as nationality or gender. Women guidebook writers were often more inclined to include travel advice for both sexes, even when gender was not the focus of their guide, while male authors of all subgenres wrote primarily for a male audience.

Conclusion

Reconceptualizing the guidebook as consisting of subgenres not only more accurately reflects the diversity and range of the market but reveals much about how

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[130] Tozier, *The Traveler's Handbook,* 42–43.
[131] Tozier, *The Traveler's Handbook*, 27–28.

these texts worked together to offer travellers with a range of material to meet their needs. This reimagining of the genre also effectively explains why women were able to publish in this market. Women writers were active in all three guidebook subgenres, but the highly competitive nature of the general interest guide, and the dominance of large male-owned franchises, meant that very few women pursued independent general interest guidebook publication with success. Instead, women writers focused on areas of the market where they could provide more detailed information not discussed in general interest guides, such as practical information for travelling women. Guidebooks from different subgenres were designed and marketed as working together to provide an array of choice to travellers with different needs and interests. This aspect of the guidebook market mitigated some elements of the market's competitiveness, providing more accessible avenues for women interested in guidebook writing. Instead of trying to capture all relevant information in one guide, this also allowed writers to leave out information in their guidebooks and refer their readers to the other guides that provided the information they could not. One of the most frequent topics ignored or avoided by male writers was travel advice for women. General interest guidebooks frequently presented the default traveller as male while simultaneously offering conservative or idealized advice to travelling women.

In response, practical guidebooks were created by women who were interested in providing an alternative or wished to capitalize on an underserved area of the market. Guidebook writing offered women a space to discuss national or regional definitions of womanhood and writers used their guides to promote or mitigate challenges faced by travelling women. Practical guidebooks not only reacted to the general guidebook market, they were also influenced by larger literary and cultural trends. Practical guides

written by women for women were often created in response to stereotypes that developed out of Western cultural literary consciousness and identities of American women travelling abroad. Above all, practical guidebooks written by women encouraged independent female travel, often directly contradicting information or advice given to women in general interest guides. The definition of the guidebook I offer here more accurately reveals the shape of the market and trends in publishing, and by extension, has led to greater insight into the diversification of the market and the facilitation of women's guidebook authorship.

Chapter 2
Reading & Readers: Interactions with the guidebook

While visiting the Italian paintings in the National Gallery in London, Medieval Towns guidebook writer Lina Duff Gordon (1874–1964) wrote to her co-author Margaret Symonds (1869–1925) that she travelled "armed with a heavenly guidebook by [Thomas] Cook."[1] Surprised that she had "actually learnt something about some pictures" she wished that she had discovered Cook's guide earlier when the two were writing their guidebook to Perugia, as it "would have been very useful."[2] General interest guidebooks provided women guidebook writers with easily accessible information that they later used in the process of writing their own guides. As this example suggests, guidebook reading was strongly linked to guidebook production and the process was intrinsically intertextual. While guidebooks were often dismissed as objects for tourists both in historical and contemporary discourse, they were also read by well-educated experts who might consider themselves travellers rather than tourists.

The present chapter examines women's interactions with guidebooks in greater depth while simultaneously underlining women as important actors in shaping the guidebook market. Since the responses of the guidebook's female audience had

[1] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 5, 1897, WAT:I:G:60:H:1-16, F15 -15v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[2] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 5, 1897, WAT:I:G:60:H:1-16, F15 -15v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

important implications for the guidebook market, and for its women writers, this chapter seeks to shed greater light on women readers and their interactions with guides.

British and American women readers of the nineteenth century have received little attention in the wider study of travel writing, a gap this chapter aims to fill. As Robert Darnton argues using his "communication circuit" of the book, the book has a cyclical trajectory with several stages.[3] In order to understand the full scope of this cycle in the context of the nineteenth century guidebook, we must examine all stages of the communications circuit, including readers. Drawing on Darnton's insight that authors are themselves readers and that reading has a direct relationship with writing, my analysis explores women's guidebook reading in order to better understand the market and women's guidebook authorship.[4]

Recent scholarship on nineteenth-century guidebooks by Ana Alacovska, has pointed to the guidebook as a genre where the boundary between producers and consumers blurred, particularly as readers were asked to submit content to the publisher for future editions.[5] Readers therefore took on new roles as co-producers when their revisions and additions shaped and altered the guidebook's content over time. By looking at both the guidebook's general female audience as well as women guidebook writers, we can shed new light on the role of women in the communication circuit of the travel guidebook.

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[3] Robert Darnton, "What is the history of books?," *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (Summer, 1982): 65–83.
[4] Darnton, "What is the history of books?," 67.
[5] Alacovska looked at user-generated content for the Murray franchise, but she did not focus specifically on women readers. See, Ana Alacovska, "The history of participatory practices: rethinking media genres in the history of user-generated content in 19th-century travel guidebooks," *Media, Culture & Society* 39, no. 5 (2017): 661–679.

There have only been brief discussions of women guidebook readers in contemporary scholarship. This has led to the tendency in scholarship to present women's interactions with guidebooks as either acceptance or rejection. In her work on national identity and travel in nineteenth-century Britain, Marjorie Morgan argues that "in general and in keeping with society's expectations for women, female travellers tended to be more referent to travel authorities (mostly male), whether Murray books or tour organizers/guides such as Thomas Cook."[6] Yet, scholars have also shown that many travelling women rejected the advice in guidebooks. By examining female-authored travel accounts and the guidebook market, Lori Brister contrasts what she has deemed "the precise" (male authored) guidebooks with "the subjective" (female-authored) travel accounts as a way to demonstrate the search for authenticity during travel.[7] While Brister rightly argues that women's journeys and experiences were not always prescribed by their guidebooks, her argument does not account for women guidebook writers or those who enjoyed reading guidebooks, effectively gendering both the guidebook and its audience as male, leaving little room for women's guidebook reading and writing. Furthermore, Brister also argues that women writers "were not attempting to replace Murray or Baedeker in the hands of the tourists."[8] This suggests that guidebook writing was distinctly male when, in fact, as discussed in the previous chapter, women's guidebook writing was ubiquitous and often written in response to other guidebooks.

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[6] Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 21.
[7] Lori Brister, "The Precise and the Subjective: The Guidebook Industry and Women's Travel Writing in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe and North Africa," in *Women, Travel Writing, and Truth*, Claire Broome Saunders ed. (London: Routledge, 2014), 62.
[8] Brister, "The Precise and the Subjective," 63.

To establish the cultural context of guidebook reading, the first section of this chapter analyzes women's reading of general interest guidebooks. Records of travel, travelogues, guidebooks, and articles in the periodical press offered an abundant source of documentation regarding the reading and interaction with English-language guides to Europe from 1870 to c.1910.[9] This study is based on an analysis of over 168 female-authored publications which shed light on the guidebook market's female audience. Unpublished travel diaries and private correspondence from archives in England and Italy provided further insight. Sources by women from a range of cultural backgrounds, levels of travel expertise, and motivations for travel are used in this section to uncover the complexity of women's guidebook reading.

To illustrate the connection between women readers and guidebook writing, the second part of this chapter examines how interactions between female guidebook writers and the larger guidebook market were crucial in the process of envisioning and constructing guides. This section uses private correspondence and published work from women guidebook writers such as Mary Berenson and women of the Medieval Towns series, to examine how the process of reading and guidebook production were heavily intertwined, highlighting the important role readers played in maintaining a guidebook's utility over time.

The final section focuses on how reading guidebooks could influence the private writing of women and how this, in turn, influenced guidebook production and layout. This section uses women's diaries and private correspondence to show how guidebooks

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[9] As travel literature often encompasses more than one destination/country this section more broadly considers readers of general interest guidebooks to Europe as it is sometimes impossible to know the specific destination of the guidebook being discussed by the reader.

were used to preserve memories of their time abroad. This section also shows how the practice of taking notes in the pages of guidebooks influenced the physiognomy of guides themselves, which further demonstrates the cyclical nature of reading and writing. This chapter illuminates the diversity of women's experiences in reading guidebooks and emphasizes the dynamic nature of the genre and of guidebook reading, highlighting the continual interaction between guidebook readers and writers.

I) Women Guidebook Users

In 1907, Dorothy Nevile Lees (1880–1966), a writer and English woman living in Florence, described a tourist she observed during her visit to one of the city's cathedrals:

> He carried a flaming Baedeker, which he now consulted, and, prompted by what it told him, turned his attention to the picture above the altar. As a painting it made little impression upon him; the consideration which he gave it was too superficial to produce emotion; it probably, at this cursory glance, struck him as remarkably ugly; but, having been informed by his guide-book that it was valuable, he had entered the chapel; he would then go away and say that he had.[10]

Her description of the tourist, his guidebook, the brevity of attention he paid to what he saw, and the lack of proper appreciation paid to the artwork, were all common tropes found in descriptions of guidebook reading in the nineteenth century.[11]

As travellers and travel writers, Anglo-American women were involved in the creation and perpetuation of stereotypes surrounding travel, including the contemporary, and sometimes gendered, distinction between traveller and tourist. While

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[10] Dorothy Nevile Lees, *Scenes and Shrines in Tuscany* (London: J.M. Dent Co., 1907), 296.
[11] James Buzard, "Tourism and Anti-Tourism: Conventions and Strategies," *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

some women may have used their travel writing as a platform to publicly claim an identity as a traveller, their lived experience was often more complicated than the tourist/traveller dichotomy would suggest. Emma Robinson-Tomsett has correctly pointed to the complexity of identities abroad, arguing that "Women's identities as journeyers contained elements attributed to both the traveller and the tourist; the female journeyer abroad does not fit neatly into either box: she was a tourist-traveller."[12] Women had equally sophisticated interpretations of the guidebooks they read, yet some patterns can be observed. Overall, women's responses to guidebook can be classified into three loose categories: those who found guidebooks useful tools for their journey, those who rejected, or claimed to reject, the pre-scripted sights and instructions of the guidebook, and those who had conflicting or undefined feelings towards them, simultaneously accepting and rejecting guides.

As more and more women journeyed for leisure or education, guidebooks often fulfilled a variety of roles that helped enable independent female travel. Many solo-women travellers found guidebooks to be educational, practical, and even comforting. In their descriptions of reading guidebooks, women demonstrated the guidebook's role in their self-education. While travelling to Italy from America in 1906, Rose Elise Whitlock used words such as "consulted" when she wanted to learn something from her guidebook.[13] Similarly, while abroad in France and Italy in 1888, a British woman Mary Tothill "studied" her guidebook for the information she needed.[14] It was not only

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[12] Robinson-Tomsett, *Women, Travel and Identity*, 11.
[13] Rose Elise Whitlock, Francis Vida Hunt, *Cathedrals and Cloisters of the South of France* (New York; London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1906).
[14] Mary D. Tothill, *Pen and Pencil Notes on the Riviera & in North Italy* (London; Bristol Simpkin, Marshall & Co, J.W. Arrowsmith, 1880) n.p. [1].

relatively obscure women traveller writers who found general guidebooks educational, women who travelled frequently or even those who lived as expatriates in foreign

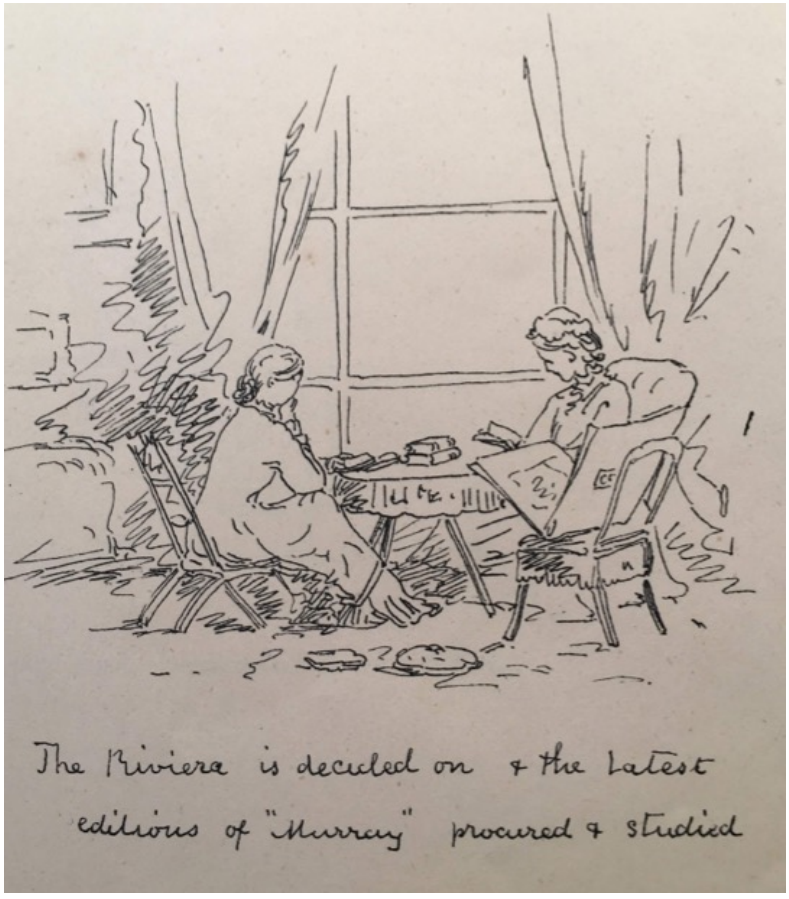


Figure 12 **"The Riviera is decided on and the latest editions of 'Murray' procured & studied," Pen *and Pencil Notes on the Riviera*, Mary Tothill, 1880.**

countries found them to be instructive. Well-known British travel writer Elizabeth Robins Pennell (1855–1936) lamented that if she and her husband had but "carried a 'Baedeker' for Northern as well as Central France, [they] should have been less ignorant."[15] Pennell was a well-established travel writer, not a novice tourist, yet she openly admitted that a Baedeker guide would have been a welcome addition to their travelling party for their own education. As this example suggests, some experienced

[15] Elizabeth Robins Pennell, Joseph Pennell, *Our Sentimental Journey* (London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1893), 26.

female travellers did not try to conceal the fact that they found guidebooks to be educational.

Cognizant of its role in educating travellers, guidebooks often targeted advice to specific groups within the travelling public. In particular, guidebooks written for a female audience also facilitated women's education abroad by providing lists of schools, tutors, or studios which accepted them as students. Practical guidebooks written by and for women most often performed this function. Guides such as the Women's Rest Tour Association's *A Summer in England* (1893),[16] *Sojourning, Shopping & Studying in Paris; a handbook particularly for women* (1907), by Elizabeth Otis Williams, and *Studying Art Abroad and How to do it Cheaply* (1879) by May Alcott Nieriker are a few of the guides that actively sought to promote women's education, arming readers with the information necessary to access education abroad.[17]

Despite the stereotype that general guidebooks were useful only to tourists, men and women with specialized knowledge in history and art also read these guides, often while pursuing self-directed studies abroad. Those with specialized knowledge included

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[16] The Women's Rest Tour Association was founded after a group of four women from Boston decided to write a guidebook specifically to assist American women wanting to travel to Europe. The association was founded when the women needed to obtain copyright for their book. With Julia Ward Howe as their first president, the association had thousands of members at its peak. See Libby Bischof, "A Summer in England: The Women's Rest Tour Association of Boston and the Encouragement of Independent Transatlantic Travel for American Women," in *Transatlantic Women: Nineteenth-century American Women Writers and Great Britain,* eds. Beth L. Lueck and Brigitte Bailey (Lebanon NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2012); Jodie Vinson, "The Unprotected Females of the Women's Rest Tour Association," *The Massachusetts Review* 58, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 136–147; Julia Carlson, "Reading the Bibliographies of the Women's Rest Tour Association: Cultural Travel in the Long Nineteenth Century," *Transatlantica* 1 (2018): 1–14.

[17] WRTA, *A Summer in England, a handbook for the use of American women* (Boston: A.J. Ochs & Co, 1891); Elizabeth Otis Williams, *Sojourning, Shopping & Studying in Paris; a handbook particularly for women* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & co., 1907); Abigail May Alcott Nieriker, *Studying Art Abroad, and How to do it Cheaply* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1879).

many guidebook writers who could claim membership to elite cultural and literary circles. In Padua, Mary and Bernard Berenson, "spent the evening reading guide-books ... in preparation for [their] work," one of which was a Baedeker.[18] Together, the Berensons dramatically shaped art historical study and art collecting practice in the later-half of the nineteenth century while residing in Italy for a significant part of their lives. No contemporary would have argued the Berensons were uneducated tourists simply because they read guidebooks.

Many women consulted more than one guidebook during their travels and often verified or compared what they read for accuracy. The American writer Eliza Archard Conner (1838–1912) was often particularly concerned with the accuracy of numbers or measurements in her guidebooks, noting that she had searched "the most reliable guide-books I can find, and no two of them agree."[19] Other women used them to contextualize or understand aspects of their journey that were already completed. Pennell wrote that during a cycling trip in the Alps in 1898, she had climbed a hill without difficulty, but when she had looked in her Baedeker: "Why, I know hundreds of hills that are worse, and yet … I found that I had climbed, without feeling it, 4,356 feet, nearly a thousand feet above the summit of Snowden, almost as high as Ben Nevis."[20] Guidebook reading could therefore give new meaning to lived experiences, even after they had occurred, providing information that could both surprise and educate.

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[18] Mary Berenson diary entry, October 25, 1891, 702915, Folio 146–147, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti Archives, Harvard University, Florence, Italy; Mary Berenson diary entry, October 28, 1891, 702915, Folio 140, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti Archives, Harvard University, Florence, Italy.
[19] Eliza Archard Conner, *Abroad, a Summer in Europe* (Cincinnati: W.E. Dibble & co., 1883), 35.
[20] Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Over the Alps on a Bicycle* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), 14.

Since guidebooks might permit women to explore without relying on friends or relatives, some travelling women also found guidebooks to be liberating. In her 1895 travel account, Elizabeth Miller described Baedeker as a comforting and enabling tool. When Miller's friend "Miss M." decided to stay longer in one place than they had originally planned, Miller was left with "no other companion than a trusty 'Baedeker.'"[21] At first, she expressed anxiety at the thought of travelling alone, but soon she was "happily situated in a good hotel, and after ... consulting [her] guide-book, [she] started out to see the sights."[22] Miller further remarked that, "It is always pleasanter to have a congenial companion, but a young lady of ordinary intelligence and good sense can travel alone with impunity, and if she has a Baedeker guide book, it will be of great value to her."[23] Miller's comments show that the guidebook afforded some women greater confidence when travelling alone and facilitated greater independence while travelling in a group. Miller's travel account also often used language such as "companion," "counselor," and "friend" to describe her relationship with the guidebook, showing that she felt the book was almost a substitute travelling partner.[24] Other women writers, such as the American author and wife of a French diplomat Mary Alsop King Waddington (1833–1923), used terms of affection to describe their guidebooks, such as "beloved."[25] These descriptions of guidebooks demonstrate that women used guidebooks as a kind of surrogate companion, one which gave them the

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[21] Elizabeth Miller, *Foreign experiences of an American girl* (Meadville, Penn: Elizabeth Miller, 1895), 112.
[22] Miller, *Foreign experiences*, 123.
[23] Miller, *Foreign experiences,* 147.
[24] Miller, *Foreign experiences*, 104, 106, 112.
[25] Mary Alsop King Waddington, *Italian Letters of a Diplomat's Wife* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons,1905), 277.

confidence to travel alone as it provided both educational value and practical reassurance.

The guidebook could also provide information about areas which were classified as unsafe for women, particularly regarding the mixing of social classes or when the situation posed a threat to upper- or middle-class women's propriety. Mary Cadwalader Jones recommended in her practical guidebook to Europe, that those wishing to travel through "the mining district, where there is a rough population (which you can easily find out from your guide-book)" should choose to travel first class on the train.[26] Likewise, Jones also advised women to stay away from specific areas of cities. One such area was a passageway in London, where it was "better for young girls especially if they are striking looking, to do their shopping there in the morning, as in the late afternoon women often walk there for whom they would not care to be mistaken."[27] A guidebook could therefore offer protection against potentially uncomfortable situations and supported the reader who chose to open it for advice; but it could also give female travellers greater confidence when choosing to travel independently, allowing them to take greater risks knowing that they were prepared for any unexpected complication in their journey.

Given the valuable functions guidebooks could perform, it is perhaps not surprising that many women readers described their guides using terms of affection, companionship, or defence. Such feelings were common to a wide range of women writers: from well-established British travel writers like Elizabeth Robins Pennell, or American university educated women like Mary Berenson, to little known or

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[26] Mary Cadwalader Jones, *European Travel for Women* (New York: MacMillan, 1900), 89.
[27] Jones, *European Travel for Women*, 125.

inexperienced travellers, such as Americans Rose Elise Whitlock or Elizabeth Miller.[28] Readers who used guides also came from a range of social backgrounds. Some readers were from working-class backgrounds, like feminist Eliza Archard Conner, while others were from wealthy political families, like Mary Alsop King Waddington. As these examples suggest, women from different backgrounds and with different levels of education and travel experience read general guidebooks and found them to be educational, useful, and even reassuring.

Yet, many women also recorded negative interactions with guidebooks, often pointing out the faults of guides as a way of emphasizing what they believed to be more authentic travel experiences. This was particularly the case for women travel writers, art historians, and those interested in establishing a public reputation. It was generally believed by nineteenth-century contemporaries that tourists travelled without giving due consideration to their surroundings,[29] simply following what "guidebooks instructed with little independent thought about what they observed."[30] Given the number of women who pointed out the faults of guidebooks in both published and private writing, this study suggests that it was not usually the case that women interacted so passively with guidebooks. Women writers frequently challenged the advice or experiences that were prescribed to them. As Brister argues, women's travel accounts often used the guidebook as a symbol to represent what was perceived as tourism's lazy unoriginality

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[28] Mary Berenson diary entry, October 25, 1891, 702915, Folio 146–147, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti Archives, Harvard University, Florence, Italy.
[29] James Buzard, "A Scripted Continent: British and American Travel-Writers in Europe, c.1825–1875," in *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (London: Clarendon Press, 1993), 160.
[30] Emma Robinson-Thomsett, *Women, Travel and Identity: Journeys by Rail and Sea, 1870–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 10.

and its creation of a herd-mentality.[31] Many sought to position themselves as separate and distinct from the tourist, a perceived lower-class of voyager, particularly if they belonged to the cultural or literary elite.

As a symbol of growing mass-tourism, the guidebook reflected the cultural context in which travel was conducted. The negative responses to general interest guidebooks expressed by some women (and men) should be understood as part of a wider cultural phenomenon emphasising the search for authenticity and the attempt to claim the identity of traveller rather than tourist. As Sophia Sampaio has noted, "the guidebook, i.e. the textualised mediation of tourist experience, increasingly came to stand for tourism's intrinsic lack of authenticity."[32] Some women readers and writers of travel literature also played a role in the perpetuation of the tourist/traveller dichotomy by echoing distaste for all things related to mass-tourism, including the general guidebook which was all but synonymous with tourism.

While many women travel writers referred to and relied on general guidebooks in practice, they might also reject guidebooks as a means of asserting authority and agency over their own travel experiences.[33] Well-known writers of the time, such as Vernon Lee (Violet Paget) (1856–1935),[34] were often particularly adamant about their rejection of the guidebook. The category of traveller, where many women writers felt

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[31] Lori Brister, *Looking for the Picturesque: Tourism, Visual Culture, and the Literature of Travel in the Long Nineteenth Century* (The George Washington University, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2015), 28.
[32] Sophia Sampaio, "'I wish something would happen to you, my friend!': tourism and liberalism in E. M. Forster's Italian novels," *Textual Practice* 26, no. 5 (2012), 899.
[33] Brister, *Looking for the Picturesque*, 28.
[34] Vernon Lee was the pen name of British writer Violet Paget. Lee was primarily an art historian whose work focused on aesthetics. She lived in an Italian expat community outside of Florence.

they belonged, was emphasized by expressing contempt for guides. In *The Sentimental Traveller* (1908) Lee explained: "I had been brought up to despise persons who travelled in order to 'sight-see'. *We* never saw any sights," nor did she see anything that was "registered in guide-books."[35] An accomplished art historian, Lee actively constructed herself as an expert and a traveller, not a tourist. By natural extension, this included a rejection of the guidebook and the prepackaged experience it offered.

Other women writers on both sides of the Atlantic echoed this rejection in their own published writing. Lilian Bell (1867–1929), an American novelist and travel writer, was offered "ten Baedekers" by her brother-in-law before departing for the Continent,[36] but she refused his offer, confessing to the readers of her travel account that she found guidebooks to be "a bore."[37] Another American novelist, Adeline Trafton (1845–1920?) mocked the inability of guidebooks readers to do anything that was not pre-planned, noting a tourist who "gravely opened his guide-book... to assure himself that everything was proceeding according to Murray."[38] Other women referred to descriptions in guidebooks in order to demonstrate that they rejected what they saw as an overly-scripted way of travelling. Mary Elizabeth Blake (1840–1907) longed for independence from the guidebook, one that allowed for "that delicious feeling of satisfaction which warms your very soul when it seems that you yourself unaided and unguided have stumbled upon some rare and unknown spot."[39]

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[35] Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), *The Sentimental Traveller: Notes on Places* (London: John Lane, 1908), 7–8.
[36] Lilian Bell, *As Seen By Me* (New York; London: Harper & Brothers, 1900), 2.
[37] Bell, *As Seen By Me*, 157.
[38] Adeline Trafton, *An American Girl Abroad* (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1872), 176.
[39] Mary Elizabeth Blake, *A Summer Holiday in Europe* (Boston: Lee Shepherd, 1890), 159.

Yet, while some women writers wanted to identify themselves as travellers, rather than tourists or sight-seers, and criticized general guidebooks as part of that process, they might nonetheless make use of such texts. Women's diverse and sometimes conflicting feelings towards guidebooks was a recurring theme in female travel writing from the period which could appear even within the same text. While writing a travel account of her trip to Europe in 1890, Mary Elizabeth Blake advised her readers to bring "A small satchel suspended from the shoulders or the waist, to hold guide-book, tickets, and purse..."[40] Yet, while her list of things to bring acknowledged the necessity of having a guidebook close to hand, she also expressed her distaste for them, particularly Baedeker, against whom she had a "grudge":

> [Baedeker] is so peremptory and omnipresent. There is no getting away from him if he once joins your company. Your route is laid out like the list of a washerwoman with every article counted and checked. So many days, so many places; so much money, so much good cheer. Here you are to turn to the right, there to the left. This is the spot you are to look upon at sunrise, and the other at sunset. For Heaven's sake, is there nothing to be left to chance or inspiration?[41]

This grudging acceptance or use of guidebooks emerges frequently in many women's accounts of reading guidebooks, suggesting more complex feelings towards guidebooks and their use than the appeal to tourist, rather than traveller, identities might suggest. General guidebooks were useful tools to be kept close to hand, but rather than simply consuming the text and following its instructions, Blake showed confidence in rejecting prescribed advice for her own experience or leaving some aspects of the journey to chance. Her comments suggest that she not only read guidebooks and was aware of their contents, she challenged both their authority and their control over her journey.

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[40] Blake, *A Summer Holiday in Europe*, xii.
[41] Blake, *A Summer Holiday in Europe*, 159.

American writer and feminist Eliza Archard Conner (1838–1912) also expressed mixed feelings when it came to guides. Throughout her travel account, *Abroad, a Summer in Europe* (1883), Conner frequently and openly admits to reading both American and European guidebooks. Yet she also expressed distaste for the inaccuracies she found, and noted that few guidebooks "read as though their authors have never been over the ground themselves" protesting that guidebook authors "almost without exception, simply sat down and copied a lot of musty, antediluvian rubbish."[42] Her complaints about the accuracy of the guidebook and authors that had never really experienced the places they described was another common trope in travel literature, a type of criticism of which guidebook writers were all too aware. In response, many guidebook writers themselves often addressed this issue directly in their prefaces, insisting that they had direct and authentic knowledge of the areas they addressed.[43]

There was also no shortage of criticism when it came to guidebooks and the tourist experience from famous literary women. The acclaimed American novelist Edith Wharton (1862–1937) once wrote,

> One of the rarest and most delicate pleasures of the continental tourist is to circumvent the compiler of his guide-book... it is now almost impossible to plan a tour of exploration without finding... that their author has already been over the ground, has tested the inns, measured the kilometres, and

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[42] Conner, *Abroad, a Summer in Europe*, 28.

[43] Guidebook writers as early as Mariana Starke in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries had been adamant that they had collected their information from personal experience. For secondary sources which address this, See Caroline Palmer "'I Will Tell Nothing That I Did Not See': British Women's Travel Writing, Art, and the Science of Connoisseurship, 1776–1860," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 51, no. 3 (2015): 248–68; Innes M. Keighren, Bill Bell, and Charles W. J. Withers eds. "Writing the Truth: Claims to Credibility in Exploration and Narrative," In *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Similarly, Murray's guides noted that information which had been obtained "on the spot" was always welcome, see John Murray [Octavian Blewitt], *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy* (London: J. Murray, 1878), preface.

> distilled from the massive tomes of Kugler, Burckhardt and Morelli a portable estimate of the local art and architecture.[44]

Yet Wharton also admitted that one could not become a traveller without first being a tourist, particularly in the Italian context:

> As with the study of Italian pictures, so it is with Italy herself. The country is divided, not in *partes tres* but in two: a foreground and a background. The foreground is the property of the guide-book and of its product, the mechanical sight-seer; the background, that of the dawdler, the dreamer and the serious student of Italy. This distinction does not imply any depreciation of the foreground. It must be known thoroughly before the middle distance can be enjoyed: there is no shortcut to an intimacy with Italy.[45]

Wharton therefore expressed both a rejection and acceptance of the guidebook within the same work, displaying that even those who disliked guidebook reading still could not escape the fact that they were useful and necessary for some. Wharton positioned the guidebook and the tourist as being the first step in becoming a traveller, the true student of Italy. The latter could not be achieved without first paying one's dues as a tourist, initially making the guidebook a necessity.

Women guidebook writers also specifically advocated for the critical reading and selection of guides based on the needs of each individual traveller as a way of creating value for their own guides. Advising readers in *European Travel for Women* (1900) on which kinds of guidebooks to take on a journey, Jones cautioned:

> Remember that it is no part of the business of a guide-book to make up your mind for you; it is written to be useful to as many different kinds of people as possible, and as you cannot be equally interested in everything, try to ask someone who knows your tastes what you had better make a point of seeing, and what you may omit.[46]

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[44] Edith Wharton, *Italian Backgrounds* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1905), 85.
[45] Wharton, *Italian Backgrounds*, 177.
[46] Jones, *European Travel for Women*, 60–61.

Many guidebooks themselves therefore actively promoted critical reading of their own work and those of others. Jones' advice recognized that general interest guidebooks were written for a broad audience and that individuals would need to select additional texts that addressed their own interests. Therefore, Jones' comment not only argued that women readers should apply a critical view of guidebooks, it effectively promoted the utility of her own guide as a supplementary text to broader guidebooks that did not fulfill the needs of women travellers. Since guidebooks provided only guidelines, women who sought different information were encouraged to alter the advice guidebooks offered to fit their own individual needs and interests.

Sometimes, stereotypes about guidebooks were used by women guidebook writers to highlight the usefulness or authenticity of their own guides. Inaccurate or incorrect information in guidebooks based on hearsay or authors who had never travelled to the places they described was one such guidebook stereotype. Mary Perkins Ives Abbott (1857–1904) explained: "The fairy guidebooks tell of stands where *voitures de remise* [delivery cars] may be hired without trouble or delay… but few have found such a favoured oasis."[47] Abbott's reference to "fairy guidebooks" points to guides whose content was inaccurate because the writer had not actually been there in person, thus they provided only idealized or fabled information. To remedy this mistake, Abbott, who had been there in person, helpfully provided a solution to this problem in her own guidebook. Comments such as these demonstrate that women guidebook writers were more than aware of mistakes or inaccuracies they found while reading

[47] Mary Perkins Abbott, *A Woman's Paris: A Handbook of Every-Day Living in the French Capital* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1900), 74.

guides, and some writers seized the opportunity to present their own guidebooks as better alternatives, carving out a piece of the market for themselves.

Reading general interest guidebooks was an important part of travel culture more broadly, one where women were active, sometimes critical, participants. If women readers felt that the guidebook did not provide them with information they needed, or if they felt too constrained by its advice, they did not plough ahead simply because the guidebook said they should. Travelling women's guidebook reading was complex and influenced by numerous factors, including whether or not they intended to publish or share their writing, what their intentions were in recording their experiences, and whether or not they were actively seeking to construct one particular travel identity over another. For writers of guides, their observations or criticisms were also used as a way of creating a need for their own work, and by pointing out the errors they sought to correct, demonstrated the utility of their own texts.

II) Women Readers Writing Guidebooks

In a competitive travel literature market, producing a guidebook that would sell meant finding a new audience, new aesthetic, or more accurate and reliable content. To do this, women writers needed knowledge of the guidebook market to find new information for their readers or understand how to present old information from a new angle. For writers, reading guidebooks was akin to market research and served as preparation for a guidebook which would fill an underserved niche.

Guidebooks had a diverse audience, including women who wrote practical or scholarly guidebooks. As her expertise in Italian art grew, Mary Berenson aspired to write guidebooks on Italian art held in famous museums as a way of making a name for

herself in the art world.[48] While writing her first guide, Berenson explained to her friend Hannah Whithall Smith (1832–1911): "I would like to arrange to have that [the guidebook] printed along with a complete handbook to the paintings in Venice which I could do, and which wants to be done very much. Ruskin and Hare do not begin to cover the ground — to say nothing else."[49] Berenson's point of comparison for her own work was that of John Ruskin and Augustus J. Hare, the former possibly the most recognizable scholar of art history in the early-nineteenth century, and the latter, a scholarly guidebook writer.[50] It is not surprising then that Berenson's own work, *Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court* (1894), would have sought to improve upon what was already available in the guidebook market.[51] Despite negative associations attached to tourism, and thus the guidebook, both first-time travellers and experienced voyagers alike read and discussed them and their reading had an impact on their own guidebook writing.

Reading general interest guides shaped the content of specialized ones, like scholarly guides, including those written by women. Susan Horner noted that while looking at paintings in Florence, "Murray tells us he is not an old master, yet his style appeared to me to belong to an early period."[52] When it came time to write her own

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[48] Mary Berenson, "Letter to Robert Pearsall Smith, November 24, 1893" in *Mary Berenson: A Self Portrait from her Letters and Diaries*, eds. Barbara Strachey and Jaye Samuels (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd.), 54.
[49] Correspondence of Mary Berenson to Hannah Whitall, April 10, 1892, LMC 1982, Hannah Whitall Smith Papers, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
[50] For more on the Berensons' break from Ruskin's teachings, see Ilaria Della Monica, "Notes on Mary Berenson's Diary (1891–1893)," *Visual Resources* 33, no. 1 (2017): 148–49.
[51] Mary Logan [Mary Berenson], *Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court*, Kyrle Pamphlets, 2 (London: Innes, 1894).
[52] Susan Horner journal entry between January 13, 1848 and 31 December 31, 1849, Folio 15, Horner Collection, British Institute of Florence, Florence, Italy.

guide, Horner's reading of general guidebooks like Murray provided her with an understanding of what was missing or needed revision in the current market. Horner's guidebook, *Walks in Florence* (1873) was praised so highly for its art history and history scholarship that it was later credited as being one of the best scholarly guidebooks to the city. Baedeker directed his readers to Horner's work in the 1899 edition of the handbook to Italy as a more in-depth look at the city than he could provide, while almost forty years later, Edmund G. Gardiner gave it a nod in his Medieval Towns guide, *The Story of Florence* (1910).[53]

Julia Ady Cartwright (1851–1924), an art historian who specialized in the Italian Renaissance, was also influenced by guidebooks already available to readers.[54]

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[53] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Italy: Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker, First Part: Northern Italy, Including Leghorn, Florence, Ravenna, The Island of Corsica,* 11th edition (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1899), 416; Edmund G. Gardner, Nelly Erichsen illus., *The Story of Florence*, Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1900), viii.

[54] Ady was a highly accomplished and very productive writer. For some of her other works, see Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Mantegna and Francia* (London: Sampson Low & Co., 1881); Julia Cartwright [Ady] and Alexander Henry Hallam Murray, *The Pilgrims' Way from Winchester to Canterbury ... With forty-six illustrations by A. Quinton* (London: J. S. Virtue & Co., 1893); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Sacharissa; some account of Dorothy Sidney, Countess of Sunderland, her family and friends, 1617–1684* (London: Seeley & Co., 1893); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Jules Bastien-Lepage* (London: Seeley and co., limited; New York: Macmillan and co., 1894); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Madame. A life of Henrietta, daughter of Charles I and Duchess of Orleans* (London: Seeley & Co., 1894); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart. His life & work* (London: J. S. Virtue & Co., 1894); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *The Early Work of Raphael* (London: Seeley and co., limited; New York: Macmillan and co., 1895); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Raphael in Rome* (New York: Macmillan, 1895); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *G. F. Watts, Royal Academician. His life & work* (London: J. S. Virtue & Co., 1896); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Jean François Millet. His life and letters* (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1896); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Beatrice d'Este, Duchess of Milan, 1475–1497. A study of the Renaissance* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1899); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *The Painters of Florence from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century* (London: John Murray, 1901); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, 1474–1539; a study of the Renaissance* (London: John Murray, 1903); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *The Life and Art of Sandro Botticelli* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1904); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Raphael* (London: Duckworth & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & co., 1905); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Baldassare Castiglione the perfect courtier, his life and letters, 1478–1529* (London: John Murray, 1908); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Hampton Court* (London: Wells Gardner & Co., 1910); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Christina of Denmark, Duchess*

Cartwright was a critical reader for the John Murray firm. In 1896, John Murray III asked Cartwright's opinion on the manuscript for the "Introduction to Italian Art" in his Handbook to Italy. In her letters to Murray, Cartwright demonstrates her awareness of the contemporary scholarly discourse in Italian art history as well as the content and merit of guidebooks to Italy. Her response to his question was strong and clear:

> I have no hesitation whatever in advising you to decline the Handbook of Italian Art—The author writes pleasantly & has read J.A. Symonds & Ruskin & a few popular books on art but has absolutely no knowledge of the subject ... & is evidently utterly ignorant of all that modern research has discovered during the last 25 years.[55]

Unmistakably, Cartwright was an expert in her field. Following her advice, Murray did decline the offer of the "Introduction to Italian Art" from the original author, choosing instead to commission Cartwright for the work.[56]

Guidebook reading also influenced writing outside of the genre. Cartwright's knowledge of the guidebooks to Italy impacted her own scholarly writing on Florence. Grant Allen's guidebook *Florence* (1897) had a direct influence on how Cartwright chose to structure her own book on Florentine painters.[57] In a letter to John Murray, Cartwright expressed her concerns:

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of Milan and Lorraine, 1522–1590 (London: John Murray, 1913); Julia Cartwright [Ady], *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance, and Other Studies* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914)

[55] Letter from Julia Ady to John Murray, 1896, MS. 40008, folio 1, Letters to John Murray, publishers, of Julia Ady, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.

[56] Cartwright was not only confident in her knowledge of the current Italian art history scholarship; she was also aware of the value of such knowledge. She successfully negotiated her own contract with Murray. Without the surviving correspondence of John Murray III, we do not know his original offer, but her letters clearly reject his price explaining that she was paid "8 guineas not long ago for a small Introduction of 2,000 words… which was not half the work—& I consider this worth quite ten." Her confidence in her work and her lack of hesitation to demand a better price produced a clear outcome—a receipt of payment confirms that she was successful in bargaining for 10 guineas. See, Letters from Julia Ady to John Murray, 1896, MS. 40008, folio 15–17, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

[57] Grant Allen, *Florence*, Grant Allen's Historical Guides Series (New York: A. Wessels, 1897).

> I am afraid ... a book on Florence would be too much like Grant Allen's little vols. & I should not like to copy his plan … you see not only Grant Allen but Lafenstre has done Florence on this principle while no one since Mrs. Jameson has published a small vol. of Italian Painters Lives which is what so many people tell me they want.[58]

Her knowledge of the kinds of guidebooks and reference material that was already on the market in combination with the desires of her target audience led Cartwright to write *The Painters of Florence* (1901). Although her own text was not a guidebook, it is clear from her letters that the content and style of guidebooks to Florence did influence her choice of genre and topic. Instead of a guidebook, Cartwright published a work which summarized the biographies of the most notable Florentine painters in an accessible way for the general public. Cartwright therefore serves as an important example of how a woman could influence the decisions of one of the largest guidebook companies in the nineteenth century, and whose reading of guidebooks and art historical works on Italy in turn influenced the guidebook market and literature of other genres.

Other female guidebook writers also expressed a desire to provide more information than what was already available on the guidebook market. In a letter to the Accademia di Belle Arti in Perugia, Margaret Symonds remarked that although she was not able to include everything in her co-authored guidebook to the city, "if we have pointed out to the traveller some few more points than those supplied in our English guidebooks, we are happy."[59] As Symonds' aim for her own work was to provide more information than what was already available in English guidebooks (i.e. Murray), it is clear she understood the kinds of guidebooks that were available and the information

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[58] Letters from Julia Ady to John Murray, 1899, MS. 40008, folio 19–20, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.
[59] Correspondence from Margaret Symonds to the Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia, February 19, 1899, folio 3–4, Archives of the Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia, Perugia, Italy.

they contained. This knowledge also came from discussions of guidebooks between writers and their friends and family. Margaret Symonds' sister Katherine had read Murray while touring Italy, remembering two "pictures by Lo Spagna mentioned by Murray, in the chapter House."[60] While on the same trip, Katherine also reported that to explore a nearby castle, they would need lanterns and ladders as she had "heard people at break-fast quoting Baedeker as to the necessity for this."[61] General interest guidebooks offered easy access to information and were read by women travellers both novice and experienced, but they also gave women writers a sense of both the kind and quality of information available, directly influencing the types of guides they chose to write and how they presented the information.

Female-guidebook writers also read guidebooks to glean specific information, usually simple facts, that they later used in their own work. Sometimes this meant copying the information directly from the text, a common practice of guidebook writers from both genders in this period.[62] Louise Imogen Guiney (1861–1920), one of the guidebook writers responsible for *A Summer in England* (1893) wrote to her co-author, Maria Reed (1855–1930) to ask if she should make "a good general list … of all the great European art galleries?" which she said she could base "on eight or ten Baedekers."[63] Similarly, while visiting the Italian paintings in the National Gallery in

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[60] Correspondence from Janet Catherine Symonds to Margaret Vaughan, April 28, 1899, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Papers, Bristol University Archives, Bristol, UK.
[61] Correspondence from Katherine Symonds to Margaret Vaughan, April 1899, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Papers, Bristol University Archives, Bristol, UK.
[62] Pieter François, "If It's 1815, This Must Be Belgium: The Origins of the Modern Travel Guide," *Book History* (Vol.15, 2012): 76.
[63] Correspondence from Louise Imogen Guiney to Maria Reed, (not dated; probably 1891), Women's Rest Tour Association Papers, C1/1.31, 1111-94-M173, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, The United States.

London, guidebook writer Lina Duff Gordon wrote to Margaret Symonds that she travelled "armed with a heavenly guidebook by Cook."[64] Surprised that she had "actually learnt something about some pictures" she wished that she had discovered Cook's guide earlier when writing their guidebook to Perugia, as it "would have been very useful."[65] Duff Gordon recognized that the general interest guide's utility lay in that it had "everything collected together ... as it is so easy to forget which books to refer to."[66] General interest guidebooks thus provided women guidebook writers with easily accessible information that they later used in the process of writing their own guides, linking guidebook reading strongly to guidebook production and indicating that the process was intrinsically intertextual. These examples also demonstrate that while guidebooks were often dismissed as objects for tourists both in historiographical scholarship and contemporary commentaries, they were also used by well-educated experts, who might consider themselves travellers rather than tourists.

Readers of both sexes played a role in the co-creation of general guidebooks through the corrections and revisions they sent to guidebook publishers. Almost every guidebook across all subgenres included a note from the author asking readers to send amendments, errors, or comments to the editor.[67] As places were constantly changing

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[64] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 5, 1897, WAT:I:G:60:H:1–16, folio 15 -15v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[65] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 5, 1897, WAT:I:G:60:H:1–16, folio 15 -15v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[66] Thomas Cook [firm], *Cook's handbook for London* (London: T. Cook & son, 1881); Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 5, 1897, WAT:I:G:60:H:1–16, folio 15 -15v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[67] For more on co-production in nineteenth-century guidebooks see, Alacovska, "The history of participatory practices"; Ana Alacovska, "'Parachute Artists' or 'Tourists With Typewriters': Creative and Co-creative Labor in Travel Guidebook Production," *Communication Culture & Critique* 6, no. 1 (2013): 41–63.

and evolving, guidebook writers and publishers relied on corrections and additions from their readers to maintain the utility of the guide. Since a significant number of their readers were travelling women—and sometimes women guidebook writers themselves—many women were also involved in the production of guidebooks in subtle ways. While the suggested changes that travellers sent to editors of guidebooks have rarely been preserved, some evidence of women's contributions to the editing and revision process that all guides constantly underwent remains.

The working manuscript of *Murray's Handbook to France*, provides one example of this process, with a revision submitted to the firm by a "Miss Cortello" included in the revised edition, detailing a walk and pleasant attractions of the "pretty but scattered village of Varengeville [Varengeville-sur-Mer]."[68] Private correspondence also reveals that female guidebook authors submitted revisions to the Murray franchise. When Janet Ross (1842–1927) agreed to publish her work *Land of Manfred* (1889) with Murray's publishing firm, John Murray III himself gifted her a copy of his guidebook to Italy. While she thought it was a kind gesture, she found *Murray's Handbook to Italy* to be "very behind date" and felt that she could assist him by sending "lots of corrections."[69] Having lived in Italy for years, Ross had accumulated a wealth of knowledge on Italian subjects and the best means of travel within the country. Her corrections to Murray's work, while adding value to subsequent editions, also made her one of the many co-producers of the Murray

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[68] Manuscript of a work by John Murray III for the "Handbook for Travellers" series, with proofs of a second work by Murray for the same series, c.1843–c.1868, MSS.42499–42500, folio 48–49, John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.
[69] Correspondence from Janet Ross to Sir Henry Layard, March 30, 1887, WAT:I E:25:ff1–13, folio 7–8, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

franchise and demonstrates the ways in which women of her background might claim an authoritative role in the production of guidebooks.

Co-production was also present in female-authored practical guidebooks. This is particularly evident in *A Summer in England* (1891), the only guidebook for women that was regularly revised using feedback from an entire association exclusively composed of women, the Women's Rest Tour Association.[70] With recorded member lists for each year, the WRTA association records provide an unprecedented level of documentation of a guidebook's readership. Not only are the members' names and marital status recorded, their addresses were also included. While the majority of these women resided in the United States, other countries included France, Italy, Canada, and England, displaying the international reach of both the association and its guidebook.[71]

As a mutually beneficial association, members were honour-bound to help others by providing any information they found useful after their journey and assisting other members in need when called upon. As *A Summer in England* noted, "[the WRTA's] growth and increasing usefulness is the result of cooperation among its members…"[72] The membership form used to join the WRTA included a list of nine questions, with three directly related to readers' experiences of their guidebook. These included: "Did you discover any errors in our hand-book?; What suggestions can you make in regard to its enlargement and revision?; What books would you propose as

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[70] The WRTA was based in Boston, and although the majority of its members were American, some lived abroad in Europe and Canada.
[71] Women's Rest Tour Association List of Members, January 1910, C1/1.33, 1111-94-M173, folio 77, 70, 61, 14, Women's Rest Tour Association Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute at Harvard University, Boston, United States of America.
[72] WRTA, *A Summer in England*, 6.

additions to our bibliography?"[73] The WRTA grew to 2,193 members by 1910, and with each new member completing this form, it is likely that the WRTA received thousands of answers to the above questions. Since the membership of the WRTA was made up exclusively of women, *A Summer in England* was perhaps the most heavily female co-produced guidebook of the nineteenth-century. *A Summer in England* was therefore not only produced by a group of women, but collective revision was built into the production process, with the result that its readers were constantly involved in sustaining and improving their own reading experience. The guide was not only useful to women because it had been written with them in mind, but it remained useful because women contributed amendments and revisions that ultimately kept the guidebook relevant to its readers. It thus constitutes a prime example of the communications circuit in guidebook production.

Reading and writing of guidebooks was cyclical and heavily interdependent as the distinction between reader and writer blurred. Women were both readers and writers of guides, and it was their knowledge of guidebooks that gave them insights into what they should provide their readers when writing their own work. Guidebook writers of both sexes borrowed information from each other, making guidebooks largely intertextual. Often with a large body of co-producers, updated information from readers was fed back to guidebook producers for future editions. Readers thus played a significant, if largely invisible, role in guidebook production.

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[73] RE: A Summer in England, November 1891, 1111-94-M173, C1/1.32, Women's Rest Tour Association Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute Harvard University, Boston, United States of America.

III) Souvenirs, Diaries, and Memoranda

One of the particularly dynamic ways in which women engaged in guidebook reading was the preservation of guidebooks as spaces of memory. Guidebooks were read before, during, and even after a journey and could be read and used in a variety of ways by the same reader depending on the situation. One rarely discussed use of the guidebook is its role as a souvenir, kept to preserve the memory of one's time abroad. As Jones advised in *European Travel for Women* (1900):

> Do not throw away your guide-books when you are done with them, but send them by post to some one [sic] who will give them house room until you return, as you will find them delightful to refer to, and even a glance at their shabby backs will transport you to Cambridge or Avignon or Palermo just as quick as the wishing-carpet.[74]

Although guidebooks were and continue to be ephemeral objects, many travellers kept and used their guidebooks even after their travels were finished. It is difficult to know specifically how many travellers used guidebooks as souvenirs, however, the frequency of marginalia in guides, the significant number of guidebooks held in personal libraries, and the number of preserved tokens of memory within the pages of guidebooks indicates that the practice was fairly common. Both women who wrote professionally and those who did not write for the public at all used guidebooks in this way. For example, Frances Dupry Wilder, a traveller who left no published writing, used a copy of A.J.C. Hare's *Walks in Florence* (n.d.) on March 29th, 1891, to press flowers she took from the grave of Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861),[75] while Virginia

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[74] Jones, *European Travel for Women*, 62.
[75] See Figure 12. The copy of this work is held at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, shelf number L310m, Augustus Hare, *Walks in Florence* (London: George Allen, n.d.).

Woolf's personal library contained fifteen editions of Baedeker and four editions of the Blue Guide series.[76]

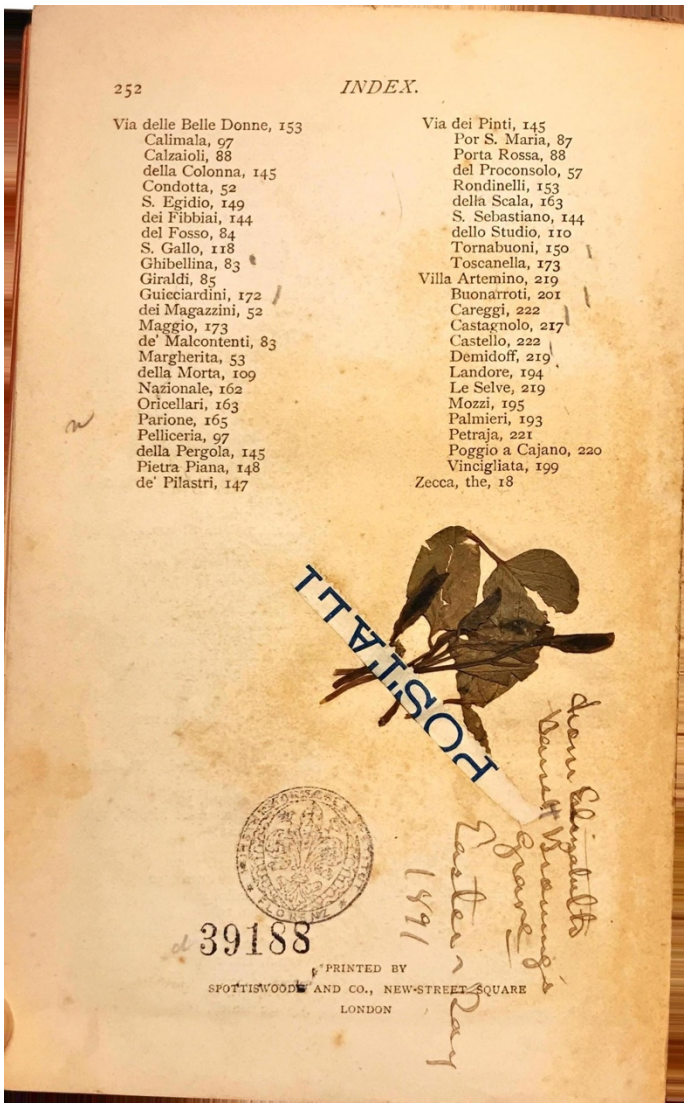


Figure 13 **Flowers pressed into Augustus Hare's Walks in Florence by Frances Dupry Wilder, 1891.**

People frequently wrote their names and the dates of their journey in the title pages of their guidebooks, like Roxanna A. Wentworth (1854–1935) who signed her copy of *Florence* (1884).[77] The Berensons' personal library, in the hills outside of Florence at their Villa i Tatti, also holds a large collection of the Medieval Towns Series guides, many of which include personalized notes and signatures of their authors as well as small annotations in the margins.

[76] See, Julia King and Laila Miletic-Vejzovic, compiled and edited, *The library of Leonard and Virginia Woolf: a short-title catalog* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 2003).
[77] Augustus J.C. Hare, *Florence* (London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1884); See copy held at the Kunsthistorisches Institute in Florence, shelf no. L309d.

The guidebook could also be used to share memories with others through the practice of reading aloud. In her diary, Mary Berenson recorded her friend Miss Macklemore's attempt to cheer up "the invalid," artist James Kerr Lawson (1862–1939). Macklemore's plan involved reading the descriptions from the guidebook of places Macklemore had visited in Rome and "illustrating them with little 'dioramic' photograph books she had bought at the spot."[78] Thus, guidebooks might be used by women as a place to store memories that re-invoked the experience of travel both in private and as a shared experience.

Being travellers and guidebook readers themselves, writers of both sexes evidently understood the role their work played in the preservation of memory as this knowledge was translated into changes in the guidebooks' physiognomy. As the century progressed, guides began including blank pages at the back of the book for the reader's notes or memoranda, such as Lina Duff Gordon's *Guide to Rome* (1905) or Grant Allen's *Venice* (1902), allowing the guidebook to be purposefully used as a notebook or diary.[79] The permeable boundary between the guidebook, reading, other forms of writing, and the frequency with which each influenced the other serves as a demonstration of the intertextuality of the guidebook genre as a whole.

While guidebooks were altering their physical components to better accommodate the common practice of annotation by their readers, women's journal or diary writing often imitated the typeface and narrative style of the guidebook. The

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[78] Mary Berenson diary entry, May 16, 1901, 702923, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti Archives, Harvard University, Florence, Italy. James Kerr-Lawson (1862–1939) was a Scottish-born Canadian painter.
[79] Grant Allen, *Venice*, Grant Allen's Historical Guides Series (Boston: L.C. Page, 1902); Lina Duff Gordon, *Guide to Rome* (London: Lawrence & Bullen Ltd., 1905).

guidebook's layout was textually and visually constructed to draw the reader's eye around the page, enabling them to easily practice "goal-driven reading."[80] Guidebook aesthetics influenced private recordings of travels abroad. The unpublished private travel journal of Emily Jackson, written during her trip to Italy in 1891–1892, was one such text influenced by guidebook style and formatting. In her diary, Jackson underlined the main attractions (signifying bold type), an imitation of how they usually appeared in guidebooks, while named artworks were underscored with a wavy line (to indicate italics) and followed by short descriptions. According to the reading list included in Jackson's diary, Susan and Joanna Horner's scholarly guidebook *Walks in Florence* (1884), was among the books read for the trip.[81] Given the art historical focus of the journal and the art historical

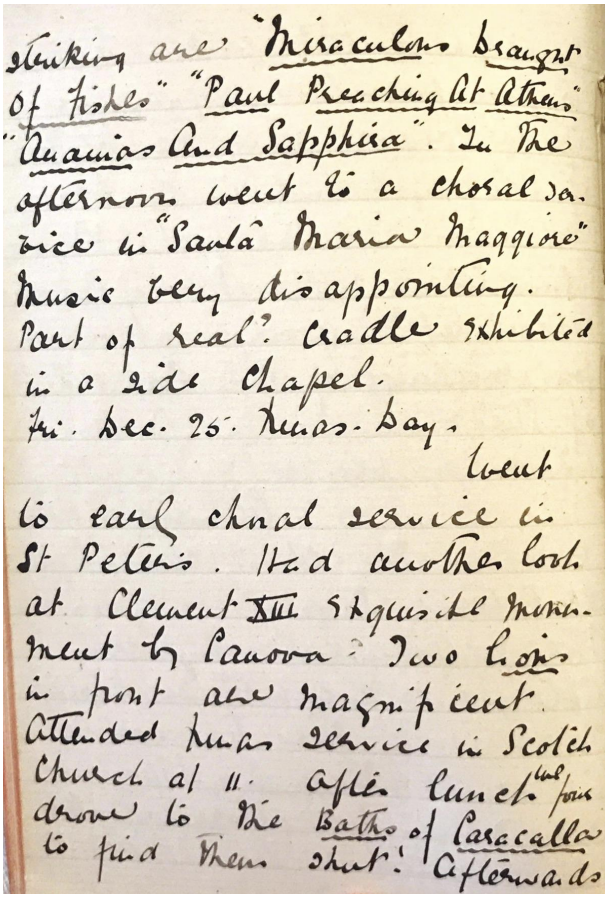

striking are "Miraculous Draught of fishes" "Paul Preaching At Athens" "Ananias And Sapphira". In the afternoon went to a choral service in "Santa Maria Maggiore" Music very disappointing. Part of real? cradle exhibited in a side Chapel.
Fri. Dec. 25. Xmas. Day.
Went to early choral service in St Peters. Had another look at Clement XIII exquisite monument by Canova. Two lions in front are magnificent. Attended Xmas service in Scotch Church at 11. After lunch[eon] drove to the Baths of Caracalla to find them shut! Afterwards

Figure 14 **Travel Journal of Emily Jackson showing guidebook style influences, 1891-1892, MS. 23628, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.**

[80] Goal-driven reading is the act of reading for the purpose of finding a specific piece of information. See, Don Bouwhuis, "Reading as Goal-Driven Behaviour," in *Working Models of Human Perception*, eds. Ben Elsendoorn and Herman Bouma (London: Academic Press, 1989), 352–353; See also, Mike Esbester, "Nineteenth-Century Timetables and the History of Reading," *Book History* 12 (2009): 160.
[81] Travel journal of Emily Jackson, 1891–1892, MS. 23628, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.

focus of Horners' guide, there seems to be a connection between Jackson's private writing and her guidebook reading.

Women authors also found it difficult to resist copying guidebook formatting and narrative styles in their diaries and journals. In her *Continental Travel Diary* (1906-1909), Virginia Woolf recorded her experiences in Italy, including her visit to Florence where, according to historians Julia King and Laila Miletic-Vejzovic, her "drive to avoid guidebook prose becomes the recurring theme of the diary."[82] Despite wanting to avoid copying the writing style of guides, it is evident from her personal library, with its fifteen volumes of Baedeker, that she read guidebooks and was influenced by them to some degree.[83] Similarly, novelist Blanche Willis Howard (1847–1898) in her travel account of a year abroad, counsels her readers to use guidebooks in "moderation,"[84] and yet, in her description of Bludenz she cannot help sounding "guide-bookish" which she admits was because she "copied it word for word from Baedecker [sic]."[85] Evidently, while the use of guidebooks as souvenirs, notebooks, and diaries, impacted the structure and content of the guidebook, guidebooks were culturally influential in shaping both the content and style of women's public and private writing.

Private writing or manuscript writing could serve as an important place where women honed or developed writing that would later transform into published work. Hannah Sikstrom has highlighted the importance of manuscript and diary writing in the

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[82] King and Miletic-Vejzovic eds., *The library of Leonard and Virginia Woolf*
[83] Barbara Lounsberry, *Becoming Virginia Woolf: Her Early Diaries and the Diaries She Read* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2014).
[84] Blanche Willis Howard [von Teuffel], *One Year Abroad* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1877), 4.
[85] Howard, *One Year Abroad*, 107.

development of Susan Horner's published guidebook.[86] The connection between the reading and private writing of a guidebook author and later published work similarly parallels Mary Berenson's diary and her own guidebook writing. Like that of Emily Jackson, the diary of Mary Berenson also included the names of art pieces underlined followed by descriptions, mimicking the same guidebook typeset formatting.[87] The diary included an index and a list of preparatory readings at the back of the book for easy reference, just as one might find in a helpful guide.[88] Berenson's diary writing could have therefore also acted as a means of practising her guidebook writing.

[86] Hannah Sikstrom, "Susan Horner's Journeys, Journals and Gems: The Unpublished Travel Accounts of an Intellectual Woman in Italy," *Women's Writing* 24, no. 2 (2017).
[87] Unpublished diary entry of Mary Berenson, 702915, folio 52, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti Archives, Harvard University, Florence, Italy.
[88] Travel diary of Emily Jackson, 1891–1892, MS. 23628, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland ; Unpublished diary entry of Mary Berenson, 702919–702723,Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti Archives, Harvard University, Florence, Italy.

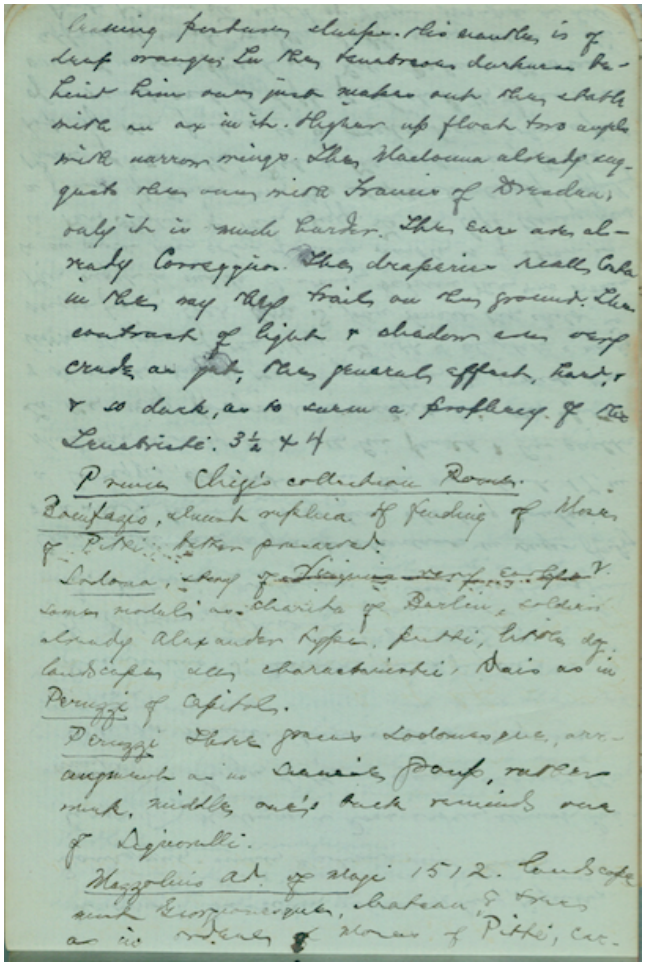


Figure 15 **Page from the diary of Mary Berenson showing the guidebook's influence. Unpublished diary entry of Mary Berenson, 702915, folio 52, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti Archives, Harvard University, Florence, Italy.**

The guidebook was such an influential and seemingly necessary part of a journey that it was often difficult for travellers, particularly those who created any form of writing, to divorce themselves from the style, content, and layout aesthetics that guidebooks employed. Guides were an integral part of travel culture and travel writing and, as a result, their physical characteristics and writing style seeped into the popular consciousness of both women travellers and travel writers. Reading and writing were often cyclical, and just as the guidebook impacted women's public and private writing, so too did the reader's actions change the guidebook itself.

Conclusion

Women's guidebook reading was a complex process, influenced by the cultural discourses around travel and tourism that were prevalent during the period. Women expressed many different positive experiences of reading the guidebook: as an educational tool, as a surrogate travel companion, or as a protective and reassuring presence. Others described guidebooks as hindrances to authentic travel, mimicking long-used tourism tropes that declared the author as being of a higher class of journeyer; a traveller. Yet women used guidebooks even as they challenged the experiences or descriptions they provided.

The reading and writing of guidebooks, perhaps more so than for other forms of literature, were heavily intertwined processes. Readers of guidebooks played a unique role in this genre of literature as they were asked to become directly involved in the text's evolution. Women readers were co-producers of guides, providing feedback, corrections, or questions to editors that shaped how the book was revised and envisioned. Readers were more heavily involved in a guidebook's development than perhaps any other form of literature and thus were often a crucial part of any guidebook's success.

Just as the actions of readers shaped the guidebook, women's recorded experiences of travel show the influence of guidebook reading on manuscript writing, often by women who would later become guidebook writers themselves. Guidebooks also stored memories and could be called upon when a reader sought to relive their journey. Not only did guidebook reading impact women's writing, the reading practices of the guide's audience also had the power to change the physical components of the

books themselves, providing new spaces to accommodate annotation and recorded memory.

Chapter 3
The Scholarly Guidebook

Women writers were exceptionally active in the production of scholarly guides in this period, a trend in women's publishing which has so far gone unremarked in the historiography to date. This chapter explores the scholarly guidebook, arguing that this subgenre offered women interested in pursuing scholarly research and receiving public recognition for their work a space to do so in the late-nineteenth century. Of women contributing to the three guidebook subgenres this thesis identifies, the majority of women writers chose to produce scholarly guidebooks. Of the thirty guidebooks written by women in my sample, 73% (twenty-two titles) are categorized as scholarly. These numbers suggest that the overwhelming majority of women who chose to write guidebooks claimed some level of expertise in the study of art and history and sought to share this knowledge publicly and for profit. This chapter focuses exclusively on women's scholarly guidebook publishing, identifying, and analyzing the ways in which these guides were constructed and the resulting attention their work received, in order to provide insights into trends in women's scholarly guidebook writing. By delving more deeply into the particular ways in which scholarly guides were constructed for the imagined reader, how writers obtained and used resources, and the kinds of responses they received from their readership we can better understand how women practised scholarly guidebook writing.

Scholars have identified the guidebook as a space where women showcased their intellectual capital in the earlier half of the century. Focusing on early-nineteenth century female art historians, Hilary Fraser argues that women's scholarly writing has

often been disguised as other forms of writing because the "less prestigious genres," such as forms of travel writing, enabled women with more freedom to "explore prohibited territory under cover and to find an authoritative voice."[1] Guidebooks, Fraser argues, were one such outlet, as they offered "a stepping stone to higher forms of art criticism and history."[2] Likewise, Caroline Palmer also identifies the guidebook as a literary genre that women could use to gain recognition for their connoisseurship when writing art history.[3] While both Fraser and Palmer's examination of female guidebook writing focuses mainly on the early-nineteenth century writer Mariana Starke, their arguments are also relevant to women who wrote scholarly guidebooks in the latter-half of the nineteenth century and in disciplines outside of art history. However, both Palmer and Fraser's studies only briefly touch upon guides as one avenue for scholarly writing within the larger travel writing genre. As a result, the scholarly guidebook and its women authors in this period have yet to be analyzed in real depth. This chapter offers a sharper focus on the guidebook and seeks to further illuminate the genre as an avenue to claiming scholarly authority by exploring the ways in which women accessed and pursued this form of writing.

Women authors of scholarly guidebooks in the late-nineteenth century have garnered increasing attention in recent years. In art historical scholarship, Ilaria della Monica argues that Mary Costelloe Berenson's *The Guide to the Italian Pictures at*

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[1] Hilary Fraser, "Girl guides: travel, translation, ekphrasis," in *Women Writing Art History in the Nineteenth Century: Looking Like a Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 63.
[2] Fraser, "Girl guides," 66–67.
[3] Caroline Palmer, "'I Will Tell Nothing That I Did Not See': British Women's Travel Writing, Art, and the Science of Connoisseurship, 1776–1860," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 51, no. 3 (2015): 248–68.

Hampton Court (1894) and Bernard Berenson's *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance* (1894) should both be understood as a "joint conceptual effort by the two art historians."[4] Yet, despite these important findings, there has been no discussion of Mary Berenson's relationship with other women guidebook writers and illustrators, nor how these relationships may have influenced all female scholars and guidebook writers involved. Lastly, and most importantly to this chapter, Hannah Sikstrom has examined Susan Horner's diaries, arguing that her life writing was a means through which Horner constructed her identity as a scholar and gained authority.[5] Sikstrom's focus is Horner's life writing as it influenced her identity and later published work, and while this chapter builds on Sikstrom's argument, its main focus is the guidebook rather than the life writing.

The chapter is divided into two parts: the first outlines the content and characteristics of the scholarly guidebook subgenre and its imagined readers. Using thirty-two scholarly guidebooks authored by both men and women, this section outlines the general structure of the scholarly guidebook and provides examples of different kinds of guides that fall within this subgenre. From this basic understanding of the scholarly guide, we then explore their audience, considering why readers might select this type of guidebook over others. As argued in Chapter One, new genres emerged when the desires of readers were not being met by the larger general interest market. The second section of the chapter explores a particular female-authored guidebook in

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[4] Ilaria Della Monica, "Mary Berenson and *The Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court,*" *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 19, no. 28 (2019): 1.
[5] Hannah Sikstrom, "Susan Horner's Journeys, Journals and Gems: The Unpublished Travel Accounts of an Intellectual Woman in Italy," *Women's Writing* 24, no. 2 (2017): 227–47; Hannah Sikstrom, "Performing the Self: Identity-Formation in the Travel Accounts of Nineteenth-Century British Women in Italy" (Oxford, Oxford University, 2015).

more depth, *Walks in Florence (*1873), the first scholarly guidebook to Italy written by women, Susan and Joanna Horner, and examines reader responses to the text. As the first of its kind, *Walks in Florence* established a model for women's scholarly guidebook writing in the period. The chapter examines the Horner's processes of gathering research, constructing the text, and the reception of this important work. Important elements that ensured its success provide insights into trends which can be later traced to other women authors within this subgenre. An extended discussion of the boundaries between professional and amateur historical and art historical writing as it relates to the career development of women guidebook authors will be explored in Chapter Six.

I) The Scholarly Guide & The Imagined Reader

In 1903, Charles Harris wrote an article for *The Bookman* examining Baedeker's role in creating the modern travel guidebook. Harris explained: "The guide-book, as we commonly understand it, is rightly intended for the use of the great body of travellers and has certain necessary limitations on that account."[6] By the "common guidebook," the one used by the largest number of travellers, Harris was referring to the general interest guide: the subgenre of guides like Baedeker that dominated the market at the end of the century. The limitations of general interest guidebooks, as identified in Chapter One, was that they were unable to provide all the information that every traveller might desire and still maintain their portability and functional qualities. Harris further explained that Baedekers were "for the average traveller" and that those who

[6] Charles Harris, "Baedeker and the Modern Guide-Book," *The Bookman; a Review of Books and Life (1895–1933)* 17, no. 5 (July 1903): 495.

had "special knowledge, and therefore special wants, must look for aid elsewhere."[7] Travellers of both genders who were especially keen to develop their knowledge abroad could find their "special wants" better fulfilled by the scholarly guidebook subgenre, texts which put art and history into focus.

As the previous chapter argues, many guidebook readers had complex feelings towards guidebooks and often negatively associated general interest guides with mass-tourism.[8] Publishers of guidebooks responded to this anti-tourist sentiment by creating scholarly guides, texts that appealed to those who wanted to claim a traveller identity and placed rigorous scholarship and an appreciation for art and history at the forefront. Like the practical guide, the scholarly subgenre was created for a group of travellers who yearned for something different than a general interest guide. Both male and female writers not usually associated with large guidebook franchises had more access to this corner of the market.

Scholarly guidebook authors strategically positioned their guides as offering more in-depth history and art history than what was available in general interest guides.[9] Scholarly guides usually focused on one specific geographical area, such as a town, city, or region (e.g., Perugia, Rome, or Tuscany) so that they would be able to deliver more precise and detailed information. Some women wrote scholarly guides with a focus on art, such as artist [Camilla] Edith Harwood's (1866–1926) *Notable*

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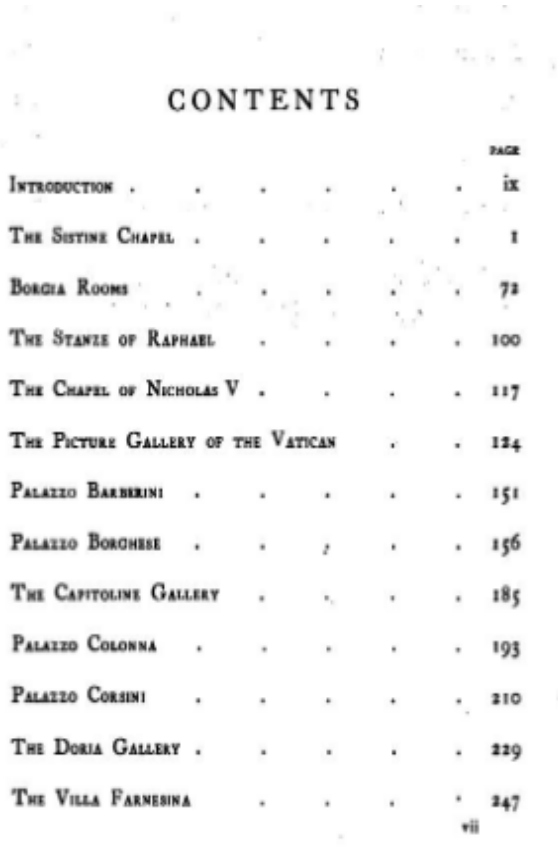
[7] Harris, "Baedeker and the Modern Guide-Book," 495.
[8] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 175.
[9] The Medieval Towns series is a great example of this, as is Grant Allen's Historical Guides series. See, Grant Allen, *Florence*, Grant Allen's Historical Guides, (New York: A. Wessels, 1897); J. W. and A. M. Cruickshank, *The Umbrian Towns*, Grant Allen's Historical Guides, (London: G. Richards, 1901).

Pictures in Rome (1907) and *Notable Pictures in Florence* (1905),[10] or art historian Mary Berenson's *Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court* (1894).[11] Others focused on religion, such as British suffragist Mildred Anna Rosalie Tuker's (1888–1953) *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome* (1897).[12] Yet, the most common scholarly guides were those that addressed history and art history together, such as those in the Medieval Towns Series, Grant Allen's Historical Guides, or writer Leader Scott's [Lucy Baxter] (1837–1902), *The Castle of Vincigliata*, (1897).[13] As noted above, for Italy, the earliest scholarly guidebook by a female author was *Walks in Florence* (1873) by Susan (1816–1900) and Joanna Horner (1823–1916).[14]

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[10] Edith Harwood, *Notable Pictures in Rome* (London; New York: Dent & Co., E.P. Dutton, 1907); Edith Harwood, *Notable Pictures in Florence: A Guide to the Masterpieces in that City* (London; New York: Dent & Co., E.P. Dutton, 1905).
[11] Mary Logan [Mary Berenson], *Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court* 2 (London: The Kyrle Pamphlets, 1894).
[12] Mildred Anna Rosalie Tuker, *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome, Part 1: The Christian Monuments of Rome* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1897).
[13] Grant Allen's Historical Guides were published by Grant Richards publishing company between 1897–1912; Leader Scott [Lucy Baxter], *The Castle of Vincigliata* (Florence: G. Barbèra, 1897).
[14] Evidence suggests that while both women's names are listed, Susan did most of the writing given that her diaries show the details of her work and record her process.

While the organization of scholarly guides could vary, they most often followed a chronological order that began with a general history of the area, usually beginning in antiquity and ending at the present day. After this general history, most guides then proceeded to break the city or area up into manageable sections and dividing these by chapter. The author could choose to do this either through reference to physical space (city quarters or a select number of streets), or they could continue chronologically. Most scholarly guidebooks, like general guides, also frequently had separate sections for important galleries, museums, or historic buildings. These institutions contained such a plethora of



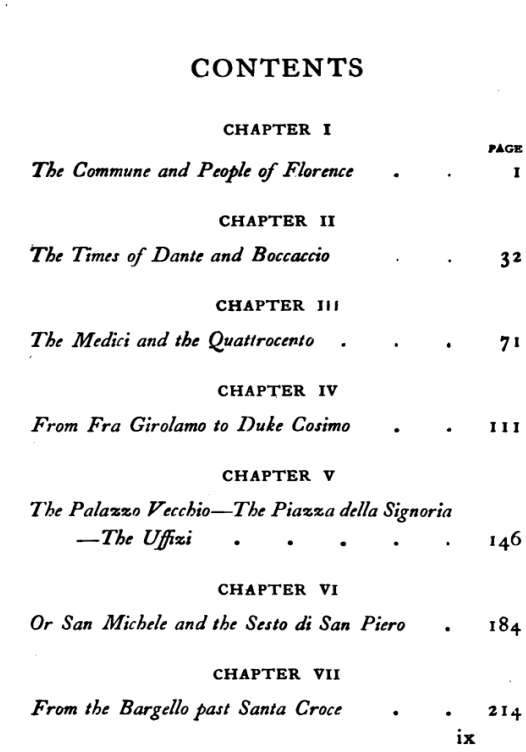
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Figure 16 **Example of dividing the chapters physical elements like rooms/galleries. *Notable Pictures in Rome* by Edith Harwood, 1907.**

important artwork that they often took up a significant amount of textual space and usually needed their own chapter(s).



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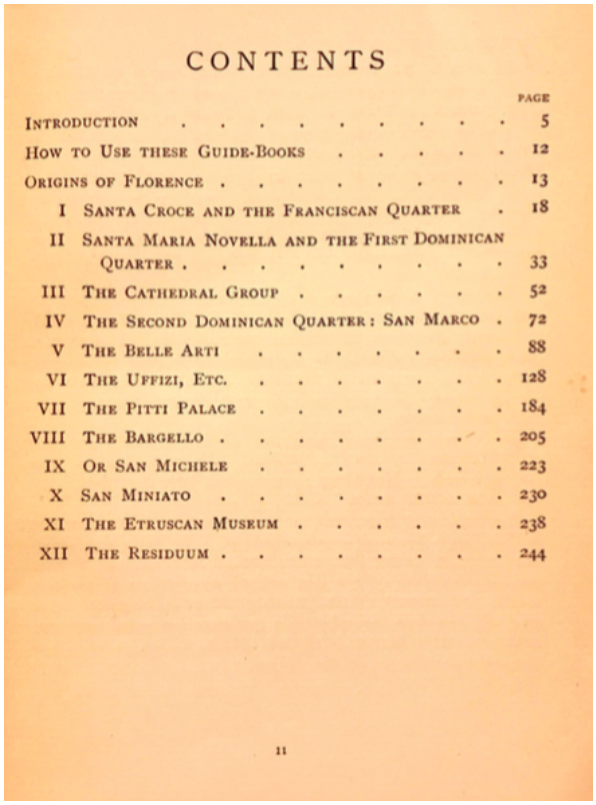
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Figure 18 **Example of dividing the chapters chronologically. *The Story of Florence*, Thomas Okey, 1900.**



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Figure 17 **Example of dividing the chapters by quarters of the city and major tourist sites, such as museums.**

As with general interest guidebooks, scholarly guides generally included more visual material of increasingly better quality as the century progressed, aided in part by improvements to publishing technology and lowered printing costs.[15] Visual aids were often provided to readers in the form of woodcuts or line drawings of buildings, artworks, or panoramic scenes. Guidebook writers could provide their readers with a map or plan of the area discussed but some chose not to include these visual

[15] Michael Twyman, "The Illustration Revolution" in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 6., ed. David McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

components.[16] While images, maps, and plans could be helpful in allowing the reader to match the information they read with the space around them, guidebooks could also be seen as distracting. As Dorothy Nevile Lees explained in her travelogue:

> ...though the traveller may have the gift of learning, and know all the history of the city, and all churches and pictures, and have laid to heart the blessings and cursings of Mr. Ruskin, and bowed his neck to the yoke of Baedeker and Cook, and have not imagination, it profiteth him nothing, for he who comes to Florence without imagination shall never see her as she really is.[17]

Guidebooks were thought by some to take the focus away from the reader's surroundings and prevent achieving true appreciation of the art and architecture. Reproduction images of the artworks no doubt also contributed to this effect and is perhaps the reason why some guidebook authors chose not to include images or maps in their guides.

How many images, their focus, and their level of detail varied widely from guide to guide and this had cost implications. In the earlier part of the century, images were more expensive to produce and therefore increased the price of the book. For example, from the 1860s onwards Murray's guidebooks included full-page wood engraving prints with the other side left blank on higher quality paper than that which was used for the text.[18] Quality materials and good presswork ensured a clear image, but the guidebook was more costly as a result, both in terms of space and materials. Higher production costs such as these were likely one of the reasons why Murray could not compete with Baedeker's lower prices by the end of the century. On average,

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[16] *Walks in Florence* was one such guide that did not include a large and detailed city map.
[17] Dorothy Nevile Lees, *Scenes and Shrines in Tuscany* (London: J. M. Dent & co., 1907), 51.
[18] Twyman, "The Illustration Revolution," 123.

scholarly guides included fewer images and visual aids than general guides, however, those that did include images were often of higher quality and greater variety.[19]

Unlike general interest or practical guidebooks, scholarly guides frequently did not include advertisements for travel-related products or services outside of the promotional material of booksellers or the publisher's recent titles. While general guides like Baedeker avoided advertisements in an attempt to seem unbiased when it came to which establishments they recommended, scholarly guides seem to have avoided advertisements to create further distance between their content and the perceived trappings of tourism in order to reinforce the perception that scholarly guides were a more serious form of literature.[20]

Scholarly guidebooks were frequently more costly than general interest or practical guidebooks. In 1873, *Walks in Florence* was priced at 21s,[21] 15s in 1884,[22] and $4 on the U.S. market in 1897.[23] By contrast, a Murray's Handbook cost on average just under 11s in the latter half of the nineteenth century,[24] a Baedeker's handbook cost 6s in 1892,[25] and Grifi's *Saunterings in Florence* was 3s6d in 1898.[26]

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[19] For example, the quality of the line drawings was one of the most commented upon and praised elements of the Medieval Towns Series in the periodical press.
[20] For Baedeker and Murray's use of advertisements, see David M. Bruce, "Baedeker: The Perceived 'Inventor' of the Formal Guidebook - a Bible for Travellers in the 19th Century," In *Giants of Tourism*, eds. Richard Butler and Roslyn A. Russell (Wallingford, Oxfordshire, UK: CABI, 2010), 100.
[21] "Advertisements & Notices," *The Pall Mall Gazette (London, England)*, February 10, 1873, British Library Newspapers, Part I 1800–1900: 16.
[22] US Bureau of Education, Catalog of "A.L.A" Library: 5000 Volumes for a Popular Library, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 405.
[23] A.L. Burt, "Books Received: For the week ending December 18, 1806," *Outlook (1893–1924)* 55, no. 1 (January 2, 1897): 100.
[24] Gráinne Goodwin and Gordon Johnston, "Guidebook publishing in the nineteenth century: John Murray's 'Handbooks for Travellers'," *Studies in Travel Writing* 17 no.1 (2013): 49.
[25] Goodwin et al., "Guidebook publishing", 49.
[26] "Multiple Advertisements and Notices (Saunterings in Florence)," *The Standard (London, England)*, September 5, 1898, British Library Newspapers, Part II 1800–1900, 1.

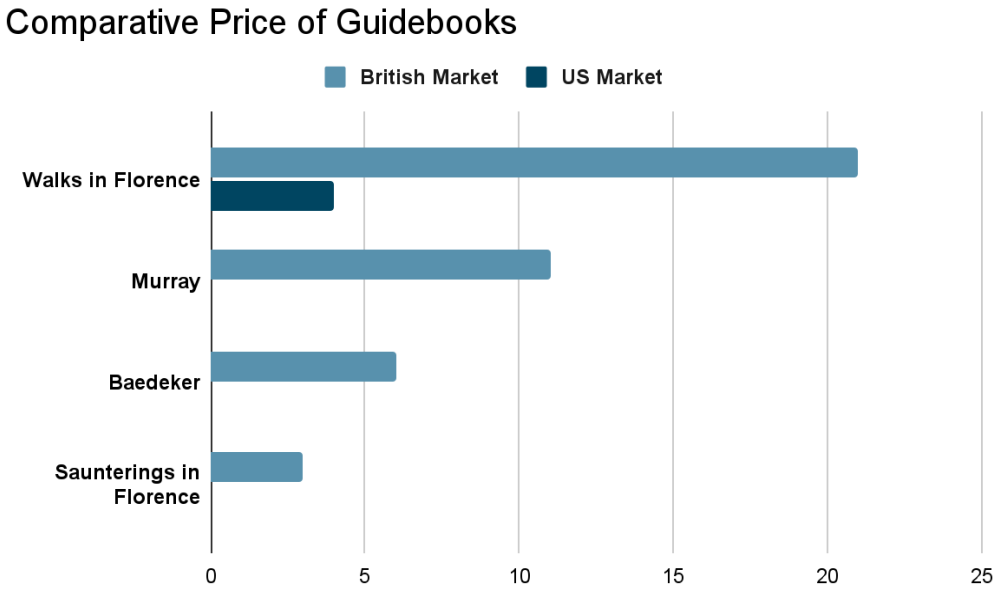


Figure 19 **Comparative Price of Guidebooks**

Employing the Book Production Cost Database, scholars like Alexis Weedon have used book prices to conduct economic studies of the Victorian publishing market. These studies have found that books in the high-price bracket ranged from 10s1d to over 40s, the mid-price bracket ranged from 3s7d to 10s, and the low price 1d to 3s6d.[27] Murray's guide thus rested on the edge between the mid and high ranges, while the Horners' work fell firmly in the higher price range; Baedeker stayed within the mid-range, and Grifi's work fell in the low bracket. If positioned another way:

> A Murray's *Handbook to North Italy* in the 1890s would cost a teacher around 22% of his weekly income, a clergyman 13%, and a solicitor just 2%. By the close of the century in the English guidebook market, where Murray was competing with Black, Stanford and Ward Lock, the average price of a Murray's Handbook was just over 8/-, 3/- more than the nearest competitor.[28]

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[27] Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market 1836–1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2003), 105.
[28] Goodwin et al., "Guidebook publishing", 49.

The implication of this price difference meant that scholarly guidebooks were usually affordable only to a certain demographic. Readers could borrow scholarly guides from libraries or buy them second-hand at a reduced cost, but their initial purchase cost was prohibitive to lower-middle class travellers. Both the content of the book and its expense suggests that it was directed at an upper-middle class audience.

If we approach the scholarly guidebook from the perspective of an imagined reader, we can gain a better understanding of the desired audience a guidebook author sought to reach and make some inferences about what might have motivated them to select a scholarly guide over the number of other choices available. The scholarly guide was marketed as a text for someone who wanted to spend more time and energy learning about the places they visited through art and historical scholarship. This implied that the reader was a more serious student of art and history than someone with a general interest guide, and as a result, indicated that they might seek to claim the identity of *traveller* rather than *tourist,* even though, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, in practice, travellers and tourists were often more alike than contemporary stereotypes might suggest.[29] This is reflected in both the topical focus of scholarly guides but also their visual content and advertisements (or lack thereof). If the reader was someone in search of a guidebook with more rigorous scholarship, this also implied that they already had a certain level of education and cultural exposure. Such an education might suggest that the reader came from a middle or upper-class background where such an education was within financial reach. The higher price of scholarly guides overall also reflects the intended target audience, one within a certain financial bracket and a certain

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[29] Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 161.

class of society. In addition, given the popularity of travel for the upper and middle classes in this period, the reader would also know others who travelled and perhaps would have discussed or shared advice or experiences.[30] We can imagine that the target reader of the scholarly guide subgenre was someone from the upper-middle class, educated, and socially well-connected within the community of travellers.

As has already been noted in Chapter Two, readers were also writers, and this had important implications for guidebook production. If we examine the female authors of scholarly guidebooks, a correlation between reader and writer becomes evident. By and large, we can observe from Appendix A that these women writers were well educated, socially well-connected, and members of the upper-middle class.[31] While from diverse educational, religious, cultural, and generational backgrounds, all the women scholarly guidebook writers examined in this study demonstrate these characteristics. The important link between reader and writer also suggests why the majority of women chose to write guidebooks in this particular subgenre, and why they were ultimately successful; the subgenre offered them a place to showcase their intellectual capital and they had insights into what their readers wanted because they were themselves members of this particular community.

If we understand the guidebook as a means of self-education, a facilitator of independent travel, and as a tool for the application of practical learning *in situ*, its relevance to facilitating women's entry into an intellectual elite becomes apparent. As

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[30] Douglas Hart, "Social Class and American Travel to Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century, with Special Attention to Great Britain," *Journal of Social History* 51, no. 2 (2017): 313–340, https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shw101; Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976).
[31] See Appendix B for the full list of female guidebook writers.

works of non-fiction which borrowed from many areas of cultural production, guidebook readers and writers were very much a part of a literary and artistic cultural environment. Despite being for the most part lacking in formal education or schooling, many women guidebook writers were members of an educated elite. Through *Walks in Florence*, we can better understand the kinds of resources that were needed and used by women writing in this subgenre of the guidebook market and how they gained access to them. We can observe the level of success and recognition that guidebook writing could offer women interested in scholarly writing and uncover the challenges of competing with male writers in the same subgenre.

II) Walks in Florence

Susan and Joanna Horner were born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1816 and 1823. Their father, Leonard Horner (1785–1864), was an eminent geologist and avid educational and social reformer who ensured that all seven of his daughters received a thorough and liberal education.[32] Twice the president of the Royal Society and

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[32] Hannah Sikstrom, "Susan Horner's Journeys," 228; Leonard not only encouraged the education of women generally, he also acknowledged and promoted their ability to excel in the sciences. Susan's eldest sister Mary (b.1809) was a conchologist and geologist in her own right, working alongside her husband Charles Lyell, another well-known geologist. See, Horatio Nelson King, *Mary Elizabeth (Née Horner), Lady Lyell*, albumen carte-de-visite, c. 1860, National Portrait Gallery, UK; Her sister Frances (b.1814) was a botanist, translator, and editor who married naturalist Sir Charles Bunbury. For Frances' published and translated works, see Count Cesare Balbo, *The Life and Times of Dante Alighieri Balbo,* transl. Frances Joana Bunbury, Vol. 1&2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1852); Frances Joana Bunbury ed., *Life, Letters, and Journals of Sir Charles J. F. Bunbury, Bart* (London, Women's Printing Society, 1894); Her sister Katharine (b.1817) also became a botanist and married Henry Lyell, Charles Lyell's younger brother. For some of Katherine's published works, see Katharine Lyell, *A Geographical Handbook of All the Known Ferns: With Tables to Show Their Distribution* (London: John Murray, 1870); Katharine Lyell ed., *The Life, Letters and Journals of Sir Charles Lyell* (London: John Murray, 1881); Katharine Lyell ed., *Memoir of Leonard Horner, F.R.S., F.G.S.: Consisting of Letters to his Family and from Some of his Friends* (London: Women's Printing Society, 1890); Her younger sister, Leonora (b.1818) was a translator of

Geological Society, Leonard was accomplished in German, and Italian,[33] and was very politically active. As members of an intellectual family, the Horners were well educated, well-travelled, and well connected. As members of the British upper-middle class, the Horner family moved in social circles that boasted many of the most cultured, intellectual, and influential people in Britain. Such figures included Elizabeth and Charles Eastlake,[34] Charles Dickens,[35] Florence Nightingale,[36] Charles Lyell, and Charles Darwin.[37]

A strong social network proved particularly significant to the Horner sisters during their repeated visits to Italy. Between 1861 and 1862, Susan and Joanna travelled to Florence with their parents, where they lived for a period of eight months. The Horner family's interest in the political unification of Italy gave Susan and Joanna the opportunity to meet many of the most prominent Italians and ensured that they were active in political, intellectual, and literary circles during their stay.[38] The Horners frequently hosted guests such as Pasquale Villari (1827–1917) Italian historian and

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German texts and married the German historian and chief librarian of the Royal Library in Berlin, Georg Heinrich Pertz. See Lynn McDonald ed., *Florence Nightingale on Women, Medicine, Midwifery and Prostitution*, Vol 8., The Collected Works of Florence Nightingale (Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 776.

[33] Lyell, ed. *Memoir of Leonard Horner,* 376; Pasquale Villari, *The History of Girolamo Savonarola and of His Times*, transl. Leonard Horner (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863).

[34] Letter from Henry Bunbury to Susan Horner, March 18, 1847, Series I: Correspondence 1874–1894, Joanna and Susan Horner Letters, Woodson Research Center, Rice University, Houston, Texas.

[35] Letter from Charles Dickens to Susan Horner, November 16, 1857, The Charles Dickens Letters Project, MS Huntington Library, Tavistock House.

[36] Lynn McDonald ed., *Florence Nightingale*, 519.

[37] Charles Darwin, *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin: 1847–1850*, Vol. 4, eds. Frederick Burkhardt and Sydney Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 646.

[38] Susan also published books on her Italian political and literary interests. See, Susan Horner, *A century of despotism in Naples and Sicily* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1860); Susan Horner, *The Tuscan poet Giuseppe Giusti, and His Times* (London; Cambridge: Macmillan, 1864).

politician, the American sculptor Hiram Powers (1805–1873), and an array of various members of old Italian noble families.[39] While residing in the city, Susan honed her education by studying a variety of mediums of Italian art in the Uffizi and Pitti Galleries and learned about the natural sciences from mentors such as Arcangelo Michele Migliarini (1779–1865) an expert in gems and stones, and botanist Filippo Parlatore (1816–1877).[40]

Susan and Joanna Horner were also frequently in the company of men and women who were considered highly accomplished in their various fields, which earned them privileged access to important cultural spaces and resources throughout Florence. Social connections to the keepers of the cultural treasures of Florence had considerable advantages for anyone interested in scholarly guidebook writing; after Susan Horner met Alessandro Ferroni (1799–1866) from the Uffizi Gallery, "He gave [her] free access to the gems, bronzes and vases at all times, and permission to make pencil notes from the pictures, and access to the books on art in the Uffizi with a letter to the librarian of the Palazzo Pitti."[41] Such unconditional access to the Uffizi was not common; with so many visitors and artists coming to Florence to study and copy famous works, an application usually had to be made well in advance. As May Alcott Nieriker noted in her own guidebook, published only a few years later, *Studying Art*

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[39] Susan Horner diary entry, January 2, 1862, Horner Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy, Florence, Italy.
[40] Susan Horner diary "Florence," 1861–62, Horner Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy, Florence, Italy.
[41] Susan Horner diary "Florence," 1861–62, Horner Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; No doubt her time studying the Greek and Roman vase collection at the Uffizi influenced her interest in the subject and later a book. Susan Horner, *Greek vases: historical and descriptive: with some brief notices of vases in the museum of the Louvre and a selection from vases in the British museum* (London: S. Sonnenshein & Co., 1897).

Abroad (1879), "one may have to wait months, even years [to copy artworks], the list of applicant's names always being full, and each obliged to follow in turn."[42] Evidently, Horner received privileged access because of her connections to the heads of cultural institutions. This uncommon level of access to famous artworks and heritage institutions undoubtedly gave her a competitive edge as she amassed the kind of knowledge needed to write a detailed and well-researched guidebook on the city's art and history.

Evidence from her diary suggests that Susan Horner spent a significant portion of her time in Florence exploring the city on foot, visiting galleries, libraries, bookshops, and museums. Horner followed a work schedule that usually involved reading, drawing, and studying for long periods each day.[43] As her diary later provided the groundwork for her guide, this trip was of key importance. It was Horner's social connections, developed during this trip, which provided her with privileged access to the artwork, libraries, and historical spaces that she would later describe in her guidebook.[44] Historian Hannah Sikstrom has shown the importance of Susan Horner's private diaries and manuscript writing in the development of later scholarly work, including the creation of the guidebook *Walks in Florence* (1873).[45] There remains further room for exploration of the Horners' research process, and of their guide, in more detail.

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[42] Abigail May Alcott Nieriker, *Studying Art Abroad, and How to Do It Cheaply* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1879), 80.
[43] Susan Horner diary "Florence," 1861–62, Horner Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[44] For more on the connection between private writing and the construction of Horner as a scholar, see Sikstrom, "Susan Horner's Journeys, Journals and Gems".
[45] Sikstrom, "Susan Horner's Journeys, Journals and Gems".

Walks in Florence was published in 1873 and later reprinted in two subsequent editions in 1877 and 1884.[46] In the preface to their guide, the sisters thanked those who had helped them during the research and writing of their work. The list was both long and impressive:

> Among those to whom we are principally indebted for valuable assistance are: the late Commendatore Simone Peruzzi; the Cavaliere Giorgio Campani; the Commendatore Aurelio Gotti, Director of the Galleries; the Cavaliere Gaetano Milanesi, author of the Notes to the new edition of Vasari; Signor Cavalcaselle, Inspector of the National Museums; Signor Rondoni, Inspector of the Museum of San Marco; Signor Gamurrini, Conservator of the Etruscan Museum at Rome; the late Commendatore Francesco Bonaini, Director of the National Archives; the Librarians, the late Count Luigi Passerini, the Cavaliere Ferrucci, Signor Sacconi, and Signor Pietro Fanfani; Professor Filippo Parlatore, Director of the Natural History Museum; Professors Ancona and Giglioli; the late Marchese Gino Capponi; the Marchese Carlo Strozzi, and others, who have either given us admission to their private galleries and libraries, or obtained for us free access to collections or places of interest not usually exhibited to the public.[47]

Over the course of their visit, the Horners had developed relationships with some of the most prominent and culturally influential men in Italy and their list of acknowledgements included the heads of museums and libraries, scholars, authors, and archivists. These relationships created opportunities to access important cultural works and ultimately gave the Horners the competitive edge necessary to write a guidebook that far outstripped any on the market.

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[46] Susan Horner and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence and Its Environs: by Susan and Joanna Horner with Illustrations*, 1st ed. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1873); Susan Horner and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence and Its Environs: by Susan and Joanna Horner with Illustrations*, 2nd ed. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1877); Susan Horner and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence and Its Environs: by Susan and Joanna Horner with Illustrations*, 3rd ed. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1884).
[47] Horner et al., *Walks in Florence*, 1877, ix.

Once introduced to members of Florentine society, each person acted as a connection that opened new doors to others who could provide access to spaces usually kept hidden from public view. One of many such buildings was the Palazzo Riccardi, a medieval family palace which, at the time, was being used as administrative office space. Horner recorded in her diary that the librarian of the Palazzo Riccardi, "whom [she] had an introduction from Professor Parlatore," was away when they visited, however they were still given access and shown several important works, including Savonarola's Bible with his marginal notations.[48] Horner's privileged access to artworks and spaces was also later revealed in several places within her guidebook. In the chapter on the Uffizi Gallery, Horner noted that "among the drawings not exhibited to the public, but which can be seen in the rooms of Signor Ferri, is a rare copy of Illustrations of the Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradise of Dante, by Federigo Zuccaro (1539–1609)."[49] Pasquale Nerino Ferri (1851–1917), the first director of the Department of Prints and Drawings of the Uffizi, had allowed Horner to visit his private apartments and view his rare collection. These behind-the-scenes moments demonstrate not only the importance of social networks to guidebook writing, they also indicate the number of male scholars and experts willing to share their knowledge with female scholars. Far from denying them access, educated elite men were often instrumental in providing assistance, education, and their own personal resources.

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[48] This particular text would have been important for her father's work, as at the time he was translating Pasquale Villari's *The History of Girolamo Savonarola and of His Times*; Susan Horner diary entry, December 11, 1861, Horner Collection, British Institute of Florence, Florence, Italy.
[49] Horner, *Walks in Florence,* 1st ed., 92.

While the Horners visited many museums, libraries, and archives across Italy, records of their time spent at the Gabinetto Vieusseux Letterario are possibly the best preserved. In Florence, the Vieusseux Library was a particularly important institution for travellers as it specifically targeted foreigners as its main clientele. Founded by a Genevan merchant, Giovan Pietro Vieusseux (1779–1863) in 1819, the library was a literary and cultural hub where expatriates and visitors to the city could mingle together and foster an appreciation of art, history, science, and languages. The library was also a place where female scholars and writers could form personal connections to those who could later provide them with easy access to research materials. In 1863, Horner recorded in her diary that she and her sister went to the Vieusseux library where she "wanted to find books on Venice, and found young Vieusseux very civil."[50] Young Vieusseux was most likely Eugenio Vieusseux (1837–1892), who became the director of the library when his uncle died the following year.[51] Years later, Vieusseux's library offered a place where the Horners could conduct research information for their guidebook. Members' subscription records indicate that the Horner sisters made multiple visits between 1864 and 1883 in durations as short as one week to as long as six months.[52] Notably, many of the dates coincide with years close to or following dates of publication for editions of their guidebook (1873, 1877, and 1884). Since their guide

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[50] Susan Horner diary entry, February 3, 1862, Horner Collection, British Institute of Florence, Florence, Italy.
[51] Gabinetto Scientifico Letterario G.P. Vieusseux, "Cronologia 1860–1872," *Gabinetto Scientifico Letterario G.P. Vieusseux Archivio Storico* (website), January 7, 2020, https://www.vieusseux.it/cronologia-del-gabinetto-vieusseux/sfoglia-la-cronologia/palazzo-buondelmonti/1860-1872.html.
[52] Gabinetto Scientifico Letterario G.P. Vieusseux, "Database Del Libro Dei Soci, 1820-1885," (online database) January 7, 2020, https://www.vieusseux.it/archivio-storico/il-libro-dei-soci-del-gabinetto-vieusseux/database-del-libro-dei-soci-1820-1889.html.

required significant historical and artistic research, it is highly likely that the sisters used the library in part to conduct research when they returned to Florence. Given their long-standing relationship with the library's director and their history of using social connections for scholarly advancement, it is also likely they used this connection to obtain assistance with any materials they required.

Public libraries were not the only resource made more accessible to the Horners through their social connections. Private book collections were equally important, and Susan Horner's diary records the importance of using social connections to access private libraries:

> Signor Bigazzi called with his grandson bringing us great books relating to the paintings in the Ricasoli Palace—He offered us more books as he told us he has a library of eleven or twelve thousand volumes... It is remarkable how many fine private libraries there are in Florence, and the number of booksellers. They are very liberal lending their books. Professor Parlatore has just sent me a fresh supply."[53]

Many old families in Florence had roots that could be traced back beyond the Renaissance, and these families all kept personal libraries with rare books, art, artefacts, and original manuscripts. Access to private book collections sometimes even came with private lessons. Upon a visit to antiquarian and scholar Arcangelo Michele Milgliarini (1779–1865) Horner received an "unusually interesting lecture … and [Milgliarini] took out rare and curious works of art to shew [sic] me."[54] Through social connections the Horners received an education in Florentine history and art like no other. With their connection to elite, primarily male, intellectual circles, the Horners studied the original

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[53] Possibly Luigi Bigazzi the 19th-century Florentine painter (1814–?). Susan Horner diary entry, December 14, 1861, British Institute in Florence, Florence, Italy.
[54] Susan Horner diary entry November 5, 1861, British Institute in Florence, Florence, Italy.

artworks, spoke to the foremost experts, and were given privileged access to books, spaces, and artefacts which were not available to the public.

Knowing the right people was also beneficial in obtaining not only tangible resources but also intangible ones, such as legal advice when negotiating publishing contracts. Through several of her family members, Susan Horner was connected to Sir Edward Ryan (1793–1875) an English lawyer, judge, and reformer of the British Civil Service. In 1873, the year *Walks in Florence* was first published, Horner wrote to Ryan seeking advice on her publishing contract with Smith, Elder, & Company. Ryan advised that "Royalty would be the best for [her] to accept and save [her] all future trouble as to accounts and all consideration of profit and loss—upon every copy sold. [She would] receive a certain sum agreed after and there all the trouble ends."[55] Instead of selling the copyright to the publisher for a one-time lump-sum, as had been common practice earlier in the century, Ryan's advice ensured that the Horner sisters received continued compensation for their work.[56] This compensation was important as both Joanna and Susan remained unmarried, and therefore they relied upon their own earnings as well as their inheritance for financial support.[57] Guidebook writing was therefore a lucrative

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[55] Correspondence from Edward Ryan to Susan Horner, June 30, 1893, MS. 134, Joanna and Susan Horner Letters, Woodson Research Center, Rice University, Houston, Texas.

[56] Copyright continued to be sold to publishers by guidebook writers well into the late-19th century. For example Amy Yule received £105 from John Murray Publishers in exchange for the copyright of the Handbook to Greece (1884); See Correspondence from Amy Yule to John Murray, MS. 41317, Folio 48, John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; For more information on the evolution of copyright, see John Feather, "Copyright and the Creation of Literary Property," in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, 1st ed. (Wiley, 2019), 520–530, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119018193.ch49.; Isabella Alexander, *Copyright Law and the Public Interest in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2010).

[57] Leonard Horner died in 1864,two years after his wife, leaving Susan and Joanna as his only two unwed daughters. In 1900, Susan died, leaving £1,728 to Joanna (roughly the equivalent of £183,700 today). Some of this income would have been earned from the royalties of her various

way for educated women to earn an income from their intellectual capital, while social connections provided access to legal advice which ensured they were continually compensated for their work during their lifetime.

Intangible resources could also include publicity and positive reviews. The Horner sisters had many friends who wanted to see their guidebook succeed. Friends like Edward Ryan and a "Mr. Milman" tried to use their own social connections to ensure this happened.[58] Ryan wrote to Horner that he had advocated for their work to be noticed in *The Times* while Mr. Milman tried to do the same with *Macmillan's Magazine*.[59] Such advocacy from well-connected friends, as we will see in the proceeding chapters, was not unique to the Horner sisters and was in fact a common occurrence for female scholarly guidebook writers. As well-educated and well-connected members of the upper-middle class, Susan and Joanna Horner had privileged access to tangible and intangible resources that gave them a significant advantage in the competitive guidebook market. The Horners' educational and social background placed them in ideal circumstances to know the target audience of a guidebook with more scholarly content.

Turning now to the text itself, we will examine the construction of *Walks in Florence* in more depth. Like most scholarly guidebooks, *Walks in Florence* began with an introductory chapter on the general history of the city and a geographical explanation

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published works. Of all her publications, *Walks in Florence* was both the most well-known and had the highest number of editions. See, "Probate Calendar 1901," 1901, England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858–1966, 207.

[58] Given Horner's connections to members of Parliament through her family's political ties, Mr. Milman was most likely Archibald Milman (1834–1902) a British civil servant.

[59] Letter from Edward Ryan to Susan Horner, May 9, 1873, folio 2, Woodson Research Center, Rice University, Houston, Texas.

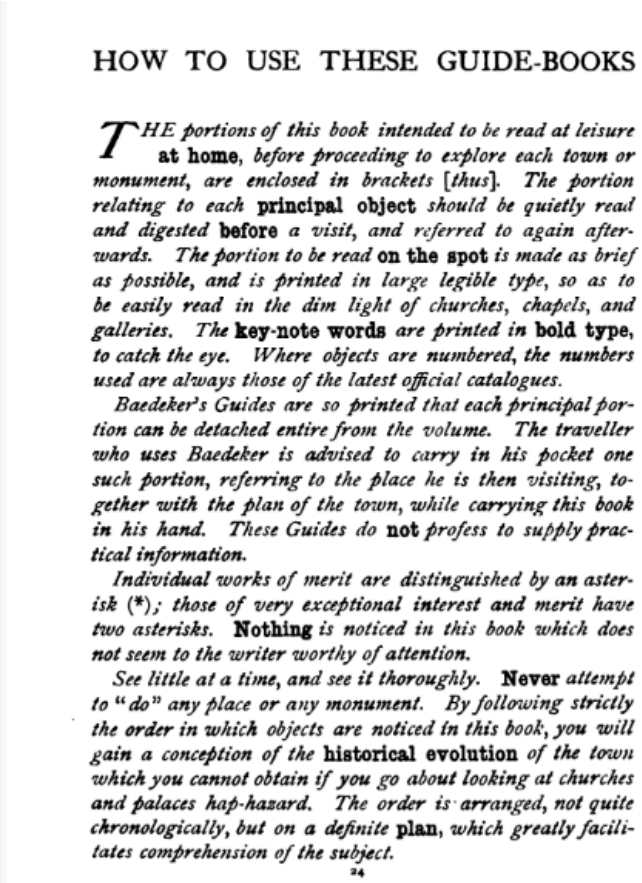
of the city's layout. The guide then organized itself into chapters focused on different quarters of Florence, with separate chapters dedicated to important buildings or monuments, particularly those with rooms or galleries of artwork. Unlike Elvira Grifi's general guidebook to the city, *Saunterings in Florence* (1898), the Horners were not concerned with making their readers feel as though they were being "guided by a friend."[60] Their narrative style was by and large an impersonal one, using descriptive language that conveyed only the necessary and factual details required to learn about the subject matter at hand. Like other forms of scholarship, their guide acknowledged the primary and secondary source material they had used in the creation of their work, and often included footnotes where necessary. The authors did not try to overtly insert their own opinions in the text and mostly confined themselves to objective description.

The overall physical construction of a guidebook is indicative of the kind of reading expected from the audience. In *Walks in Florence*, works of art and architecture were described in the text without any kind of additional visual cue or finding aid for the reader (e.g., place names in margins, bold or italicized text, etc.). Therefore, it was expected that the reader committed to processing the entirety of the page or section in order to understand the material. This required a certain amount of concentration, patience, and time on the part of the reader and also insinuated that the reader should be willing to dedicate themselves to reading the text cover to cover. The reader needed to travel at the pace of the guidebook rather than moving at their own pace, skipping sections, or selecting what they deemed to be most important, all actions commonly associated with tourism at the time. Some guidebook writers, like Grant Allen, who

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[60] Elvira Grifi, *Saunterings in Florence: a new artistic and practical hand-book for English and American tourists*, 1st ed. (Florence: R. Bemporad & figlio, 1896) preface.

wanted to discourage this kind of hap-hazard reading even went so far as to include an instructional page entitled "How to Use These Guidebooks" in each of his Historical Guidebook series. [61]



HOW TO USE THESE GUIDE-BOOKS

THE portions of this book intended to be read at leisure **at home**, *before proceeding to explore each town or monument, are enclosed in brackets* [*thus*]. *The portion relating to each* **principal object** *should be quietly read and digested* **before** *a visit, and referred to again afterwards. The portion to be read* **on the spot** *is made as brief as possible, and is printed in large legible type, so as to be easily read in the dim light of churches, chapels, and galleries. The* **key-note words** *are printed in* **bold type**, *to catch the eye. Where objects are numbered, the numbers used are always those of the latest official catalogues.*

Baedeker's Guides are so printed that each principal portion can be detached entire from the volume. The traveller who uses Baedeker is advised to carry in his pocket one such portion, referring to the place he is then visiting, together with the plan of the town, while carrying this book in his hand. These Guides do **not** *profess to supply practical information.*

Individual works of merit are distinguished by an asterisk (*)*; those of very exceptional interest and merit have two asterisks.* **Nothing** *is noticed in this book which does not seem to the writer worthy of attention.*

See little at a time, and see it thoroughly. **Never** *attempt to "do" any place or any monument. By following strictly the order in which objects are noticed in this book, you will gain a conception of the* **historical evolution** *of the town which you cannot obtain if you go about looking at churches and palaces hap-hazard. The order is arranged, not quite chronologically, but on a definite* **plan**, *which greatly facilitates comprehension of the subject.*

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Figure 20 **"How to Use these Guidebooks" included in all Grant Allen's Historical Guides**

Written in two volumes with academic-style footnotes, chronological timelines after each chapter,[62] and a detailed appendix, *Walks in Florence* totalled over 1,000 pages (625 pages for Volume I and 463 pages for Volume II). The level of expertise and amount of effort required to write such a guide was self-evident. Its size, detail, and the quality of scholarship it offered were impressive and these elements alone provided

[61] See Figure 20.
[62] The historical chronology of the places proceeding each chapter was an unusual feature not commonly found in other guides.

both authors with an aura of authority without any need for narrative persuasion or emphatic language.

The illustration of *Walks in Florence* also indicated something of the book's purpose and target audience. The first and second editions of *Walks in Florence* held sixteen images, a relatively small amount, all of which were focused on art, architecture, or history in some way, and were most often taken from old manuscripts or illuminated choral books.[63] By point of comparison, Baedeker's guide for *Northern Italy* (in which Florence was included) from the same year lists eight maps and thirty plans, while Murray's *Handbook of Florence* had one map and five plans.[64] The visual focus of these general interest guides was therefore aimed at assisting the reader in navigating around the city, rather than to provide a visual aid for the reader's appreciation of artwork. *Walks in Florence* did not include any maps for the purpose of guiding tourists; the only map included was one that showed the old city walls and generalized landmarks, provided for the purposes of discussing the city's architectural history.

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[63] For the editions of *Walks in Florence*, the number of images for each edition and volume is as follows: The 1873 edition had 11 images in volume 1 and 5 images in volume 2; the 1877 edition had 12 images in volume 1 and 4 images in volume 2; the 1884 edition had 10 images in volume 1, and 3 images in volume 2.

[64] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Northern Italy: Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker,* 4th ed. (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1877); John Murray (firm), *Handbook of Florence and its Environs*, [5th] new ed. rev. (London: John Murray; Florence: Goodban, 1874).

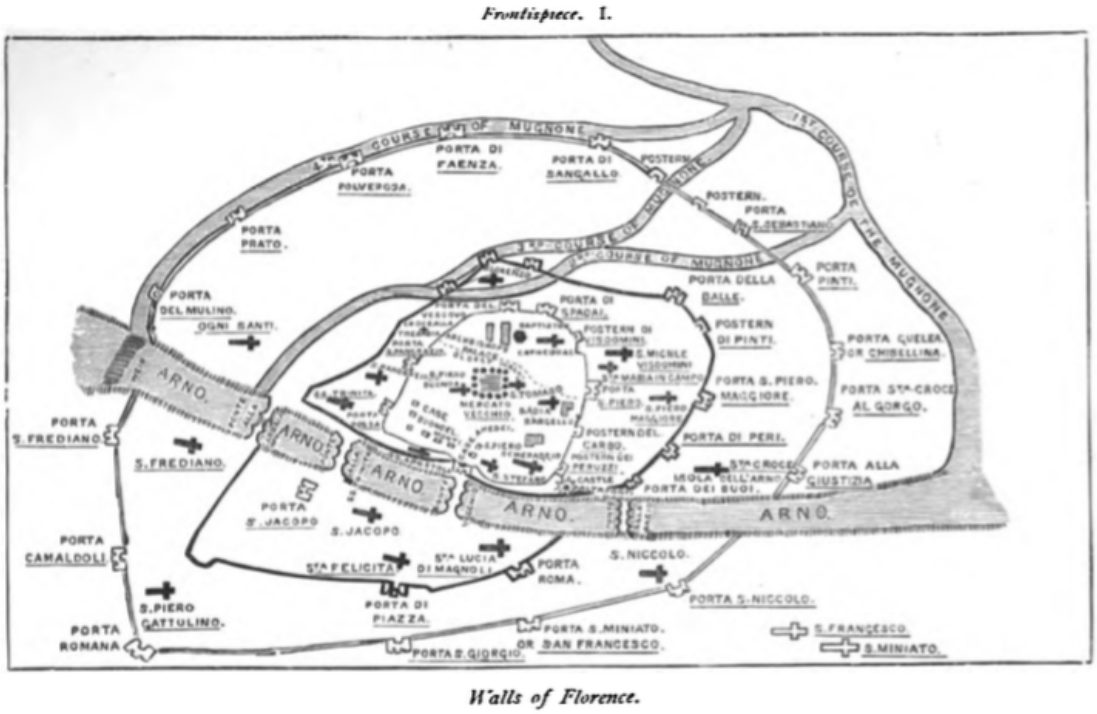


Figure 21 "**Walls of Florence,**" ***Walks in Florence*, Susan and Joanna Horner, 1st ed., vol.1**

The design of the text was intended to appeal to a traveller who could commit enough time to studying the city and its cultural wonders at length. Everything from the book's content, typeface, and page layout to its visual accompaniments worked together to create a guidebook aimed at an educated group of travellers with the desire to learn as much as possible about the city.

The publication of *Walks in Florence* coincided with a particularly crucial moment in the history of the city, one which undoubtedly bolstered interest in the book itself. After the unification of Italy in 1865, Florence drew increasing attention when it became the capital city for six years. This resulted in an influx in the population which in turn provoked changes to the city's urban landscape with the removal of large

sections of the city's walls.[65] This resulted in new infrastructural developments and major changes to the city's older quarters (particularly in the ten-year period between 1885–1895), such as the destruction of the medieval market square, *Mercato Vecchio*. Many expats felt strongly about these alterations to historic cityscapes; the British Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) was formed in 1877 as a reaction to this urban remodelling.[66]

While the city was oscillating between creating new development to accommodate its growing population and striving to maintain its historic atmosphere, artists, scholars, and travellers began to take an increasing interest in Italy's early modern period, with key works on the Renaissance having been published within the previous decade, such as Jacob Burckhardt's pivotal work *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860). In creating a guide which focused precisely on the physical and cultural monuments of Florentine history, *Walks in Florence* recorded and described a topic which already garnered significant interest, capturing the city as it stood as major restructuring and urban planning projects began to change many of the city's important historic and architectural spaces.

It is difficult to know without the surviving publishing records of Smith, Elder, and Co. how many copies of *Walks in Florence* were printed and sold, but it is unlikely

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[65] D. Medina Lasansky, "Reshaping Attitudes Towards the Renaissance: The Fight Against 'Modern Mania' in Florence at the Turn of the Century," in *The Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century: Le XIXe Siècle Renaissant*, ed. Yannick Portebois and Nicholas Terpstra, Essays and Studies 2 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2003).
[66] Janet Ross was also a member of SPAB. See, Lasansky, "Reshaping Attitudes Towards the Renaissance, The Fight Against "Modern Mania".

that each edition did not exceed 5,000 copies per print run.[67] However, copies printed does not reflect the true number of copies read, or the popularity of the text beyond the original years of its publication. For example, lending records indicate that a single copy of *Walks in Florence* was very popular among borrowers at the Vieusseux Library; it was lent roughly 400 times during the time the book was acquired by the library until the book was reported as lost on August 30th, 1916.[68] If we take into account libraries, second-hand purchases, and lending books between friends and family, the Horners' book was likely read by thousands of travellers.

[67] Given popular print runs at the time, it would be safe to estimate the copies printed ranged from 1,000–2,5000. Jean-Yves Mollier and Marie-Françoise Cachin, "A Continent of Texts: Europe 1800–1890" *A Companion to the History of the Book*, eds. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Wiley- Blackwell, 2009), 309.

[68] This number has been estimated by calculating the average number of entries on a page and multiplying this by four as there are four handwritten entry sheets pasted one on top of another in a large bound volume. The last names of the borrowers are very difficult (if not impossible in some cases) to read as they have been crossed out when the book was returned and therefore an estimate was required. It is also unknown which edition of the guidebook was purchased as it is not noted in the borrowing record book. Gabinetto Scientifico Letterario G.P. Vieusseux, "Horner - Walks in Florence," *Libro del prestito*, 2C.9, 13700, Vieusseux Archives, Florence.

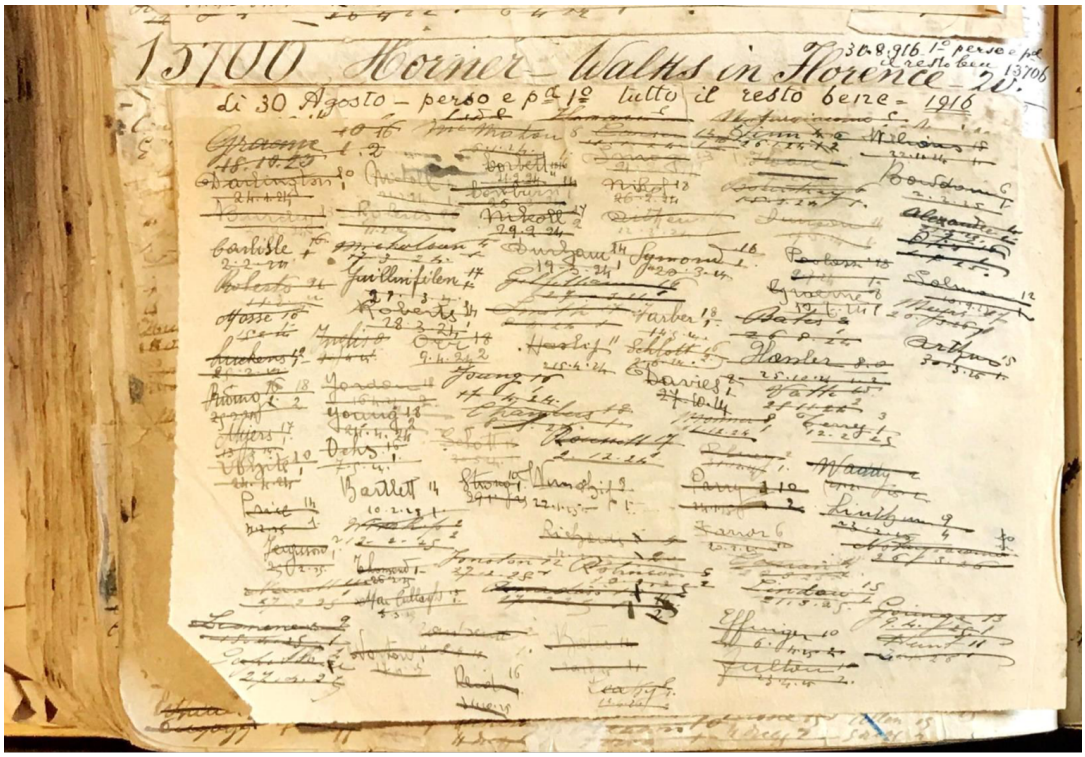


Figure 22 ***Libro prestito*** **(Borrowing Records) from the Vieusseux Library for** ***Walks in Florence.***

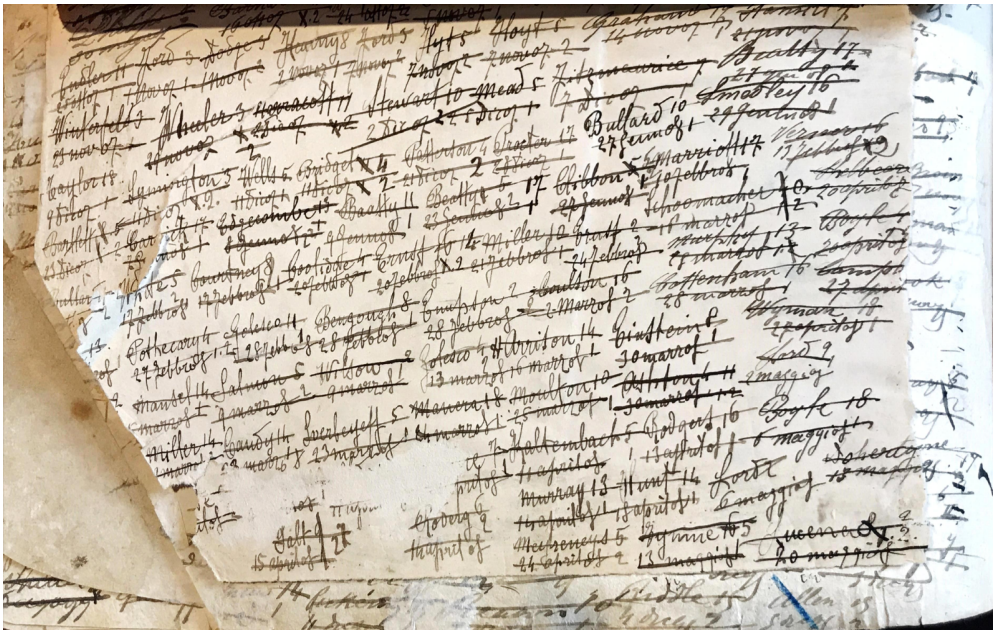


Figure 23 ***Libro prestito*** **(Borrowing Records) from the Vieusseux Library for** ***Walks in Florence.***

Its comprehensive content ensured *Walks in Florence* was consistently reviewed as one of the best guidebooks to Florence. One reviewer even asserted that:

> Whoever has thoroughly mastered the contents of these volumes will be entitled to say that, though he has never been within a hundred miles of

> Florence, he knows it very much better than nine-tenths of the visitors to whom the birthplace of Galileo and Dante is the conventional thing to do.[69]

Walks in Florence was thus presented as such an accurate and useful guide as to render the whole journey to Florence unnecessary—possibly the highest form of praise a guidebook could hope to receive. The reviewer at *The Leeds Mercury* also argued that those who read *Walks in Florence* would be more educated on the city than tourists who travelled there only to receive the general idea of its historical importance because it was the "thing to do" creating further links between *Walks in Florence* and the traveller identity.[70]

The scholarly quality of *Walks in Florence* did not go unnoticed by contemporaries and the guidebook received public recognition for its contribution to the market as a specialized guidebook for serious art and history enthusiasts. A literary review in the *Graphic* recommended *Walks in Florence* for "Tourists of Italy who can afford to do their sight-seeing thoroughly, and linger long among the art-treasures and historic memories of 'the City of Flowers,' will prize a new and revised edition... of the pleasant 'Walks in Florence'"[71] One of the aspects which appealed to reviewers was the "good taste" of the authors to confine themselves to "the simple work of description" rather than offending "the reader with comments on affairs of politics."[72] Therefore, the objective narrative style and factual accuracy of the text were hailed as the guide's most

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[69] "Advertisements & Notices," *The Leeds Mercury* (Leeds, England), February 26, 1873, Issue 10883, British Library Newspapers Part II 1800–1900, 3.
[70] "Advertisements & Notices," 3.
[71] "The Reader," *The Graphic* (London, England), November 10, 1877, British Library Newspapers, Part II 1800–1900, 447.
[72] "The Reader," 447. Not discussing politics was thought to be good guidebook etiquette in general, as even Murray mandated that his writers refrain from discussing politics in their guides. See, Goodwin et al., "Guidebook publishing", 44.

admired qualities; precisely the two areas which were often noted as points of weakness in John Murray's guides.[73]

In the 1899 edition of *Northern Italy*, Baedeker recommended to his readers: "For further details than this Handbook affords, visitors may be referred to the Misses Horner's 'Walks in Florence'..."[74] Given the success of Baedeker's firm and his market dominance by the end of the century highlighted in Chapter One, this endorsement was a significant one. This comment confirms that a smaller and more specialized guidebook to Florence written by women was a significant contribution to the genre and that it was both known and recognized to be more detailed than the most popular guidebook franchise of the late-nineteenth century. Other writers also praised *Walks in Florence* in their own literary works on the city, such as William D. Howells (1837–1920), the American novelist, literary critic, and playwright, who found the Horners' guide to be both "faithful and trusty."[75] Other women guidebook writers also recommended *Walks in Florence* in their practical guides; both Mary Cadwalader Jones and the Women's Rest Tour Association also included the Horners' work in their guidebook's reading lists for Italy.[76] Perhaps the most evident sign of the guidebook's success was that the name *Horner* was even used as a stand-in for the word *guidebook*,

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[73] Harris, "Baedeker and the Modern Guide-Book," 495.
[74] Karl Baedeker (firm), *Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker. First Part: Northern Italy,* 11th ed. (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1899), 416. This is also included in the 1903 and 1906 editions, see Karl Baedeker (firm), *Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker. First Part: Northern Italy,* 12th ed. (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1903), 438; Karl Baedeker (firm), *Handbook for Travellers by Karl Baedeker. First Part: Northern Italy*, 13th ed. (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1906), 465.
[75] William D. Howells, *Tuscan Cities* (Boston: Ticknor & Company, 1886), 37.
[76] Women's Rest Tour Association, *A Summer in England, with a continental supplement; a handbook for the use of American women*, 5th ed. (Boston: Beacon, 1900), 84–85; Mary Cadwalader Jones, *European Travel for Women; notes and suggestions* (New York: Macmillan, 1900), 244.

in the same way as *Murray* or *Baedeker*. In Constance Fenimore Woolson's (1840–1894) short story "A Florentine Experiment" (1880), she described a scene where "only a few stray tourists wander[ed] about, with Baedeker, Horner, and Hare."[77] Having achieved a level of recognition that amounted to a kind of brand-name, the Horners were both recognized and well-respected in the English-language Italian guidebook market.

While *Walks in Florence* set the stage for women's greater involvement in the scholarly guidebook market, it also revealed some of the obstacles women faced when marketing a guidebook whose authors were known to be women. Although the Horners' work was highly regarded, it still experienced some disadvantages when in competition with other male-authored guides to Florence. This was particularly the case with guidebooks and travel writing authored by Augustus J.C. Hare (1834–1903) who also shared the Horner's publisher, Smith, Elder and Co. and whose travel writing career was already long-established before the Horners' guide was released. Hare's works on Rome and Florence were frequently advertised together with *Walks in Florence* in periodicals and newspapers and his books often received lengthier descriptions and more positive endorsements than *Walks in Florence*.[78] An entire publisher's advertisement page listing all of Hare's works was even included in *Walks in Florence* itself.[79]

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[77] Constance Fenimore Woolson, "A Florentine Experiment," *Atlantic Monthly* 46 (October, 1880): 510.
[78] "Multiple Advertisements and Notices," *The Morning Post* (London, England), February 4, 1873, Issue 31387, British Library Newspapers, Part II:1800–1900, 1; "Advertisements & Notices," *The Graphic (London, England)*, January 25, 1873, Issue 165, British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800–1900, 91.
[79] Susan Horner and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence and Its Environs*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co, 1884).

In some cases, reviewers even presented the Horner's guide as being heavily influenced by Hare, or that it was a credit to the Horners that their work should equal his. For example, a book review in the *Illustrated London News* stated:

> Their book [*Walks in Florence*] has some resemblance of plan and method to the admirable 'Walks in Rome', produced a year or two since by Mr. Augustus Hare; and we can bestow no higher praise upon the Misses Horner's work than be declaring it quite worthy of being placed side by side with his two volumes, which were sent out by the same publisher, uniform in size and binding.[80]

Given that the highest form of praise the Horners could apparently hope to receive was to have their work deemed equal to that of Hare, the reviewer's compliments of their guidebook was also patronizing. The review even suggests that the book was influenced by Hare's work to the degree of even having the same size and binding, which also effectively diminished its importance by implying a level of imitation.

The connection between the two guidebooks did not stop at newspapers and periodicals, it also found its way into other forms of literature. In a collection of legends and stories from Florence, Charles Godfrey (1824–1903) introduced his work by differentiating it from the other books on Florence already on the market, stating: "There are several very excellent and pleasant works on Old Florence, such as that portion devoted to it in the 'Cities of Central Italy,' by A. J. C. Hare; the 'Walks about Florence,' [sic] by the Sisters Horner…"[81] Despite their success and the positive public recognition the Horners received for the quality of their book, *Walks in Florence* was

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[80] "New Books," *The Illustrated London News* (London, England), Saturday, April 19, 1873, Vol. 62, Issue 1755, The Illustrated London News Historical Archive 1842–2003, 375.
[81] Charles Godfrey (Hans Breitmann) Leland, *Legends of Florence Collected from the People and Re-told by Charles Godfrey Leland* (London: David Nutt, 1895), vi.

still in competition with male-authored guides whose work was held as the gold-standard. Examples such as these demonstrate the challenges and biases women guidebook writers faced when being reviewed by the periodical press.

The scholarly guidebook was created to appeal to a particular audience within the travelling population through both its content and material construction. Scholarly guidebooks targeted the group of educated travellers who wanted to distinguish them from the general tourist masses. As a result, educated and socially well-connected women interested in art, history and travel were most often drawn to scholarly guidebook writing. The first scholarly guidebook to Italy by women so far discovered, the Horners' *Walks in Florence* set a high standard for women's scholarly guidebook publishing. As a result of their education, social class, and social connections the Horners were able to gain privileged access to the resources needed to write a guidebook for an intellectual readership. Despite any challenges they may have faced, their success spotlighted the guidebook as a genre where women could engage in serious scholarly research and receive recognition from a wide audience for their expertise. *Walks in Florence* and the Horner sisters ultimately found success in the late-nineteenth-century guidebook market.

Chapter 4
Medieval Towns Series: Building Foundations

On April 6th, 1908, Margaret Noyes wrote to Mary Berenson thanking her for providing introductions to various people in Milan. Margaret and her sister Theodora had found these connections in Milan to be "most useful" in writing the Medieval Towns guidebook, *The Story of Milan* (1908).[1] The letter, enclosed in a copy of the guidebook, is now held at the Berenson's library at Villa i Tatti, where it remains as a symbol of the social connections which so often bound women guidebook writers and illustrators together. Bonds created by familial relations, friendships, and wider social circles—sometimes even mere acquaintances—underpinned the nineteenth-century publishing industry.[2] Women actively wove themselves into the fabric of these literary and intellectual circles, and their connections to each other, and to the wider cultural networks of their day, drove scholarly guidebook publication.

As noted in the introduction, the Medieval Towns series was published by Joseph Malaby Dent and was published between 1898–1939. The series was marketed

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[1] Ella Noyes, *Story of Milan*, The Medieval Towns Series, illustr. Dora Noyes (London: Dent, 1908) Villa i Tatti, Florence, DG656.N7.

[2] This phenomenon has been explored in several important works, see Michael Winship, *Ticknor and Fields: The Business of Literary Publishing in the United States of the Nineteenth Century*, The Ninth Hanes Lecture (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1992), 25; Susan Margaret Coultrap-McQuin, *Doing Literary Business: American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 34; Joanne Shattock, "Professional Networking, Masculine and Feminine" *Victorian Periodicals Review*, *Victorian Networks and the Periodical Press* 44, no. 2 (2011): 128–140.

as being a scholarly guidebook for travellers interested in art and history and featured a common series title, silvery-blue cloth or paper binding, and a decorative cover page. Through a detailed examination of the creation and use of social networks in development of the Medieval Towns Series, this chapter argues that social networks, or belonging to certain groups and knowing specific actors (persons or groups),[3] were a critical element in facilitating women's scholarly and artistic careers in guidebook publishing. Through the creation and development of such networks, women accessed the education and training, mentorship, and resources needed to succeed in the scholarly guidebook market. By examining social networks, this chapter also argues that female scholarly guidebook producers were members of a transnational cultural elite, a group which flourished in Italy during the *fin-de-siècle.*

Borrowing from social-network analysis, a tool used by sociologists to determine the connections between individuals and groups, this chapter defines a social network as made up of *actors* and *ties*. Actors are most often individual persons; however, they can sometimes also include groups or institutions (such as publishing houses). Ties can be defined as personal knowledge of, or acquaintance with, another person. Social networks could be made up of friends, family members, or more general acquaintances. General acquaintances were usually made through contact initiated by either of the first two groups, or sometimes simply through interactions with those who shared the same physical spaces (such as attending the same literary salon). As Bonnie

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[3] Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, "Social Network Analysis in the Social and Behavioural Sciences," *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Erickson has observed, this tool has increasingly been used by historians in a variety of ways.[4]

Understanding the theory behind these connections and patterns has proven efficacious for historians, art historians, and scholars of literature, including those interested in women and gender. To one degree or another, most of the scholarship written about women's cultural production stresses the significance and correlation between networking and career development. In opposition to the "individual performance of attribution" which is has so often been stressed when examining male cultural figures, Clarke and Ventrella have argued that a shift away from the individual towards the "web of collaborations and relations" is crucial in understanding the development of women's "culture of connoisseurship."[5] Inverting the concept of the male lone genius, Clarke and Ventrella argue that women's cultural production must be seen through a different lens, one that recognizes the many contributions and support systems in place that enabled a writer to succeed.

Scholars have envisioned these support systems in a variety of ways.[6] Véliz Bomford has used the concept of networks in the literary marketplace to illustrate how the social and professional networks of Mary Philadelphia Merrifield "enabled her to be an astute judge of her cultural climate, to produce serious scholarly work for general and specialist readers, secure its publication, and lay the foundation for earning income

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[4] Bonnie H. Erickson, "Social Networks and History: A Review Essay," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 30, no. 3 (1997): 149–57.
[5] Meaghan Clarke and Francesco Ventrella, "Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship," *Visual Resources* 33, no. 1–2 (April 3, 2017): 5, https://doi.org/10.1080/01973762.2017.1308623.
[6] For a more detailed look at the ways in which networks have been used in historiography see Joanna Innes, "'Networks' in British History," *East Asian Journal of British History* 5 (2016): 51–72.

as a contributor to art journals in the 1850s."[7] Yet while the demarcation between *social* and *professional* may have been efficacious for examining Merrifield's network mid-century, in the context of guidebook production in the late-nineteenth century, I argue that these networks were one and the same. With the idea of the "Gentlemen publisher" still culturally relevant even in the late-nineteenth century, and the rise in popularity of gentlemen's clubs and other social spaces that promoted professional connections, it is near impossible to untangle professional networks from social ones in the nineteenth century literary world.[8] Instead, my position here aligns more firmly with Alison Chapman's view that women writers were part of an "interconnecting social and intellectual networks" which birthed "a dynamic culture" of cultural output.[9] This chapter seeks to demonstrate that a "culture of connoisseurship" surrounded the women of the MTS series, ultimately enabling and facilitating their guidebook publishing.[10]

Given the significance of social network theory to this chapter, the influence of Georg Simmel's "web of group affiliations" theory must also be acknowledged.[11] Simmel argues that, in pre-industrialized society, the average person interacted with only a small number of people in their everyday lives. These interactions created groups of affiliation (e.g., family, friends, co-workers) which were imagined as overlapping

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[7] Zahira Véliz Bomford, "Navigating Networks in the Victorian Age: Mary Philadelphia Merrifield's Writing on the Arts," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. 28 (June 3, 2019): 1.
[8] Coultrap-McQuin, *Doing Literary Business*, 35; Marrisa Joseph, "Members Only: The Victorian Gentlemen's Club as a Space for Doing Business 1843–1900," *Management & Organizational History* 14, no. 2 (April 3, 2019): 123–47.
[9] Alison Chapman, *Networking the Nation: British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840–1870* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 3.
[10] Clarke and Ventrella, "Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship." 5.
[11] Georg Simmel, Kurt H. Wolff, and Reinhard Bendix, *Conflict*, (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1955).

circles that formed a relatively uniform whole. With the advancement of transportation and communication, these circles became increasingly geographically varied and diverse, dispersing the patterns of connection so that they were newly envisioned as a web. This theory has been argued to be the "most influential and relevant ... in its explication of how modern social groupings and networks intersect, operate, and form the intricate weblike [sic] patterns."[12] By applying the concept of the social network theory and the web of group affiliations theory to the women writers of the Medieval Towns,[13] we can understand female guidebook writers as creators and sustainers of a "complex social nexus" that facilitated and strengthened their professional writing careers.[14]

Many scholars, such as Pauline Nestor, Linda Hughes, Tanya Fitzgerald, Elizabeth Smyth, Claudia Capancioni, Jill Ehnen, and Isobel Hurst have examined the importance of strong female networks among women in relation to cultural production and intellectual development.[15] Others, like John Sutherland and Elize Garritzen, have

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[12] Mary Chayko, "The first web theorist? Georg Simmel and the legacy of 'The web of group-affiliations'," *Information, Communication & Society* 18, no.12 (2015), 1419.
[13] Erickson, "Social Networks and History: A Review Essay"; Simmel, et al., *Conflict*; Chayko, "The first web theorist?".
[14] Véliz Bomford, "Navigating Networks in the Victorian Age," 13.
[15] Pauline Anne Nestor, "Female Friendships in Mid-Victorian England: New Patterns and Possibilities," *Literature & History-Third Series* 17, no. 1 (2008): 36–47, https://research.monash.edu/en/publications/female-friendships-in-mid-victorian-england-new-patterns-and-poss; Pauline Nestor, *Female Friendships and Communities: Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Linda Hughes, "A Club of Their Own: The 'Literary Ladies,' New Women Writers, and 'Fin-de-Siècle' Authorship" *Victorian Literature and Culture* 35, no. 1 (2007): 233–60; Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth M. Smyth, eds. *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks 1900–1960* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Claudia Capancioni, "Janet Ross's Intergenerational Life Writing: Female Intellectual Legacy through Memoirs, Correspondence, and Reminiscences," *Life Writing* 14, no. 2 (April 3, 2017): 233–44, https://doi.org/10.1080/14484528.2017.1291251; Isobel Hurst, Isobel Hurst, *Victorian Women Writers and the Classics: The Feminine of Homer*, Classical Presences (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 58.

examined the impacts of female relationships with men in positions of intellectual or cultural power.[16] When focused on women who developed relationships with men for the aim of professional development, the benefit to the woman is usually singularly stressed in these studies. Women are presented as the ones who gain something in male-female professional or scholarly relationships (access to archives and books, increased knowledge, etc.). Expanding beyond this model, Katie Halsey has stressed the significance of a network of both genders to female literary production.[17] Finally, when scholars examine literary relationships between women, they often show the reciprocal nature of such relationships, signalling that both parties brought something to the table.[18] My case study of the Medieval Towns Series reveals the significance of these different kinds of relationships and extends their analysis: women helped women, men helped women, and importantly, women helped men. The relationships developed by the members of the Medieval Towns circle firmly place women as both benefactors *and* patrons of knowledge and resources fundamental to cultural production.

A further dimension of the analysis of the social network of the Medieval Towns Series' female producers arises from engagement with the concept of the intellectual aristocracy. As touched upon in the introduction, I build upon the theories of Noel Annan and William Whyte to more fully explore the ways in which women entered and operated within this cultural elite.[19] In this chapter, I use William Whyte's

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[16] Elise Garritzen, "Women Historians, Gender and Fashioning the Authoritative Self in Paratexts in Late-Victorian Britain," *Women's History Review* (August 19, 2020): 4, https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2020.1804111; John Sutherland, "A Girl in the Bodleian: Mary Ward's Room of Her Own," *Browning Institute Studies* 16 (1988): 169–80.
[17] Katie Halsey, "'Tell Me of Some Booklings': Mary Russell Mitford's Female Literary Networks," *Women's Writing* 18, no. 1 (February 2011): 122.
[18] Ehnen talks about this in particular within the context of joint female authorship.
[19] See introduction, p.21.

criteria—based on patterns of consumption rather than the genealogical connections stressed by Annan—to draw the focus both towards female intellectual elites and away from the geographical focus of Britain.[20] The women of the MTS fit firmly within the category of intelligentsia proposed by Whyte's criteria: they dressed and decorated their homes relatively simply; they enjoyed pastimes like walking, hiking, riding, reading, cycling, and sketching; they often participated in these pastimes while also visiting places of historic and cultural significance. These women also participated in political and cultural activities, voicing strong opinions about important moral and political questions. As we will see further along in this chapter, evidence from the MTS women supports Whyte's theory over Annan of what made a cultural elite, since not all women were born or married into elite social circles.

The Medieval Towns Series has received little scholarly attention to date, yet research into the series reveals significant insights into the guidebook market and women's non-fiction publishing. The series presents a rich body of primary source material that illustrates the social ties which developed and sustained the careers of the series' female producers. The array of sources that illustrate this complex web of social connection ranges from written sources, such as letters, memoirs, diaries, and biographies, to more material artefacts, including paintings, illustrations, photographs, gravestones, and autographed books. These sources link the Medieval Towns women to one-another, and to the wider literary and cultural networks enabling their intellectual pursuits. The sociogram presented in Appendix A enables us to better visualize the

[20] Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited", 18.

breadth and scope of the networks that connect women guidebook producers.[21] Through an analysis of these sources we can observe women as important actors within the significant and widespread social connections that underpinned scholarly guidebook publishing.

This chapter explores in detail the social and educational conditions that facilitated women's guidebook writing. After the brief biographical introductions to the MTS authors and illustrators that follow below, the first section of the chapter reveals the kind of education and mentorship women of the Medieval Towns Series received, examining the resources and benefits their vast cultural and intellectual networks afforded them. The second section of the chapter explores how, through the cultivation of an intellectual lifestyle, women were able to extend and deploy their networks and resources in advantageous ways to further their non-fiction publishing careers and intellectual capital.

The Women of the Medieval Town Series

[21] This diagram was created primarily using private correspondence, archives, and published memoirs concerning guidebook development, and so may not represent the total number of connections each individual could claim.

Janet Ross

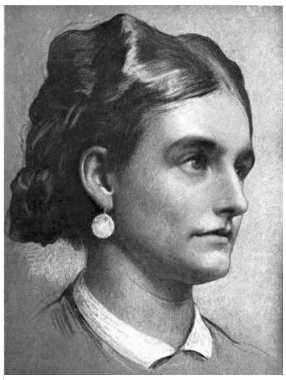


Figure 25 **Janet Ross, Drawing by Lord Leighton, *The Fourth Generation*, (1912)**

Janet Ross (née Duff Gordon) was the daughter of Lucie Duff Gordon (1821–1869) a famous writer and Alexander Duff Gordon (1811–1872) the Baron of Halkin. At eighteen, she married Henry Ross, a banker twenty-two years her senior. They lived in Egypt from 1861–1867 until the Panic of 1866 caused such significant financial losses that they were forced to relocate. They chose to settle in Italy for its affordable living, and after some time renting, they purchased Poggio Gherardo, a thirteenth-century Italian villa on the outskirts of Florence, in 1888. Ross wrote frequently for the periodical press as well as books on Italian subjects and her own family's history. Proud of her female intellectual lineage, Ross published *Three Generations of Englishwomen* to highlight the accomplishments of her mother Lucie Duff Gordon, a famous travel writer, her grandmother Sarah Austin (1793–1867) a famed translator and editor, and great grandmother Susannah Taylor (1755–1823) who held a very popular literary salon in England. Ross held her own salon in Florence at Poggio Gherardo where she regularly hosted a long list of influential people from a wide range of nationalities and cultures.



Figure 24 **Mary Berenson and Janet Ross, *unknown photographer vintage snapshot print, mid 1920s NPG Ax161131, National Portrait Gallery, London***

Margaret "Madge" Symonds



Figure 26 **Margaret Symonds, Madge Vaughan (b/w photo), English Photographer, (19th century), Private Collection, Bridgeman Images**

Margaret Symonds (1869–1925) was the daughter of famous Renaissance historian John Addington Symonds (1840–1893) and Janet Catherine Symonds (née North) (1837–1913).[22] Symonds spent her childhood living between England, Switzerland, and Italy as her parents travelled frequently. She had three sisters, Janet (b.1865), Charlotte (b.1867), and Katharine (b.1875). Katherine later married the painter Charles Furse (1868–1904). The Symonds' family was well connected to many nineteenth-century literary figures and publishers,[23] including the Duckworth and Stephen families through Margaret Symonds' marriage to William Wymar Vaughan (1868–1938) in 1898.[24] Symonds published two works of travel literature before co-publishing the first Medieval Towns Series book

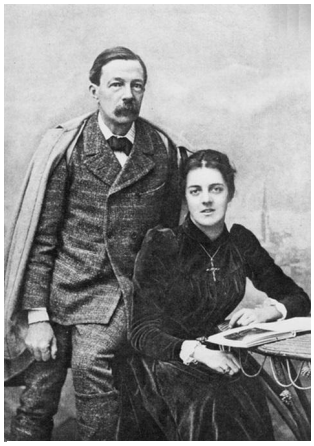


Figure 27 **John Addington Symonds and Margaret Symonds, (b/w photo), English Photographer, (19th century), Private Collection, Bridgeman Images.**

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[22] Janet Catherine's sister was Marianne North, famous biologist and botanical artist.

[23] She was related to Virginia Woolf by her marriage to William Wyamar Vaughan (1865–1938) in 1898. William Vaughan was an educationalist and son of Sir Henry Halford Vaughan, the Regis Professor of Early Modern History at Oxford. He and Margaret had three children, a daughter and two sons. Their daughter, Dame Janet Vaughan (1899–1993), became a physiologist and academic, and from 1945–1967 she served as the Principal of Somerville College, Oxford.

[24] Julia Jackson (1846–1895) married Herbert Duckworth (1833–1870) and together they had a son, Gerald (1870–1937). After the death of Herbert, Julia remarried to Leslie Stephen and they had four children, including Virginia Stephen (Woolf). Gerald Duckworth originally worked for the J.M. Dent publishing firm but decided to start his own publishing house in 1898; See, G. Beare, "Gerald Duckworth and Company," *British literary publishing houses, 1881–1965*, ed. J. Rose and P. J. Anderson, Dictionary of Literary Biography, 112 (1991).

in the series with Lina Duff Gordon.[25] She largely retired from writing after her marriage.



Figure 28 **Portrait photograph of Lina Duff Gordon, Photographed by Alice Hughes, Biblioteca Berenson, Villa i Tatti - The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 701820, Ms B8, Box 15**

Caroline "Lina" Duff Gordon

Caroline "Lina" Duff Gordon OBE (1874–1964) was born to Maurice Duff Gordon (1849–1896), the 7th Baronet of Fyvie, and Frances Duff Gordon (née Waterton) (1844–1889). She was an only child and the niece of Janet Ross, who was her father's sister. After her mother died, Lina Duff Gordon was left in a Parisian convent when her father decided to remarry. Janet Ross asked Duff Gordon to come and live with her in Florence. In 1890 at the age of 16, Duff Gordon arrived at Poggio Gherardo, the Ross family's thirteenth-century villa. Duff Gordon remained with the Ross family until her marriage to Aubrey Waterfield in 1902. In 1917, she co-founded the British Institute in Florence to improve relations between Italy and England for which she earned an OBE. She co-wrote the first guide to the Medieval Towns Series, *The Story of Perugia* (1898)



Figure 29 **Lina [Duff Gordon] Waterfield, Photographer unknown, Biblioteca Berenson, Villa i Tatti - The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 701820, Ms B8, Box 15**

[25] J.A. Symonds and Margaret Symonds, *Our Life in the Swiss Highlands* (London: A. and C. Black, 1892); Margaret Symonds, *Days Spent on a Doges Farm* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893).

with Margaret Symonds, and published *The Story of Assisi* (1900) as well as *A Concise and Practical Guide to Rome* (1905). She was a career writer, and besides publishing three guidebooks, she became a journalist for *The Observer* from 1921 to 1939, and foreign correspondent for Kelmsley Press from 1946 to 1950.[26]

Margaret "Ella" Noyes & Theodora "Dora" Noyes

Theodora "Dora" Noyes (1865–1960) and her sister Margaret "Ella" (1863–1949) were born in Harrow, Middlesex to a middle-class family. The Noyes' three brothers and father were all solicitors.[27] Ella and Dora Noyes, along with their third sister Mary, remained unmarried for the duration of their lives. Ella wrote and Dora illustrated three of the Medieval Towns guidebooks, *The Story of Ferrara* (1905), *The Story of Casentino* (1905) and *The Story of Milan* (1907) as well as other works on Italy and England.[28] Dora Noyes was a professionally trained artist who,



Figure 30 **The Enchanted Hour painted by Dora Noyes, *Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts Catalogue*, 1897.**

[26] "The Waterfield Collection," The British Institute in Florence, n.d., https://www.britishinstitute.it/en/library/the-archive/waterfield-collection.
[27] "Margaret Ella Noyes," London, England, 1863, Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813–1917 [database on-line] (Provo, UT, USA/ Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010) 3
[28] Ella Noyes, *Saints of Italy; Legends Retold by Ella Noyes*, xiv, 158, [3] p. incl. 6 illus., 11 pl. (London: J.M. Dent & co., 1901), //catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100245426; Ella Noyes, *Salisbury Plain: Its Stones, Cathedral, City, Villages* (London: J.M. Dent, 1913); Ella Noyes, *The Story of Ferrara*, 1st ed., illustr. Dora Noyes, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M.

besides illustrating books and guidebooks, attended the Royal Academy School and displayed her works at the Royal Academy.[29]

Nelly Erichsen

Nelly Erichsen was the daughter of Anna Dorthea Suhr (1827–1890) and Herman Erichsen (1828–1890) a merchant and co-founder of the Danish telecommunications company, Store Nordiske Telegrafselska.[30]



Figure 31 **Anna Dorothea Erichsen née Suhr (1827–1890), wife of Herman Gustav Erichsen, with their children (Nelly Erichsen, far right). Billedsamlingen. Danske portrætter. Erichsen, Anna Dorothea (1827–1890) 8°, Det Kgl. Biblioteks billedsamling**



Figure 32 **Nelly Erichsen (right) and her cousin Ida Marie Suhr (left), photographer unknown, 1889. Nils Tiesen, "Report from the Family Archive 1997/98," The Suhrs Foundation, 1997–1998,**

The Erichsen family lived in Tooting, South London and their close neighbours included other wealthy middle-class families, such as the Lucas family (barristers) and the Macmillan family (publishers). Edgar Lucas married Nelly Erichsen's sister Alice, while Margaret Lucas married George Augustin Macmillan, son of Alexander Macmillan, head of the

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Dent & Co., 1904); Ella Noyes, *The Casentino and Its Story*, 1st ed., illustr. Dora Noyes, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1905); Ella Noyes, *The Story of Milan*, 1st ed., illustr. Dora Noyes, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1907).

[29] *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1895); *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1896); *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1897).

[30] Nils Tiesen, "Report from the Family Archive 1984/85," The Suhrs Foundation, 1985–1984, http://www.suhrske.com/slaegten/guleHaefter/GH8485.html; Nils Tiesen, "Report from the Family Archive 1997/98," The Suhrs Foundation, 1997–1998, http://www.suhrske.com/slaegten/guleHaefter/GH9798_8.html.

Macmillan Publishing Co.[31] The three families were thus all connected by marriage. Nelly Erichsen was an accomplished artist and attended the Royal Academy School and exhibited her works at the Royal Academy.[32] She illustrated many books and guidebooks, including eight Medieval Towns guides.



Figure 33 **Portrait of Alethea Wiel, photo by Fratelli Vianelli, *Venice*, 1896.**

Alethea Wiel

Alethea Lawley Wiel (1851–1929) was born in England as the daughter of Beilby Richard Lawley, 2nd Baron Wenlock (1818–1880) and Elizabeth Grosvenor Lawley (1824–1899). While conducting research for a historical work in Italy, she met the Venetian musicologist, historian, and composer Taddeo Wiel (1849–1920) and they married in 1890. Wiel lived in Venice with her husband for many years until his death in 1920. She wrote four history books before joining the Medieval Towns Series to write *The Story of Verona* (1902) and *The Story of Bologna* (1923).

[31] *Census Returns of England and Wales*, 1881. Op. Cit., Class RG11; Piece 664, folio 45; page 37; GSU roll 1341154.
[32] Henry Blackburn, *Academy Notes 1891 with Illustrations of the Principle Pictures at Burlington House* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1890), 129; *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1896), 8.

Helen M. James

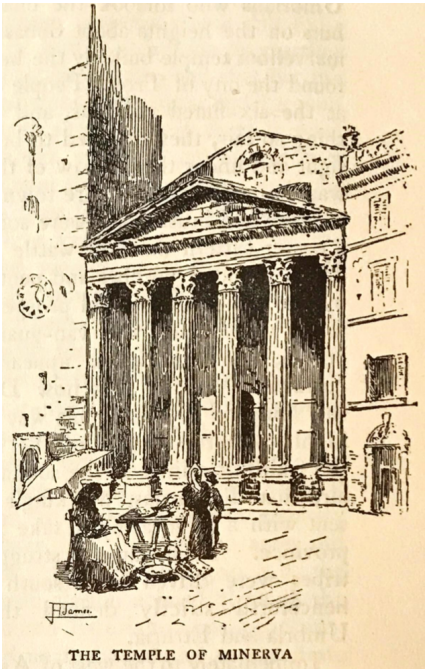


Figure 34 **Illustration of the Temple of Minerva by Helen James**

Very little is known about the Medieval Towns' first illustrator, Helen M. James. What we do know about her largely comes from an account given by J.M. Dent in his memoirs, where he describes James as having a physical disability making her "short of stature with a twisted spine, and walk[ing] with crutches."[33] According to Dent, James was an accomplished linguist and spoke Spanish, French, and Italian fluently. She also learned enough Russian so that she could travel to Russia to illustrate the Medieval Towns guide to Moscow. She died in 1902 from measles while working on *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano* in Italy.[34]

As these brief biographies suggest, the contributors to the Medieval Towns Series were, for the most part, drawn from the ranks of the educated middle and upper classes; several were from well-connected literary and artistic families; some had formal arts training. This chapter examines the education and training the MTS authors received in more depth, drawing out the significance of the

[33] Joseph M. Dent and Hugh R. Dent, *My Memoirs: The Memoirs of J.M. Dent* (London; Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1928), 81.
[34] Dent, *Memoirs*, 81.

commonalities between them, and highlighting the importance of social networks in their development as writers and illustrators.

I) Education, Training, & Mentorship

Writing scholarly guidebooks such as the Medieval Towns texts required an advanced level of education and professional training. Women scholars depended on a community of educated men and women who mentored through a network maintained either through family ties or correspondence.[35] Belonging to families that fostered strong networks with people in intellectual and cultural circles, some women had greater access to the education and resources needed to obtain this level of knowledge and expertise. Others cultivated connections to elite cultural groups for the same purpose. Upper-middle-class women often had teachers of distinction, even those that received education through self-directed or home-based study.[36]

One of the most enduring elements of Annan's study of British intelligentsia is his emphasis on the primary role of British universities as locations where people became intellectuals.[37] As Annan argues, to be a member of the intellectual aristocracy one needed to "have been to a university, or by some means to have acquired a higher education or professional status."[38] Annan's study therefore sees a strong correlation between membership to the intellectual elite and an education in a formal instution; a correlation which was undoubtedly more commonplace for men of this period from the

[35] Hurst, *Victorian Women Writers*, 58.
[36] Peterson, "No Angels in the House," 688.
[37] Annan, "Intellectual Aristocracy," 248.
[38] Annan, "Intellectual Aristocracy," 248.

upper-middle class than women of the same background.[39] In this period, university in the British context was a place where many women went to be trained for a vocation, yet as Carol Dyhouse has noted, there was a dual-market split between women who attended simply for the pleasure of learning and those intent on gaining paid careers.[40] Although Whyte highlights that the intelligentsia were not uniquely found in "institutions of *elite* education,"[41] focusing on any educational institution, elite or not, ignores the alternative forms of education that women of the same class most often received by other means. As none of the women writers of Medieval Towns guides received formal schooling or university education, they depended instead on private and self-directed education facilitated and encouraged by their social networks.

Examining the education of the MTS female authors, we can observe that these women received specialized training in history, classical and contemporary languages, and art history (among other subjects) from renowned experts and scholars of their time. Sometimes, as was the case for Margaret Symonds, these scholars were members of their own family. Symonds was educated at home, primarily under the tutelage of her mother and father.[42] Since the Symonds family divided their time between Switzerland, Britain, and Italy, Margaret Symonds was also given the opportunity to study art and history in Europe's museums, libraries, and historical spaces under her father's instruction, and according to her friends, this "develop[ed] her mind beyond her

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[39] Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction Of Sex?: Women In British Universities, 1870–1939* (London: Routledge, 1995), 25; The exception was Oxbridge where they came from the professional middle class. Dyhouse puts the ratio at 1:8; Dyhouse, *No Distinction Of Sex?*, 23.
[40] Dyhouse, *No Distinction Of Sex?*, 23.
[41] Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited," 20. Emphasis mine.
[42] Rudikoff, "The Known and the Unknown," 103.

years."[43] Symonds learned modern languages, such as French and German, and received expert instruction in history and art history.

Other members of the MTS also received instruction from governesses or from notable cultural figures associated with their family; Janet Ross was educated primarily at home and became fluent in German, Italian, and French. She was adept in history, music, art, husbandry, horse riding, and according to her governess Fraulein von Zeschau, gained "too much independence."[44] Notable figures from her family's friend group assisted in this education. Ross recalled that she "painfully taught [herself] to read, much encouraged by Charles Dickens."[45] Lina Duff Gordon was also educated through self-directed study and private lessons; however, her studies were not the kind so often blamed for the poor state of women's education mid-century.[46] Duff Gordon read books on history and art in several languages, travelled frequently, and visited museums, galleries, and libraries on a regular basis, often in the company of the Symonds, Berenson, or Clemens families.[47] During one trip with the Symonds, Duff Gordon recalled:

> Seeing pictures with Madge and her father opened my eyes to the excitement of art. I remember my surprise when Mr. Symonds sat for hours each morning taking notes in front of an easel-picture by Tiepolo of the last Communion of St. Lucy. He was writing his book *In the Key of Blue*. It then dawned on me there was a real art in looking at pictures.[48]

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[43] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 58.
[44] Ross, *The Fourth Generation*, 33.
[45] Ross, *The Fourth Generation*, 7.
[46] Susan Hamilton and Janice Schroeder, *Nineteenth-Century British Women's Education, 1840–1900* (London: Routledge, 2007).
[47] The family of Samuel Clemens, better known as Mark Twain.
[48] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 59.

Friendships between families with significant cultural figures allowed women like Duff Gordon an early window into the production of scholarship and art. Her family's relationship with the Symonds family "opened [her] eyes" to the time and skill it took to analyze an artwork and produce an original text.[49] Through observation and informal discussion, women in such circles were exposed to many forms of learning not as easily classified as a university degree.

As Janet Ross's niece and ward, Lina Duff Gordon also benefited from her aunt's wide sphere of influence and was also tutored by several major figures drawn from Ross's network. Ross asked her close friend, French philosopher, scholar, and statesman Jules Barthelemy-Saint-Hilaire (1805–1895), for a reading list for Duff Gordon; his suggestions included Plato, Bossuet, Descartes, and Leibniz.[50] She attended drawing lessons with the Italian painter and sculptor Carlo Orsi (?–1894).[51] Ross also sent Duff Gordon to Professor Guido Biagi (1855–1925), historian and Director of the Laurentian Library, to learn Italian and Latin. Encouraged to study Latin,[52] Duff Gordon gained a valuable skill that, when paired with her knowledge of contemporary Italian, would prove crucial to her later writing career. The study of Italian, a less-popular foreign language taught to girls than French or German,[53] prepared Duff

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[49] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 59.
[50] Ben Downing, *Queen Bee of Tuscany: The Redoubtable Life of Janet Ross* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 179.
[51] Downing, *Queen Bee*, 179.
[52] Traditionally thought of as a masculine subject despite being frequently studied by Victorian women. For more on the challenges and mitigation strategies women employed to study Classics, see Hurst, *Victorian Women Writers and the Classics*.
[53] Christina de Bellaigue, *Educating women: schooling and identity in England and France, 1800–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 178; S.N. Bayley, "Modern languages as emerging curricular subjects in England 1864–1918," *History of Education Society Bulletin* 57 (1991) 23–31.

Gordon to read and research contemporary Italian scholarship. Her study of Latin created opportunities for primary source research. Both languages were therefore important for scholarly guidebooks written and published about Italy. Knowledge of Italian was also an advantage over many English-speaking male scholars, as modern languages were taught to boys only as a "*divertissement*," and usually resulted in only a rudimentary understanding of the language, meant to facilitate polite conversation rather than serious academic study.[54] Duff Gordon's education, facilitated by social networks, primed her for writing on scholarly subjects related to Italy, and provided her with the beneficial advantage of both classical and contemporary language training.

As these examples suggest, women guidebook writers were often raised in households which supported the development of educated and cultural networks and, as a result, acted as spaces for learning and intellectual debate. Margaret Symonds' education was bolstered by frequent exposure to her parents' cultural, political, and intellectual friends.[55] Recalling her childhood in her memoirs, Symonds emphasized that her house was always filled with her parents' interesting friends. Her mother's friends in Clifton included notable women, such as Sarah Frances "Fanny" Alleyne (1836–1884), Susanna (1820–1884) and Catherine (1827–1878) Winkworth, Mary Clifford (1842–1919), Harriet Martineau (1802–1876), Mary Carpenter (1807–1877),

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[54] Bayley, "Modern languages," 367. For example, modern languages only became part of the curriculum at Cambridge or Oxford in the 1890s. Gillian Sutherland, "Education," in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain*, *1750–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 155; While it was not as common as Latin or Greek, some schools for boys did teach Italian, such as the City of London School, see D. Allsobrook, *Schools for the Shires: The Reform of Middle Class Education in Mid-Victorian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 171.

[55] Margaret Symonds Vaughan, *Out of The Past*, (London: John Murray, 1925), 169.

and Frances Power Cobbe (1822–1904).[56] According to Symonds, the fame of her father and her mother's "curious power of gather[ing] about her the delightful women of any place she happened to be in,"[57] meant that her home was "always full of exciting persons."[58] Yet, Symonds emphasis on the importance of these social groups to her childhood in her memoirs not only indicate her association with this social network, but also points to a deliberate establishment of her own place within this intellectual and social elite. The Symonds' home was an environment where educated, intelligent, and outspoken women could openly discuss scholarship, politics, and literature. The exposure to such connections armed Margaret Symonds with valuable social resources from an early age and it was through this strong social network that she could later construct a writing career.

Other Medieval Towns authors were also raised in households which nurtured intellectual and cultural life. Janet Ross also recalled being surrounded "from earliest childhood" by "brilliant conversation in various languages on many subjects."[59] Some of Ross's childhood friends were her parents' contemporaries, including Tom Taylor (1817–1880), Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), Queen Amalie Auguste (1801–1877), and William Thackeray (1811–1863).[60] Like Symonds, Ross was integrated from an early age into a social group which, by its very nature, fostered intellectual development. She was free to cultivate her intellectual interests and often did so with the support of members within this social network.

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[56] See Appendix A; Symonds Vaughan, *Out of The Past*, 170.
[57] Symonds Vaughan, *Out of The Past*, 169.
[58] Symonds Vaughan, *Out of The Past*, 169.
[59] Ross, *The Fourth Generation*, 5.
[60] See Appendix A; Ross, *The Fourth Generation*, 5–10.

When she settled in Poggio Gherardo in 1888, Ross continued to expand her significant cultural connections by establishing her own social hub. As Ross's ward, it was here that Lina Duff Gordon received the same kind of daily intellectual and cultural exposure as Ross and Symonds. Duff Gordon was enveloped into Janet Ross's social network which included the large community of British and American expats that had settled in Florence. Their neighbours included art historian Vernon Lee [Violet Paget] (1856–1935), Ouida [Maria Louise Ramée] (1839–1908), Mary Smith Costelloe [Berenson] (1864–1945) and Bernard Berenson (1865–1959).[61] These cultural elites frequently visited each other's homes to discuss and debate literature, art, and history. Two intellectual women living together, Ross and Duff Gordon also often discussed and debated history and art with one another, with "such names as Medici, Michael Angelo, [and] Bramante..." frequently hurled about.[62] Engaged in such discussions regularly from a young age, Duff Gordon learned how to construct and defend her ideas, training that would serve her well in the world of publishing where her work would be publicly critiqued. This education prepared the ground for later literary publication and provided the expertise necessary to succeed in a competitive guidebook market.

Be it through familial ties, friendships, or institutions, social connections paved the way for the education and training women needed to form and develop their literary and artistic careers. Nelly Erichsen received similar educational opportunities afforded

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[61] Mary and Bernard lived in the Villa i Tatti, Ouida lived in the Villa Farinola, and Vernon Lee lived in Il Palmerino.
[62] Letter from Katherine Symonds to J.A. Symonds, Poggio Gherardo, Florence, April, 29, 1900, DM1279/1, Symonds Family Papers, University of Bristol Archives, Bristol, UK.

to other women of the MTS.[63] Visitors to her neighbourhood in South Tooting, London included figures such as John Ruskin (1819–1900), Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), and Henry James (1843–1916).[64] Through her elder sister Alice Erichsen's (1885–1944) marriage to Edgar Lucas (1846–?), Nelly Erichsen was tied to the Macmillan publishing family. As a result of the Erichsen's family wealth, connections, and liberal views on women's education, Erichsen's artistic talent was nurtured and encouraged. At seventeen, she took the entry exam for the Royal Academy Schools and was one of the few women accepted.[65] Here she cultivated connections to other women artists, including another future MTS illustrator Dora Noyes, as well as the head of the RA, John Charles Sparkes (1833–1907).[66]

Membership within a network of intellectuals led to the cultivation of an extensive education, one which in turn gave some women the opportunity to construct intellectual and cultural identities. An exposure to elite intellectual and cultural circles from a young age presented many MTS women with opportunities to develop valued skills and connections. These skills were crucial in preparing women for a writing career, particularly in the creation of scholarly guidebooks that required knowledge of modern languages, history, politics, and art as well as the keepers to the repositories which often held the required knowledge to write such texts. This education was

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[63] Sarah Harkness, *Nelly Erichsen: A Hidden Life*, (London: Encanta Publishing, 2018), 27.
[64] Harkness, *Nelly Erichsen*, 27; Shattock also describes the Macmillan family as using their home for private networking dinners also known as "tobacco parliaments" See Joanne Shattock, "Professional Networking, Masculine and Feminine," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44, no. 2 (2011): 134.
[65] Etta Madden and Sarah Harkness, *Nelly Erichsen: Writing and Sketching for the House of Dent*, Istituto Storico Lucchese, Collana di Storia e Cultura Straniera in Lucchesia n. 3 Atti del Convegno Internazionale Relazioni culturali anglo italiane nella Toscana dell'Ottocento Bagni di Lucca, 14–16 Settembre 2012.
[66] See Appendix A.

frequently acquired as a result of family backgrounds and the intellectual and cultural networks these individuals cultivated.

Yet, just as William Whyte's revaluation of the intellectual aristocracy suggests, not all members of the intellectual elite were born into or married into these networks. Although many authors and artists of the MTS were members of intellectual or culturally elite families, some joined this social group through a combination of education and the proactive cultivation of networks. Although very little primary source material has survived from the Noyes sisters, there are several indications that they received both resources and support in furthering their education from their family. Although the details are not known, the Noyes sisters were evidently given access to the resources and support needed to learn Italian, evidenced by their later work in translation and guidebook publications.[67] At the age of sixteen, Dora was supported by her family in her decision to pursue a formal arts education at the Royal Academy School, and was sponsored by the School's Headmaster, John Charles Lewis Sparkes (1833–1907).[68] At the Royal Academy, Dora Noyes met another young female artist, also sponsored by Sparkes, Nelly Erichsen (1862–1918), who had joined the school the previous year. As two members of a minority of women students at the RA, it is highly likely that Noyes and Erichsen developed an acquaintance, if not an outright friendship, during their school days. While little documentary evidence survives to demonstrate the nature of their early relationship, both artists signed the 1883 petition advocating the right of female students to study nude models. This suggests that the two women forged

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[67] Hurst, *Victorian Women Writers*, 60; Cecil H. Clough, "Le sorelle Noyes" in *I disegni ritrovati di Dora Noyes. Una fabulazione di Ferrara per "The Story of Ferrara" di Ella Noyes* (Ferrara: Deputazion Provinciale Ferrarese di Storia Patria, 1996).
[68] Harkness, *Nelly Erichsen*, 49.

a connection in their fight for greater social freedoms for women at the RA, leading to their later friendship and work with the MTS.[69] While all women in the MTS were well-educated, the majority were educated at home by scholars or self-taught. Illustrators were usually professional artists with formal training, but their entry into such institutions required family support. The experiences of the women authors of the Medieval Towns Series more firmly align with William Whyte's model of intellectual aristocracy over Noel Annan's since the latter allows for the diverse educational paths that brought women into these social spheres of cultural influence.

Alongside the instruction they were able to benefit from, women with strong social networks also received further training and mentorship that enabled them to pursue careers in guidebook writing and illustration. These mentor-mentee relationships came in many forms. Some, like Margaret Symonds, learned their trade under the instruction of male family members. Symonds recounted that her father was "very anxious that [she] should take seriously to writing."[70] She described him as detesting "scamped or slovenly work" and indicated that he routinely critiqued her writing, tutoring her in how to write professionally. Symonds recalled:

> He hated amateurness, and he always told me that, taken all round, the public was a good judge of good work, and that there was a certain test in a work if it were saleable. He told me that I should write with a view to getting paid for my writing. By this, of course he did not mean that I should receive payment for a form of sloppy journalism or fleeting modern fiction—he alluded to good markets only, and his standard was a very high one ... He instilled this lesson into me so thoroughly that I have spent a large part of my life in not publishing,

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[69] Royal Academy of Arts, *Petition of female students*, 1883, RAA/SEC/8/15, Royal Academy of Arts Archives, London, England.
[70] Symonds Vaughan, *Out of The Past*, 260.

but in attempting to perfect those very rare writings… [71]

From this passage, we can note several key elements that correlate with Symonds' writing career. The first element is that Symonds made an effort to highlight that her father supported her in writing *professionally* as opposed to *amateur* writing. Her emphasis on the fact that she should be expected to be paid for her work is highlighted as the main indication of professionalism. Second, there is a clear distinction made between *good* writing and *bad* writing. Although Symonds wrote short stories for circulation amongst close friends, she never published in genres of fiction, journalism, or the practical guidebook subgenre. Instead, she wrote biographies, biographical accounts of her life spent in Switzerland and Italy, book reviews, and a scholarly guidebook—genres which could be described as serious writing by her father's standards. Finally, Symonds seems to have used her father's high standards and this expectation of great writing to explain why she did not publish more during her lifetime. The lessons instilled by J.A. Symonds "so thoroughly" impacted Margaret Symonds that she evidently felt compelled to produce certain kinds of work, and while his support of her writing was important, his own fame cast a long shadow, demonstrating the complex negotiations that women authors might have to engage in, and the limits that mentorship might sometimes place on their production.

To foster professionalism, J.A. Symonds also taught his daughter how to receive and use criticism of her work; however, he also cautioned her to "attend carefully to such criticisms… if you feel your own instinct to have been right, of course retain the

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[71] Symonds Vaughan, *Out of The Past*, 261; Symonds only published travel literature, memoirs, and a scholarly guidebook.

original phrase."[72] Symonds was encouraged to assert her own agency and to defend her thoughts and ideas against attack if she believed they were valid. Symonds was introduced into the world of publishing by her father who co-authored her first work. In 1892, father and daughter published *Our Life in the Swiss Highlands*.[73] After the success of her first published work, Symonds gained enough experience and confidence to write a solo work, *Days Spent on a Doges Farm*, the following year.[74] Mentorship from her father, while it might involve some constraints, also acted as a form of training where Symonds could test and build her own authority and apply her knowledge as a non-fiction writer. This training and experience would later prove significant when she was asked to write *The Story of Perugia* (1898).

Symonds received not only education and training under the tutelage of her father, but she also gained professional authority from her association with him. To compensate for their "lack of formal merits," such as university degrees, women scholars often borrowed authority from "well-known male historians."[75] Women guidebook authors often borrowed authority by associating themselves and their training with male historians in their guides as well as in their autobiographical writing. They did so by referencing assistance or connection to male scholars in the prefaces of their works and in forms of published life writing. Symonds used descriptions of her early education and literary apprenticeship from her father to establish a narrative of professional training and development. Coupled with the debut of her writing career,

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[72] Symonds Vaughan, *Out of The Past*, 263.
[73] J.A. Symonds and Margaret Symonds, *Our Life in the Swiss Highlands* (London: A. and C. Black, 1892).
[74] Margaret Symonds, *Days Spent on a Doges Farm* (London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1893).
[75] Garritzen, *Women Historians*, 4.

the co-publication of a travel account with her father, Symonds frequently framed her reputation as a writer around her father's authority.

Yet shaping of female intellectual authority was complex and sometimes authority did not rely on a male figure at all. Women guidebook writers could also seek authority by aligning themselves not with male authority but with other *women* of cultural and intellectual importance. Both Janet Ross and Lina Duff Gordon descended from a prominent line of intellectual women, a legacy of which they were both proud. This pride is particularly evident in Janet Ross's publication of the memoirs of her great-grandmother, grandmother, and mother, *Three Generations of English Women*, which points to the establishment of an intergenerational claim to authority.[76] Ross's adoption and extension of this authority can be clearly gleaned from the title of her own autobiography *The Fourth Generation*. Linking herself to famous women intellectuals in her own family, Ross made strong connections between her foremothers and her own intellectual capacities, aligning with Alex Easley's argument that literary authority was not always understood to reside uniquely in the male sex.[77]

Women sometimes entered the guidebook market through the support and guidance of a more experienced writer, commonly someone that was related to them or with whom they had a well-established relationship.[78] Of the thirty-one guidebooks written by women analyzed in this study, nine were co-written, including three

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[76] For more on this intergenerational intellectual legacy, see Claudia Capancioni, "Janet Ross's Intergenerational Life Writing: Female Intellectual Legacy through Memoirs, Correspondence, and Reminiscences," *Life Writing* 14, no. 2 (April 3, 2017): 233–44.
[77] Easley, *First-person anonymous*, 18–20.
[78] Common pairings are husband and wife, close friends, or sisters.

Medieval Towns guides.[79] Women who collaborated assisted each other's career development, creating networks of support that helped other women to establish their careers and grow more confident and experienced. Margaret Symonds used her position as an already established author to connect other young women intellectuals with formal publishing opportunities. When J.M. Dent approached Symonds about the possibility of writing a guidebook, she suggested that Lina Duff Gordon "help her with reading Italian books and studying the history of the place."[80] This was the first of many acts that would mark her as Duff Gordon's mentor. Symonds also invited her friend Agnes Haig to join her and Duff Gordon in Perugia for the research of the book, encouraging Haig: "but why can't you join the glad throng? … There is a great field of study for you are a student..."[81] While Haig ultimately declined to join the duo, Symonds used her position to connect educated women to the guidebook industry and facilitate their entry into the market.

Symonds also played the role of mentor to fifteen-year-old Virginia Stephen [later Woolf] who was the cousin of Symonds' husband, William Vaughan. Woolf came to stay with the Vaughan family in 1904 for rest and recovery after her first attempt at suicide.[82] Like Duff Gordon, Woolf developed a strong affection for

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[79] For guides written by pairs not in the MTS, see John W. Cruickshank and Alice M. Cruickshank, *The Umbrian Towns*, Grant Allen's Historical Guides (London: G. Richards, 1901); J.W. Cruickshank and A.M. Cruickshank, *The Umbrian Cities of Italy*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Grant Allen's Historical Guides (Boston: L.C. Page, 1907); J. W. and A. M. Cruickshank, *Christian Rome*, Grant Allen's Historical Guides (London: Grant Richards, 1911); J. W. and A. M. Cruickshank, *The Smaller Tuscan Towns*, Grant Allen's Historical Guides (London: Grant Richards, 1912).
[80] Waterfield, *Castle in Italy*, 65.
[81] Correspondence from Madge Symonds to Agnes Haig, November 15, 1897, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Correspondence, University of Bristol Special Archives, Bristol, UK.
[82] Virginia Woolf, *A Passionate Apprentice: Early Journals*, Mitchell Alexander Leaska ed., (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990) 161, 165.

Symonds, often referring to her as "Foster-mother" or "mamma Vaughan" to stress their close relationship.[83] The two women also exchanged books and discussed their writing.[84] Symonds provided support and guidance to Woolf in her adolescence, encouraged her to pursue her writing, and bolstered her self-confidence. Once Symonds wrote to Woolf: "I believe in your genius. I feel in you a rare quality—a something which will someday take some form, what form I cannot tell, but a form delightful and needful for your generation."[85] Scholars have since argued that Symonds was Virginia Woolf's first female love, and that Woolf's novel, *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) modeled the character of Sally Seaton after Symonds.[86] Symonds' mentorship and encouragement was thus influential to the writing careers of younger women and provided the critical support they needed to pursue their writing professionally. As guidebooks were a part of wider literary culture, their links to writers in other genres demonstrates that just as fiction, poetry, and biography could influence guidebook writers (both in their lives as well as the content of their work), so too could guidebook writers influence those outside their genre through female support networks and mentorship.

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[83] Virginia Woolf and Mitchell Alexander Leaska, *A Passionate Apprentice: Early Journals* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990) 161, 165.
[84] Jane deGay, Tom Breckin, Anne Reus, eds., *Virginia Woolf and Heritage*, (Clemson, South Carolina: Clemson University Press, 2017), 49; Rowena Fowler, "Virginia Woolf and Katharine Furse: An Unpublished Correspondence," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature,* (9:2, 1990), 202.
[85] Madge Symonds Vaughan, *Madge Vaughan, Gigglewick School to Virginia Stephen*, Unpublished correspondence, 30 Nov 1904, SxMs-18/1/D/181/2, Sussex University.
[86] Virginia Woolf and Mitchell Alexander Leaska, *A Passionate Apprentice: Early Journals*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990); Eileen Barrett and Patricia Cramer eds., *Unmasking Lesbian Passion* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 151; Jane deGay, Tom Breckin, and Anne Reus eds., *Virginia Woolf and Heritage* (Clemson, South Carolina: Clemson University Press, 2017); Virginia Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925).

Symonds' most significant contribution to the development of new guidebook writers was her relationship with Lina Duff Gordon. Margaret Symonds was introduced to Duff Gordon around 1892 through the friendship of Janet Ross and J.A. Symonds. Both women displayed a keen intellect and appreciation for art and historic scholarship and developed a close friendship. Writing to Symonds, Duff Gordon once exclaimed: "I don't know what I should do if I had not you to write to. None of my friends are in the least interested in the books which, at this moment are my life."[87] Duff Gordon found in Symonds an intellectual equal with whom she could share her scholarly interests and the two frequently corresponded for almost a decade between 1893 and 1902.

A friendship with Symonds formed a crucial part of Duff Gordon's training and education for the support and encouragement it offered. While Duff Gordon's letters show that she gained independence and experience through travelling to Perugia with Symonds, they also highlight she was still developing her confidence in both her intellectual and writing abilities. One recurring theme throughout their correspondence is Duff Gordon's deference to Symonds' judgement and experience. She often addressed Symonds' work with reverence, usually by paying Symonds compliments: "I was overcome by the depth of your art learning & can only repeat with the perfection that my friend is 'un vero pozzo di sapienza' [a real well of knowledge]."[88] She also expressed sentiments of self-deprecation to underscore her own inexperience: "Do send me your Paduan M.S. Yours will be the Artistic [sic] picture while mine is as cold and

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[87] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, March 27, 1898, WAT:I:G:66:H:1–15, folio 9, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[88] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, January 16, 1897, WAT:I:G:59:H:1–17, folio, 13v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

hard as the Forno glacier."[89] While the two women wrote *Perugia* together, Duff Gordon felt her own strengths lay in historical biography and art history, while she gave the more prestigious title of historian to Symonds: "Somehow I feel more in touch with the world (by which I mean nature) reading & learning about the painters than in reading history. You are becoming an historian & I am weakly groveling for knowledge in another direction..."[90] As both Symonds and Duff Gordon travelled frequently between Italy, Switzerland, and England, Symonds encouraged Duff Gordon's efforts as they exchanged ideas and manuscript proofs through their letters.

As Duff Gordon's mentor, Symonds helped her to weather the inevitable issues that arose when publishing a book. To her "horror," Duff Gordon made a mistake with the proofs for the index of *Perugia*,[91] and while the crisis was successfully averted, Symonds gave Duff Gordon advice and constructive criticism and Duff Gordon "felt decidedly happier" reading Symonds' "soothing lines."[92] Her relationship with Symonds was crucial to the development of Duff Gordon's abilities as a writer and working together on *Perugia* helped build her confidence, allowing her to develop her own sense of connoisseurship and authority under the guidance and personal support of a more experienced writer. When *Perugia* was finally printed, Duff Gordon wrote to Symonds that she was "proud of having my name coupled with yours. I am going to put

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[89] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, September 24, 1893, WAT:I:G:55:H:1, Folio 14, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[90] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, October 30, 1896, WAT:I:G:58:H1, folio, 1v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[91] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, January 8, 1898, WAT:I:G:64:H:1–14, folio, 3-3v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[92] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, January 17, 1898, WAT:I:G:64:H:1–14, folio 9, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

all your Perugian letters together in a book & shall read them over continually."[93] Duff Gordon's expression of pride showed not only that she viewed herself as the student in their relationship, but how highly she valued Symonds' experience.

When it came time to finally publish a guidebook independently, Duff Gordon directly acknowledged the important role Symonds played in encouraging and shaping her writing career. In 1900, she wrote to Symonds to say she wanted to dedicate the second guidebook in the series, *The Story of Assisi*, to her:

> Why of course I am going to dedicate the book to you for gracious—all I've learnt has been from you. Facts, tiresome facts I procure from books but it was you who first showed me how to use them and give them to people without causing general indigestion and this I shall certainly say somehow or other in the preface—But the books dedication and preface shall be sent to you in M.S. for sanction.[94]

The published guide to Assisi did indeed acknowledge Symonds in its preface,[95] and Duff Gordon's insistence on publicly crediting Symonds again demonstrates the value she placed on Symonds mentorship and her role in guiding her as a scholarly guidebook writer. In addition, her acknowledgement of Symonds as influential to her career development gave Duff Gordon the same link to authority that Symonds received from her father, again indicating the complexity of gendered patterns of authority. This strong bond of female mentorship and guidance allowed Duff Gordon to construct herself as a professional writer, eventually leading a life-long literary career.

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[93] Sadly, these letters have not survived or have resisted discovery, and would be invaluable in understanding both sides of their relationship; Lina Duff Gordon, Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, March 27, 1898, WAT:I:G:66:H:1–15, folio 9, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[94] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 23, 1900, WAT:I:G:77:H:1–14, folio 7v-8, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[95] Lina Duff Gordon, *The Story of Assisi*, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1900).

In receiving education, training, and support in their intellectual and literary development, women guidebook writers cultivated intellectual lives and gained authority and experience. Self-directed learning or in-house tutoring did not equate to poor education, and many received instruction from notable scholars and artists. This education was facilitated by social networks, but unlike the predominance of university education stressed by Noel Annan's theory of intellectual aristocracy, women joined this elite in more complex ways. Their intellectual lifestyles closely align with William Whyte's theory of cultural consumption as markers of intellectual elite status. Such lifestyles led to the redoubling and strengthening of their intellectual and cultural networks, networks whose resources would later be tapped when pursuing a career in the literary world.

II) Networks & Career Development

Once established within a network of intellectual and cultural elites, personal relationships could be harnessed and used in many ways to develop a literary career. As discussed in Chapter Three, scholarly female guidebook writers like Susan and Joanna Horner had privileged access to many key resources because of their social connections. In the realm of guidebook production, the Horners were not unique in this regard, but demonstrate a common phenomenon among scholarly women guidebook producers in this period. Using Georg Simmel's web of group affiliations theory as a model, as previously outlined in the introduction, a sociogram was created to better observe the patterns of affiliation between women of the MTS and intellectual and cultural circles in

Britain, Europe, and America.[96] Women writers and illustrators for the Medieval Towns Series used their social networks to gain access to important contacts within Anglo-American literary circles. Since the majority of women guidebook producers were acquainted with many prominent figures of their day, they strategically used these social connections to further their literary careers and secure publishing work.

Janet Ross was perhaps without rival when it came to using social connections shrewdly. Examining the sociogram created to better visualize the connections uncovered through primary sources, Ross boasted over seventy ties to people of artistic, cultural, political, or intellectual importance.[97] These networks include many writers and publishers involved in the guidebook market and she knew several guidebook authors personally, including John Murray whom she described as "an old family friend."[98] After years of presiding over the community of Anglo-American expats who had settled around the hills of Florence, Ross became famous for the social network she built across Europe, Britain, and the United States. A successful writer, well-connected socialite, and savvy businesswoman, Ross used the intellectual capital she gained through her social connections, the independence she had cultivated through travel and self-directed study, and her family's established tradition of women intellectuals to sustain her own writing career. She published pieces of travel writing in the periodical

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[96] Georg Simmel, Kurt H. Wolff, and Reinhard Bendix, *Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1955); See Appendix A.
[97] These are the ties found in her letters, biography, and the correspondence of those close to her, such as her niece Lina. The true number is likely much higher. See Appendix A.
[98] Janet Ross, *The Fourth Generation* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1912), iv.

press, including the *English Illustrated Magazine*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, and the *National Review* before moving into publishing books and finally guidebooks.[99]

Acutely aware that the literary world ran on social networks, Ross often sought new connections through friends to gain a professional advantage. She knew how to use her social networks to ensure her success and was open and direct about using friendships to further her career. One of her favourite contacts for establishing connections was Sir Henry Layard (1817–1894), whose list of professional titles included archeologist, art historian, politician, and diplomat. Layard was himself well-connected to a wide range of social circles, particularly in London where most British publishers conducted their business. Ross's physical distance from London could have presented a problem, as women who worked from outside the publishing centres of London or Edinburgh were often thought to be at a significant disadvantage when it came to professional networking.[100] As finances in the early days of her career were too restricted for Ross to travel to London frequently, she used Layard to access new connections and business opportunities. Letters from Ross to Layard frequently pose questions like: "Do you perchance know the Editor of 'Harper', I'm told that if recommended, articles are taken, but not otherwise…"[101] or "Do you know Macmillan, if you do, & chance to see him, I wish you'd suggest to him to re-publish my Italian

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[99] Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor eds., "Janet Ross" in *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: The British Library, 2009), 545.
[100] See, Joanne Shattock, "Professional Networking, Masculine and Feminine" *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Victorian Networks and the Periodical Press 44, no. 2 (Summer, 2011): 128.
[101] Letter from Janet Ross to Sir Henry Layard, January 29, 1886, WAT:I E:23:ff1-10, folio 4, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

articles in a little book, if possible illustrated."[102] Layard's responses have not survived, but from the tone of the correspondence, Layard seems to have been more than willing to assist. Ross used her connections to well-known and respected men to maintain contact with social circles in the literary world and leveraged these connections to access new contacts to benefit her professional career. Furthermore, these connections helped mitigate any disadvantages that may have resulted from living so far from London and the spaces where significant literary and social connections were made.

Networks did not only create opportunities for work, they also provided support in the research and development of this work, including sharing key textual resources. With the most impressive list of friends and acquaintances in the Medieval Towns series (and perhaps the whole guidebook market), Janet Ross was well placed to use her social network to develop scholarly expertise. One of Ross's primary connections to research materials was through her friendship with historian Thomas M. Lindsay (1843–1914).[103] Lindsay and Ross often exchanged letters on the various topics they were studying, and while writing her first guide, *The Story of Pisa* (1909), Ross asked Lindsay for assistance verifying information. While many guidebook authors often thanked the experts and scholars they consulted in the preface of their works, Lindsay insisted on remaining anonymous:

> Now please do not put my name into the introduction of the book [*The Story of Pisa*]. May friend not help friend? Must the hand know what the other is doing? I always thought of myself as one of those rotatory book-case [sic] and you as turning it round every now and then for a book of reference. Let me be your rotatory book-case.[sic] You would never mention a book-case[sic] in your preface. Besides you cannot

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[102] Letter from Janet Ross to Sir Henry Layard, May 4, 1886, WAT:I E:24:ff1-10, Folio 4v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[103] T.M. Lindsay, *Letters of Principal T.M. Lindsay to Janet Ross* (London: Constable & Company Ltd., 1923).

> tell how very delightful it has been to answer questions and look up references for you.[104]

By referring to himself as a bookcase, Lindsay named himself a resource at Ross' disposal. It is also clear that he expected nothing in return and enjoyed assisting her with the project. That he remained anonymous in the preface of the guide speaks to the often–invisible threads that literary and scholarly friendships wove together to support one another's work. Friends were understood to be professional resources among scholars and writers, and when it came to writing guidebooks, friends could be called upon to assist in uncovering important information.

Educated men often provided women with privileged access to their own resources through these informal social network connections and, as we have seen in Chapter Three with the Horner sisters, this practice was not unique to the Medieval Towns series producers. Yet, it should be stressed that ties between women guidebook writers and other male scholars or academics were mutually beneficial, and both men and women valued the resources and expertise of the other. It was Janet Ross who secured J.A. Symonds the opportunity to examine Michelangelo's writings when he needed to conduct research for *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti* (1893). Access to the archive that held the writings was said to be "almost impossible" thanks to the last will and testament of the Buonarroti family which strictly prohibited the letters and papers from being examined by anyone.[105] Yet this did not stop Ross from contacting her friend Guido Biagi, the director of the Laurentian Library, and telling him of Symonds' work. Biagi "suggested that a formal application should be made to him to

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[104] T.M. Lindsay, "Letter to Mrs. Ross, Feb 24, 1907, Glasgow," *Letters of Principal T.M. Lindsay to Janet Ross* (London: Constable & Company Ltd.), 10.
[105] Ross, *Fourth Generation*, 302.

forward to Rome" which was made on Symonds' behalf.[106] That Ross was able to call in such a significant favour with relatively little effort says something about the strength of her social network and her own position and influence within this group. As a result of Ross's connections and her own importance within the network, J.A. Symonds was granted access to the archives, resulting in the crucial discovery of Michelangelo's romantic interest in men, influencing much of Symonds' later writing. He owed this "impossible" feat to Ross and her social connections.[107] As previously noted earlier in this chapter, when scholars study male-female relationships with the aim of professional development, the benefit to the woman is usually singularly stressed. Women are presented as the ones who gain something in male-female professional or scholarly relationships (access to archives and books, increased knowledge, etc.). Although friendships with well-connected men offered women advantages, the Medieval Towns network clearly illustrates that men also benefited from the strength of a woman's social network and that these networks sometimes gave women privileged access to materials and spaces inaccessible to others, including men.

Illustrators also used social connections to secure work and connect with major figures in the literary world. Nelly Erichsen fostered ties with literary and artistic circles in Denmark, England, and Italy.[108] Using her family's connections to those in the literary world, Nelly Erichsen secured her first job as an illustrator for the book *We Four* (1881) written by Emily Octavia Bray (1847–1927), a friend of the Erichsen family.[109] When Erichsen's sister Alice, an author and translator, published a book with

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[106] Ross, *Fourth Generation*, 302.
[107] Ross, *Fourth Generation*, 302.
[108] See Appendix A.
[109] Madden et al., 50.

J.M. Dent thirteen years later in 1894, Nelly Erichsen did the illustrations and used her family connections to establish ties with the J.M. Dent publishing house. In 1896, Alice published a second work with Dent and Nelly Erichsen again provided the illustrations.[110] Nelly Erichsen was connected to Dent four years before the first Medieval Towns Series was conceived, setting her up for her later work with the series. Given that the relationship between Nelly Erichsen and another of the series' illustrators, Dora Noyes, predates any other connection between the series and other members of the MTS, it is likely that Erichsen also served as the link between the Noyes sisters and guidebook publishing with J.M. Dent.

When Erichsen joined the Medieval Towns Series, she was quickly integrated into the MTS network. Erichsen arrived in Italy in 1899 to work on *Assisi* with Duff Gordon and was promptly introduced by Duff Gordon and Ross to the rest of the intellectual community in Florence. Erichsen spent time travelling with Ross, Duff Gordon, and Mary and Bernard Berenson before setting off for Assisi with Duff Gordon to work on the guidebook.[111] Erichsen's interests and talent in art and cultural production allowed her to support herself financially to some degree,[112] while her views on womanhood and support of feminism likely drew her to this group of women

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[110] Alice Erichsen Lucas published several books and translations, including *Fairytales of the brothers Grimm* (1911); Alice Lucas, *Translations from the German poets of the 18th and 19th centuries* (London: Henry S. King, 1876); Alice Lucas, *Songs of Zion by Hebrew singers of Medieval Times* (London: J.M. Dent, 1894); Henrik Pontoppidan, *Emanuel, or Children of the Soil*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, transl. Alice Lucas (London: J.M. Dent, 1896); Alice Lucas, *Talmudic Legends, Hymns, and Paraphrases* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1908); Hans C. Anderson, *The Ugly Duckling and Other Fairy Tales*, illustr. Maxwell Armfield, Alice Lucas transl. (London: J.M. Dent, 1913).

[111] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 28, 1899, WAT:I:G:72:H:9–11, folio 8, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

[112] Tiesen, "Report from the Family Archive 1984/85".

guidebook authors who largely shared her views.[113] Since Erichsen and Berenson were both interested in art, travel, and women's rights, they got along well. Mary Berenson described their first meeting in her diary as "quite an event," and exclaimed: "she seems just the kind of woman I am always hoping to find."[114] Erichsen decided to settle in Italy, making her home in Bagni di Lucca. Unmarried, Erichsen shared her accommodations with Rose Elizabeth Cleveland (1846–1918), former acting First Lady of the United States, and the philanthropist and author Evangeline Simpson Whipple (1857–1930), who were open about their romantic relationship.[115] These two American women, from New York and Massachusetts respectively, were also involved in intellectual and literary circles in Italy and America, and Erichsen's co-habitation with the couple not only suggests her liberal and pro-feminist sentiments, but further illustrates the links that formed between British and American women in literary and artistic circles abroad in Italy.[116] Her connection to the series, and the untimely death of the series' other illustrator, Helen M. James (?–1902), gave Erichsen a solid connection

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[113] Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds both expressed an interest in feminism, Symonds most likely because of her parents and Duff Gordon later became a suffragette. Lina Duff Gordon, Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, February 6, 1898, WAT:I:G:65:H:1–6, folio 1v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; Ben Downing, *Queen Bee of Tuscany: The Redoubtable Life of Janet Ross* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 242.

[114] Mary Berenson diary entry, April 1, 1899, 702923, folio 58, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Harvard University, Villa i Tatti, Florence.

[115] Sirpa Salenius, *Rose Elizabeth Cleveland: First Lady and Literary Scholar* (New York: Palgrave Pivot, 2014).

[116] Whipple eventually wrote a history of the Bagni di Lucca region and dedicated it to Cleveland who had died, along with Nelly Erichsen, from the Spanish flu in 1918. All three are buried together in Bagni di Lucca English Cemetery. See, Evangeline E. Marrs Whipple, *A Famous Corner of Tuscany* (Norfolk: Jarrolds Ltd., 1928).

to not only several female authors of the series, but also the male ones, as she later illustrated several of their guides.[117]

Erichsen also used her relation to Alexander Macmillan (1818–1896), to further her artistic career in literary illustration.[118] Her close relationship with the Macmillan family undoubtedly gave her an advantage in securing illustration work from Macmillan,[119] and she produced works for *The English Illustrated* and the Highways and Byways guidebook series.[120] An illustrator for two guidebook series, Erichsen possibly also served as the connection between travel writer Edward Hutton (1875–1969) and the Medieval Towns series. Hutton and Erichsen worked to produce *Highways and Byways in Somerset* (1912), *Highways and Byways in Wiltshire* (1917), before he signed on with Dent and the Medieval Towns Series to write *The Story of*

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[117] Edmund G. Gardner, *The Story of Florence*, Mediaeval Town Series (London: J. M. Dent, 1900); Norwood Young, *The Story of Rome*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1901); Count Francis Lützow, *The Story of Prague*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Medieval Towns Series (London: J. M. Dent, 1902); Thomas Okey, *The Story of Venice*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1905).

[118] According to the diaries of Mary Berenson, Erichsen had also at one point been romantically involved with Malcolm Macmillan, though "it came to nothing, as he was already married." Mary Berenson diary entry, April 1, 1899, 702923, folio 58, Mary and Bernard Papers, Harvard University, Villa i Tatti, Florence; For more on Erichsen's ties to the Macmillan family, see Harkness, *Nelly Erichsen*, 109.

[119] Related by the marriage of her sister to Edgar Lucas. John B. Firth, *Highways and Byways in Derbyshire*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Highways & Byways Series, (London: Macmillan, 1905); Edward Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Somerset*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Highways & Byways Series, (London: Macmillan, 1912); Edward Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Wiltshire*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Highways & Byways Series, (London: Macmillan, 1917).

[120] Macmillan began the Highways & Byways series in 1899, the same year the first Medieval Towns guidebook was published. The Highways series focused on guidebooks to England, Scotland and Wales, with one publication in Normandy and one in Ireland. Erichsen began her illustration of the Highways and Byways series in 1904 with *Highways and Byways in Derbyshire*; See "A North Country Fishing Town," English Illustrated Magazine, (Vol. 3, April 1886) pp.462–469; J.B. Firth, *Highways and Byways in Derbyshire*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen (London: Macmillan, 1904); Edward Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Somerset*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen (London: Macmillan, 1912); Edward Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Wiltshire*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen (London: Macmillan, 1917).

Ravenna (1926).[121] Erichsen's social network was not only used for her own career development but likely also served to link the MTS with other authors and illustrators. It was Erichsen's social connections to publishers J.M. Dent and Alexander Macmillan that facilitated her entry into guidebook illustration and later propelled her into guidebook writing. Her shared interest in art, culture, and a common British heritage provided her with common interests to other women in guidebook production, while her liberal views on womanhood and women's rights gave her access to both important and well-established women in larger literary and cultural circles in Italy, America, and Britain.

Not all women had entered the guidebook market with previously established ties to publishers or other guidebook producers. While most women within the MTS used the connections they inherited through family to break into the guidebook market, some women entered the market purely by chance and a tenacity for forging their own connections. The first illustrator of the series, Helen M. James, has left little in the way of written documentation of her life and no secondary literature has shed light on her story. According to Dent, James wrote to him requesting illustration work, and he, looking for an illustrator for his new guidebook series, decided to accept her offer. Despite issues with her health and the challenges she faced with her mobility, James was evidently able to support herself with her artistic talents and used her work with the series as a means of facilitating her independent travel.[122] Although Dent described her with pity, she also left an impression of strength; as Dent recalled, "She was a

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[121] He later produced another Highways and Byways series work after Erichsen's death, see Edward Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Gloucestershire*, illustr. Hugh Thompson, Highways and Byways Series (London: Macmillan, 1932).
[122] Dent, *Memoirs*, 81.

wonderful example of what spiritual force can do in spite of frailty of body: for besides working in Italy she was eager to go wherever I wanted drawings."[49] As Ruth Emily Ashton has noted in her doctoral thesis on disability in the nineteenth century "For the physically disabled, their difference made them spectacles, relegated to the sidelines of mainstream society."[123] James' work with the series between 1898–1902 not only provides a different perspective on women's greater involvement in all areas of guidebook production, but her ability to travel unaccompanied also challenges broader perceptions of disability, female independence, and ideas of feminine weakness in the nineteenth century.

Despite no previous connections to the series, James lost little time in establishing herself in the Medieval Towns Series network. James often insisted on doing drawings whenever Dent needed them, allowing her to meet many of the series' male and female authors and illustrators. James' artistic and linguistic skills, coupled with her professional and personal associations with those involved in the Medieval Towns series, gave her the opportunity to illustrate nine of the guidebooks before her death. She died before her last book in the series, *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano* (1902), was complete, but the book was later dedicated to her memory.[124] The book's author, Edmund G. Gardiner wrote a dedication to her in the book's preface in October of 1902:

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[123] Ruth Emily Ashton, "Disabled Domesticity: Representations of Disability in Nineteenth-Century Literature," *PQDT - UK & Ireland* (Ph.D., Ann Arbor, University of Leicester (United Kingdom), 2014), ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global (1794958177), https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/disabled-domesticity-representations-disability/docview/1794958177/se-2?accountid=13042.
[124] Gardner, *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano*, preface.

> The lamented death of Miss Helen M. James deprived us of her assistance in the illustration of the last three chapters, more especially of the two dealing with San Gimignano. Her work has been at the service of this series from the beginning; but it is, perhaps, especially those who have had the privilege of knowing her, and who have had the opportunity of appreciating her character and her personality, that will realise the greatness of this loss. My friend and publisher, Mr. J. M. Dent, associates himself with me in dedicating this volume to her memory.[125]

Gardner and Dent both expressed an appreciation of her work on a professional level but also repeatedly highlighted her character and personality, suggesting the close bonds that formed between authors, illustrators, and publishers. While she may have started out without social connections to the guidebook market and the MTS, by the end of her life James had established ties to both male and female writers, forging a strong network to scholars and artists in the book market and creating a career for herself in book illustration.

Not only were networks crucial to women's scholarly and artistic careers, they were also a key part of turning the written manuscript into a physical guidebook. For example, while Duff Gordon was the sole author of *Assisi*, several other women facilitated the development of the work from a manuscript into the final product. The book contained artwork from both female illustrators, James and Erichsen, while both Margaret Symonds and her mother, Janet Catherine, edited the manuscript proofs.[126] Janet Ross, a more adept typist than Duff Gordon, polished the finished proofs on her

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[125] Gardner, *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano*, preface.
[126] (Janet) Catherine Symonds was the younger sister of the famous biologist, botanical painter, and travel writer Marianne North. Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Vaughan, June 23, 1900, WAT:I:G:77:H:1–14, folio 7, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

typewriter.[127] A total of six women worked together to support Duff Gordon in the production of *Assisi*, not including the later addition of Madame Torelli, who eventually translated the work into Italian.[128] Studying the production of just one guide reveals an interconnected web of female writers, illustrators, editors, and critical readers—a network which supported the guidebook from its initial conception to its final physical state. Literary favours of this kind were often reciprocated; while Ross typed the manuscript for *Assisi*, Duff Gordon completed some of the research for her aunt's book *Florentine Villas* (1901) and helped her to edit the volume.[129] Women assisted each other in navigating the guidebook market, and the larger literary world, through networks of mentorship and guidance. They offered each other emotional support, gave assistance, and shared their resources for the betterment of each other's professional aspirations.

Books themselves could act as a material embodiment of friendship, particularly among those in intellectual and literary circles. Literary friendships were sustained through the exchange of books, and the practice of sending ones' book to friends and acquaintances as gifts doubled as a way to connect and sustain a relationship while simultaneously gaining feedback on the work.[130] Sometimes family and friends of the author also participated in this ritual. After Frederick Thomas Elworthy (1831–1907), philologist and antiquary, sent Janet Catherine Symonds his book *Horns of Honour*

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[127] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Vaughan, January 7, 1900, WAT:I:G:75:H:1–10, folio 3v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[128] Margaret Symonds e Lina Duff Gordon, *Perugia: la sua storia: i suoi monumenti, prima traduzione italiana corredata di nuove note ed aggiunte* (Perugia: Tip. G. Donnini, 1901)
[129] Ross, *Florentine Villas*, x.
[130] Halsey, "'Tell me of some booklings'," 124.

(1900), she took the opportunity to send him her daughter's guidebook to Perugia.[131] Signed copies of guides in personal libraries as well as correspondence between culturally significant actors indicates that guidebooks were no less a part of this common literary practice. The number of Medieval Towns guides with the Berenson's *ex libris* bookplates in their Villa i Tatti library serves to indicate that the Berensons collected them.[132]

Other Medieval Towns authors also sent along their guides to friends and acquaintances. Lina Duff Gordon requested copies of *Perugia* to be sent to Charles Dudley Warner (1829–1900) in America, an essayist and close friend of Mark Twain, who Duff Gordon knew from his visits to Poggio Gherardo.[133] By sending her work to America, she was able to simultaneously promote her guide abroad and also re-establish a relationship that was not often renewed by close proximity or daily interaction. Duff Gordon also sent copies to those who had helped her in producing the guidebook, including Sig. Brunchi, head of the Marucelliana Library who was "so pleased at being remembered," and Mr. Hayllar who was "overcome by finding himself in the preface."[134] Thus, guidebooks sent by the authors to America, Britain, and Italy allowed women to promote their work while also maintaining friendships that assisted in forging strong literary networks.

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[131] Frederick Elworthy, *Horns of Honour: And Other Studies in the By-ways of Archæology* (London: John Murray, 1900); Correspondence from Janet Catherine Symonds to Margaret Vaughan, November 26, 1900, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Correspondence, Bristol University Archives, Bristol, UK.
[132] The Berenson Library at the Harvard Centre for Italian and Renaissance Studies contains 28 of the 39 Medieval Towns guides with the Berensons' Ex Libris plates in them.
[133] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, March 27, 1898, WAT:I:G:66:H:1–15, Folio 6-6v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[134] This most likely refers to the artist James Hayllar (1829–1920).

Guidebooks offered as gifts were also often inscribed with personal notes that hinted at the relationship writer and receiver shared on both a personal and professional level. Duff Gordon's inscription in her signed copy of *Assisi* to Mary Berenson reads: "To my dear friend Mary Logan in remembrance of three perfect days spent together at *Assisi*."[135] Mary Logan was the pseudonym Berenson used to publish her own guidebook to Italian paintings at Hampton Court.[136] Duff Gordon's use of this pseudonym forges links between the two guidebook writers, turning the inscription into an inside joke; an acknowledgement of each other's identity as guidebook writers under the guise of feigned anonymity. Not only a gift for a friend, the guidebook also acted as a souvenir, a way to prompt the memory of shared travels together, another function performed by guidebooks once they were finally laid to rest on the shelf.[137]

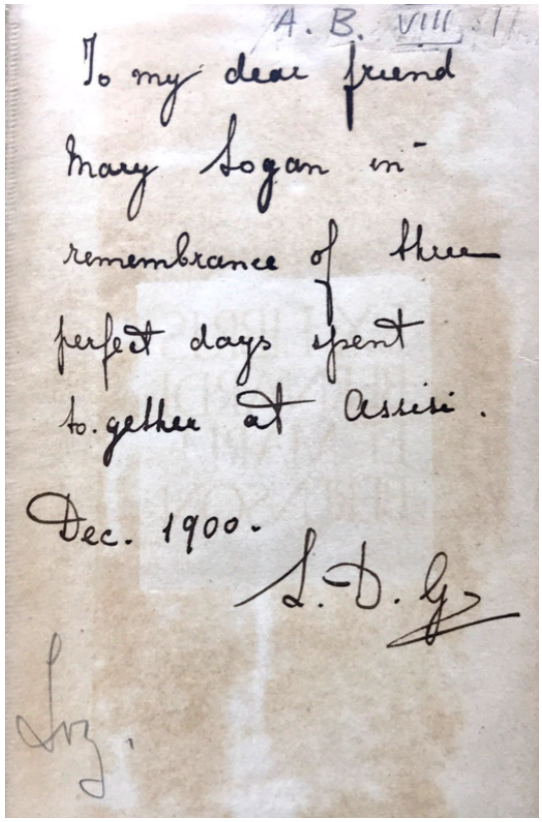


Figure 35 **Personal note from Lina Duff Gordon to Mary Berenson in a copy of *The Story of Assisi* held at the Villa i Tatti.**

Sending books to friends or colleagues not only helped solidify relationships, it also acted as a form of publicity, particularly when endorsed by eminent people.

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[135] Copy held at the Villa i Tatti.
[136] Mary Logan [Berenson], *Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court* (London: The Kyrle Pamphlets No. 2, 1894).
[137] The practical guidebook *European travel for women* specifically encouraged its readers to use guidebooks in this way. Mary Cadwalader Jones, *European travel for women; notes and suggestions* (New York: Macmillan, 1900), 62.

Literary veterans like Janet Ross understood the power of sending books for professional gain; she requested Henry Layard ask his wife to secure "a letter of introduction to the Queen's Dama. Mde Villamarina" because she wanted "to present a copy of my Italian Sketches to H.[er] M.[ajesty]" as "It would be a good advertisement."[138] Thus, Ross used her connections to gain a celebrity endorsement of her work that would earn her more public attention and result in higher earnings. Other guidebook authors outside the MTS had similar thoughts. Elvira Grifi presented a copy of her general interest guidebook *Saunterings in Florence* (1896) to the Queen of Italy (Margherita of Savoy) whose letters of positive endorsement she included in the 1899 edition of her book alongside a letter from the Italian Minister of Public Instruction praising her work and awarding her a medal.[139] The books themselves offer windows into the relationships and connections that existed between authors and the larger literary world. Their dissemination to friends, family, and acquaintances were gestures that sought to strengthen these ties. Sharing their works more broadly, women guidebook authors used copies of their guides to garner favourable reviews and increase publicity of their works.

While networks were paramount to scholarly guidebook production, there were limits to the benefits social ties could offer women. Almost all of the series' male writers were both university-educated and had already published in some capacity

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[138] Dama. refers to *Dama di Compagnia* which means "lady-in-waiting." Correspondence from Janet Ross to Sir Henry Layard, March 28, 1887, WAT:I E:25:ff1–13, folio 6v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[139] Nothing is known to date about Elvira Grifi, who has left no trace in archives and may have been a pseudonym. Grifi, *Saunterings in Florence*, viiii, x.

before they wrote for the Medieval Towns.[140] University education and the social connections that education facilitated could allow men to overcome other barriers, such as social class, that were more likely to restrict women placed in the same situation. Thomas Okey (1852–1935) author of *The Story of Venice* (1905) among other Medieval Towns Series guides, Italian translations, and historical works, attended The National and Night Schools, Bethnal Green, The Working Men's College, College for Men and Women, Birkbeck University Extension Classes, Whitechapel before becoming fellow of Gonville and Caius College and the Emeritus Professor of Italian at Cambridge University.[141] Despite Okey's working class background and former occupation as a basket weaver, his gender and ability to acquire languages facilitated his access to institutions of higher learning, leading him to form connections to famous Italianists, such as Edward Bolton King (1860–1937), Samuel Rawson Gardiner (1829–1902), and Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975). Ultimately, these connections provided him the tools and training needed to succeed at an academic career and scholarly guidebook writing.[142]

It was this institutionally recognized scholarship granted by formal education which gave Thomas Okey a preferential claim to writing *The Story of Venice* (1905),[143]

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[140] This is particularly true for the guides to Italian cities as Thomas Okey, Edmund G. Gardner, Welbore St. Claire Baddeley, Cesare Foligno, Cecil Headlam were all either educated at Oxford or Cambridge or lectured there as professors.
[141] Jon Usher, "Okey, Thomas (1852–1935), Basket-maker and Italian Scholar," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004; Thomas Okey, *The Story of Venice*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Mediaeval Town Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1905) 51; Thomas Okey, *A Basket Full of Memories: An Autobiographical Sketch* (London: J.M. Dent, 1930).
[142] Okey, *Basket Full of Memories*, 51.
[143] Okey also wrote *The Story of Paris* and *The Story of Avignon* as well as *Venice and its Story* and *Paris and its Story* for Dent's historical series; Thomas Okey, *The Story of Paris* (London, J.M. Dent, 1906); Thomas Okey, *The Story of Avignon* (London, J.M. Dent, 1911); Thomas Okey, *Paris and its Story* (London; New York: J. M. Dent & co.; The Macmillan co., 1904); Thomas Okey, *The old Venetian palaces and old Venetian folk* (London, J.M. Dent, 1907); For his other works on Italy, see Bolton King and Thomas Okey, *Italy To-day* (London: Nisbet,

over that of Alethea Wiel, who had already written a guidebook for the Medieval Towns series and published several other historical works on Italy, including *Venice* (1894) in The Story of Nations Series.[144] In the preface to *Venice*, Wiel highlights the kind of important social ties she could claim to learned men and institutions in Italy and England:

> My cordial thanks are due to Commendatore Stefani, head of the State Archives in Venice, and to the Abate Nicoletti, of the Museo Civico, for help and researches [sic] with this work; to Mr. Curtis (Palazzo Barbaro), for obtaining for me from Mr. Barrett Browning the use of his copy of Coryat's 'Crudities.' I wish further to thank Mr. Lionel Cust of the British Museum most warmly for help in reading the proofs, and for most valuable suggestions and advice throughout the work, especially with regard to art. For the help given by my husband, and through him, by the Marciana Library, my thanks can only be conveyed in a silence whose meaning is deeper than words.[145]

Wiel's social network included significant figures in both Italian and British museums, libraries, and archives as well as the larger literary world.[146] Her experience writing both guidebooks and history, her higher social status (daughter of a Baron), and her intimate connection to Italy and Italian history through her social connections were ultimately overshadowed by the official professional title and authority Okey had achieved through a university education and academic career, both of which were a result of his gender.

1901); Thomas Okey, *The Little Flowers of St. Francis* (London, J.M. Dent, 1912); Thomas Okey and Philip H. Wicksteed ed. and trans., *The Vita Nuova and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri*, Temple Classics (London, J.M. Dent, 1906); Thomas Okey, *Italian studies, their place in modern education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919).

[144] Alethea Wiel, *Venice*, The Story of Nations (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894).

[145] Wiel, *Venice*, x–xi.

[146] See Appendix A.

Conclusion

Social networks were crucial to the development of women's artistic and scholarly careers within the guidebook market. As we have seen repeatedly throughout this chapter, the majority of female guidebook producers received a high calibre of education that was influenced by their connection to the intellectual elites of their day. Populated by members of the intellectual and cultural elites, the networks of women guidebook producers demonstrate their place within the intellectual aristocracy and the varied ways they established themselves within this group. Highly educated and trained, they used these networks to gain footholds in major literary and scholarly circles in Britain, America, and Italy and establish careers as writers and illustrators.

Those new to publishing were aided and guided by more experienced women who often acted as role models and mentors, but all women involved in the series worked collaboratively and supported one another in various ways, be it reading manuscript proofs, providing critical feedback, or typing finished pages. The relationships between male and female scholars in the MTS suggest that these relationships were more mutually beneficial than has previously been stressed in recent studies of Victorian women scholars. While there were limits to what the social networks of the intellectual aristocracy could achieve, they were singularly important to the establishment of women's careers in nineteenth-century guidebook production. The following chapter will explore how conditions in Italy in particular, permitted the flourishing of such networks and reveal the international dimension of the late nineteenth-century intellectual aristocracy.

Chapter 5
Medieval Towns Series: Networks & Spaces

On May 3, 1875, famed guidebook and travel writer Augustus J.C. Hare wrote in his journal a description of Poggio Gherardo, a Tuscan villa nestled in the slopes of Fiesole overlooking the city of Florence:

> All outside is decay, but when you enter, there are charming old halls and chambers, connected by open arches, and filled with pictures, china, books, and beautiful old carved furniture. A terrace lined with immense vases of lilies and tulips opens on a garden with vine—shaded pergolas and huge orange trees in tubs; and beyond are the wooded hills. The presiding genius of the place is Mrs. Ross (Janet Duff Gordon) who has redeemed lands, planted vineyards, introduced new plans for pressing the grapes — whose heart and soul are in the work here.[1]

Hare's romantic description paints a serene picture of Poggio Gherardo as a paradise, created and sustained under the "presiding genius" that was Janet Ross. This idyllic description of Italy's beauty and many historic treasures hints at the important role of physical space in creating favourable conditions for literary and cultural production. Villas, like Poggio Gherardo, were one of the many spaces of Italy that provided expatriates from all over Europe and North America with inspiration and outlets for their intellectual and cultural lifestyles, creating conditions that supported an enormous amount of creative and literary output.

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[1] Augustus Hare, *The Story of My Life*, vol. 3 (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1901), 265.

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the ways in which particular Italian spaces, and the networks these spaces promoted and cultivated, offered the women authors of the Medieval Towns series opportunities to develop their careers. Here, I argue the critical importance of spaces and cultural connections in Italy in fostering advantageous publishing conditions, scholarly expertise, intellectual engagement, and the construction of a professional and intellectual way of life for women guidebook producers and their wider social circles. In doing so, Chapter Five naturally extends upon the importance of networks and the intellectual aristocracy established in Chapter Four, however, it redirects the primary focus away from networks to spaces in order to better understand the conditions under which these networks flourished and the impact of certain spaces in Italy on cultural production. Furthermore, this chapter argues for a shift in perspective—moving the focus away from the geographic locale of Britain—to argue that the British intellectual elite can be understood as a part of a larger transcontinental cultural elite, a group which flourished in Italy.

It is perhaps not surprising that a study of guidebooks, texts which are so singularly focused on physical space, would also seek to understand the role that space played in facilitating women's guidebook production. As discussed in Chapter Two, guidebook readers were particularly adamant that the authors of guides should physically visit and experience the places they described. This created new avenues for women guidebook writers, since, as J.M Peterson argues, "opportunities and prospects for girls and women, even on the same economic levels, differed" from one geographic location to another.[2] How then did the opportunities and prospects in Italy differ for

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[2] M. Jeanne Peterson, "No Angels in the House: The Victorian Myth and the Paget Women," *The American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (1984): 707.

British and American women? What drew so many intellectual women to publish scholarly guidebooks on Italian towns and cities?

Numerous scholars have signalled Italy as a professionally beneficial environment for British and American women interested in developing artistic and literary careers in the nineteenth century. As Bruno P. F. Wanrooij poignantly writes: "the gender role of women travellers is defined both by the society from which they depart and by the society in which they arrive" and for Anglo-American women, Italy was imagined as a "land of liberty and opportunities."[3] This has been demonstrated by both historians and art historians who have highlighted Italy as a space for inspiration, greater freedom, exposure to culture, and practical education.

In the context of American art history, Jacqueline Marie Muscacchio has traced sculptor Anne Whitney's travels from New York to Rome by mapping out her journey, quite literally, using the diary she kept during her travels between 1867–1868.[4] Placing the documentary evidence together with physical spaces of Italy, Musacchio provides a richer and more fulsome understanding not only of Whitney's experiences overseas, but of female artists more broadly.[5] Examining the life of artist Charlotte Cushman, Sarah Foose Parrott argues that Cushman attracted and developed a network of American female artists in Italy, encouraging them to relocate to Italy between 1850–1870. Foose

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[3] Bruno P. F. Wanrooij, *Otherness: Anglo-American Women in 19th and 20th Century Florence* (Fiesole: Cadmo, 2001), 4–5.
[4] "Anne Whitney Abroad, 1867–1868: The Continental Perspective," in Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, "Mapping the 'White, Marmorean Flock': Anne Whitney Abroad, 1867–1868," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2014): http://omeka.wellesley.edu/annewhitney/neatline/show/overview.
[5] For other work by Jacqueline Marie Musacchio that links space together with artistic production, see "Infesting the Galleries of Europe: The Copyist Emma Conant Church in Paris and Rome," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 10, no. 2 (2011).

Parrott demonstrates that American female artists were drawn to Italy, and to Cushman herself, because both offered women professional and personal support.[6] In both studies, Italy provided something to women mid-century they were unable to receive in America and points to Italy as a training ground for future creative work. As this chapter will show, Italy and its spaces continued to support women in their artistic lifestyles well into the latter half of the century.

For British women writers, Catherine Maxwell has demonstrated the importance of Italy to the writings of Vernon Lee,[7] while Richard Bonfiglio has highlighted Italy as an important space for George Eliot's *Romola*.[8] Most significant to this study, however, is Alison Chapman's work on female poets in Italy between 1840–1870. Chapman not only argues that "Florentine homes, salons, and reading rooms" provided spaces for growing professional networks, but that women writers "conceptualized their writing identity as transnational."[9] Women writers in Italy were part of interconnected "social and intellectual networks" which birthed "a dynamic culture" of literary and artistic output.[10] Expanding this idea further, this chapter seeks to form a bridge between the social and intellectual networks with spaces in Italy that fostered the growth of women's writing and artistic careers towards the end of the century.

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[6] Cushman was also known for her same sex relationships. Sara Foose Parrott, "Networking in Italy: Charlotte Cushman and 'The White Marmorean Flock,'" *Women's Studies* 14, no. 4 (December 1987): 306–307.
[7] Catherine Maxwell, "Vernon Lee and the ghosts of Italy" in *Unfolding the South: Nineteenth-century British women writers and artists in Italy,* eds. Alison Chapman and Jane Stabler (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).
[8] Richard Bonfiglio, "The Painful Pleasures of Travel: George Eliot's Proximate Cosmopolitanism," in *Imagining Italy: Victorian Writers and Travellers,* eds. Michael Hollington, Catherine Watts, and John Jordan (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010).
[9] Chapman, *Networking the Nation*, xxv.
[10] Chapman, *Networking the Nation*, 3.

Chapter Four demonstrated the importance of social networks to the education and training of Medieval Towns women guidebook producers, linking these social networks to the British intellectual aristocracy while also highlighting transatlantic connections. As Deborah Logan has noted, visiting museums and private collections was the "education underpinning women's art criticism and histories," however, women who had access to this kind of material, the financial means for travel, and the social connections it required were limited.[11] As we saw in Chapter Four, Medieval Towns women possessed these social connections and used them consciously and strategically to their advantage. In Chapter Five, I notably diverge from Noel Annan, T.W. Heyek, and William Whyte's approaches to the intellectual aristocracy in my choice of geographic study. All previous studies on the intellectual elite focus squarely on the geographic location of England, missing the prevalence of expatriate communities and the popularity of travelling and living abroad for extended periods of time for many in the upper/middle-class.[12] The MTS authors by and large did not live permanently in England, yet many, (if not the majority) of the names typically cited as members of the intellectual aristocracy can be connected to MTS authors.[13]

Moving away from the family-centred theory of Annan to Whyte's more flexible approach that stresses specific patterns of cultural consumption as the defining characteristic of the intellectual aristocracy,[14] Italy presents a particularly appealing

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[11] Deborah A. Logan, "History Writing," in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. Linda H. Peterson, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 208.
[12] T.W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (London: Croon Helm, 1982); N.G. Annan, "The Intellectual Aristocracy," in *Studies in Social History*, ed. J.H. Plumb (London: Longmans, 1955), 241–87; William Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 10, no. 1 (January 2005): 15–45.
[13] Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited".
[14] Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited".

location for a group of the intellectual aristocracy to reside. The intelligentsia, according to Whyte's model, did not have a taste for opulence or significant amount of financial capital, relative to their social position.[15] It is widely accepted that many expatriates from Britain moved to Italy because of the belief that it offered more affordable living and many of the travel journals, diaries, and promotional materials, all attest to the comfortable lifestyle that could be had in Italy for a better price.[16] The message that Italy was affordable was also especially discussed among women, as "a single woman without any special home ties, and with a very narrow income, can live in Florence under more favourable conditions than she can either in London or in an English provincial town."[17] This proved attractive for women who, on average, had less expendable financial capital at their disposal than men.

Whyte also argues that intellectual elites could be marked out by how they spent their free time, usually pursuing physical activities and combining these activities with intellectual interests.[18] In Italy, women could lead lifestyles that might fit the "intellectual" model by walking, biking, driving, and hiking to visit churches, museums, libraries and other spaces of historic importance on a daily basis, all the while building international networks with the many cultural figures that were drawn to Italy. Using Whyte's model to define intellectual elites, this chapter seeks to expand upon the geographic scope of the intellectual aristocracy to demonstrate its international reach,

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[15] Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited," 28.
[16] The affordability of living abroad was in fact stressed in many female-authored practical guides, such as May Alcott Nieriker's *Studying Art Abroad, and How to do it Cheaply* (1879) and the Women's Rest Tour Association's *Summer in England: With a Continental Supplement* (1900).
[17] Georgina S. Grahame, *In a Tuscan Garden*, (London and New York, J. Lane, 1902) 205.
[18] Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited," 35.

while simultaneously pointing to spaces in Italy as facilitators for women's guidebook production.

This chapter is organized around three spaces that provided women in the Medieval Towns Series with greater opportunities to build their professional careers: the library, the hotel, and the villa. Using a combination of unpublished correspondence, memoirs, autobiographies, and library borrowing records, each space is presented as a place that facilitated women's careers in guidebook production, providing greater access to tangible (i.e., books and archives) and intangible resources (i.e., professional contacts and reader feedback). Throughout each section, the importance of social networks continues as a constant thread, as it was these spaces where social connections new and old germinated and flourished.

I) The Library

As collectors and disseminators of knowledge, libraries were important spaces in the lifecycle of any book, but particularly for those which required any amount of research. Repositories of knowledge which could be accessed when needed, libraries also offered a space to read and write, acted as a networking space for like-minded individuals, and allowed the final published book to be shared with a broad audience. Scholarly guidebooks required a substantial time investment for research since they based their existence on factual accuracy. When women were not conducting this research in their own homes, they turned to libraries, archives, galleries, museums, and the very streets of Italy.

The prefaces of Medieval Towns guides are filled with acknowledgements of the importance of libraries to guidebook production. In Florence, the Vieusseux Library was a particularly noteworthy space for expatriate and travelling women since it

specifically targeted foreigners as its main clientele. Founded in 1819 by Giovan Pietro Vieusseux (1779–1863), a merchant from Geneva, the library specialized in material in several languages but the most popular were French and English.[19]

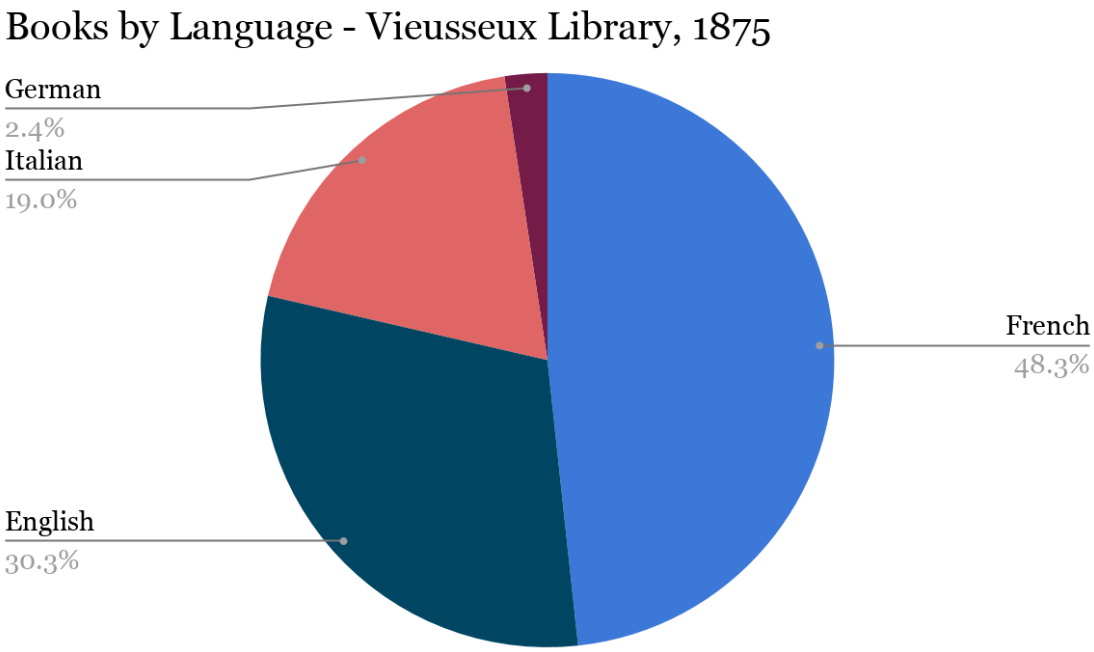


Figure 36 **Language of Books Offered at the Vieusseux Library, 1875.**

Between 1875–1885, French and English books respectively made up 43% of the new purchases for the library, accounting for 86% of new acquisitions.[20] These new acquisitions included recently published works of history, art, and travel literature, including many guidebooks.

More open access to scholarly information contributed to the allure of Italy as a space for women with literary aspirations. While some scholars, like Rosemary Ann

[19] In 1875, there were 14,933 works in the collection. Laura Desideri, "Chronology 1873–1882," in *The Vieusseux - History of a Reading Room 1819-2003*, Digitization Project (Florence: Polistampa Editions, 2004), Retrieved from: https://www.vieusseux.it/cronologia-del-gabinetto-vieusseux.html.
[20] Desideri, "Chronology 1873–1882", np.

Mitchell and Zahira Véliz Bomford, have argued that foreign archives and libraries posed more of a problem for women than British institutions, my research suggests that in Italy this was often not the case.[21] In 1880, the Vieusseux had 2,000 subscribers, and of those, 900 (45%) were women."[22] When we compare this percentage to significant specialist libraries in Britain and America, this number appears exceptionally high. Women only represented one fifth of the British Library's readers in 1884, while academic libraries proved to be even more male-dominated.[23]

British and American scholarly libraries often imposed forms of gender-based discrimination or restriction. The Athenaeum, a London gentlemen's club founded in 1824 for those with intellectual interests, was a male-dominated space where men of learning came to read, network, and discuss business amongst an impressive collection of scholarly books. Women could be invited as guests, and a Lady's Annexe was created in 1936 for women visitors, but the first female member was not accepted until 2001.[24] Before 1936, women required a special invitation from a male member to visit, but could not access the library.[25] At the Boston Athenaeum, women were not routinely allowed access to the library until 1856,[26] and were most often sponsored by male

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[21] Mitchell 116; Véliz Bomford, 6.
[22] Peter Hoare, "'A Room with a View – and a Book': Some Aspects of Library Provision for English Residents and Visitors to Florence, 1815–1930," in *Exiles, Emigrés and Intermediaries*, ed. Barbara Schaff (Brill: Rodopi, 2010), 241.
[23] Isobel Hurst, 69–70.
[24] Ironic since the club was named after a woman, the Greek goddess Athena. See, *The Athenaeum, Club and Social Life in London 1824–1974* (London: Heinemann, 1975); *The Athenaeum and its Associations* (F. G. Waugh, 1888, 1892, 1900); H. Ward, *History of the Athenaeum* (London: The Athenaeum, 1926); R. Walker and H. Tait, *The Athenaeum Collection* (London: The Athenaeum, 2000); *Armchair Athenians: Essays from Athenaeum Life* (London: The Athenaeum, 2001).
[25] F. R. Cowell, *The Athenaeum: Club and Social Life in London, 1824–1974* (London: Heinemann, 1975), 122.
[26] Katherine Wolff, *Culture Club: The Curious History of the Boston Athenaeum* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 65.

relatives who could pay their reader fee; after all, "the Athenaeum was a man's institution, jealously guarded."[27] Important archives in Britain, such as the Public Record Offices, often denied access to women "even those supplied with endorsements from influential people" and although women frequently chose not to use it, the British Library designated separate seating for female readers.[28] Although Susan David Bernstein argues that the British Library did function as a space for women's literary networking, evidence suggests that Italy offered more "public, social spaces where women could meet, conduct research, find mentors, and inspire and learn from one another."[29] Public libraries in Britain with separate reading rooms for women were very common before the First World War,[30] and on average the reading material was curated for what was considered acceptable for women readers, avoiding the kind of academic texts or "heavyweight review journals" that a guidebook author might require.[31]

By contrast, the Vieusseux Library was open to anyone who was able to pay the small subscription fee and therefore operated as a common space for upper and middle-class readers of both sexes. The Vieusseux did not require women to have a sponsor or reason for wanting to join the library, nor did it attempt to segregate women from men

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[27] Charles Knowles Bolton, *The Athenaeum Centenary. The Influence and History of the Boston Athenaeum from 1807 to 1907, with a Record of Its Officers and Benefactors and a Complete List of Proprietors* (Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1907), 40.
[28] Deborah A. Logan, "History Writing," 208–209.
[29] Susan David Bernstein, "Exteriority: Women Readers at the British Museum" in *Roomscape: Women Writers in the British Museum from George Eliot to Virginia Woolf*, Edinburgh Critical Studies in Victorian Culture (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 1.
[30] Chris Baggs, "'In the Separate Reading Room for Ladies Are Provided Those Publications Specially Interesting to Them': Ladies' Reading Rooms and British Public Libraries 1850–1914," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 38, no. 3 (2005): 283; Simon Taylor et al., "The English Public Library, 1850–1939," Historic England's Introductions to Heritage Assets (Historic England, July 2016).
[31] Baggs, "In the Separate Reading Room for Ladies," 290; Mary Hammond, "'The Great Fiction Bore': Free Libraries and the Construction of a Reading Public in England, 1880–1914," *Libraries & Cultural* 37, no. 2 (2002): 102.

with separate seating or police their reading by restricting their borrowing practices to material believed to be acceptable for women.[32]



Figure 37 **Vieusseux Library, b/w photograph, 19th century, Unknown Photographer, Gabinetto Vieusseux, Florence, Italy.**

Figure 37 gives a glimpse into the atmosphere at Vieusseux, where women and men studied and mingled together. The image shows an equal number of men and women—seven women and seven men—reading books and searching shelves. Unlike many public libraries in Britain whose stock of books was often kept behind the library counter, the bookshelves at the Vieusseux were open to the reading public should they desire to browse. This open access was itself significant since, as Alistair Black argues, "The library counter is not just a physical, but also a psychological barrier. It symbolizes the power of the library's staff over the user, and it can be positioned in such a way as to enhance, through supervision, that very power."[33] Since the overwhelming majority of librarians in scholarly libraries were men, an open shelf

[32] For more on censorship of reading material in libraries, see Hammond, "'The Great Fiction Bore'," 99–100.
[33] Alistair Black, *A New History of the English Public Library: Social and Intellectual Contexts, 1850–1914* (London; New York: Leicester University Press, 1996), 244.

system removed any barriers—physical or psychological—which may have impacted a woman's choice of reading materials.[34]

The library not only held the resources needed to research and write a guide, it also provided a place where writers could foster connections with other foreign intellectuals visiting or living in Italy. The Vieusseux was a hub where expatriates and visitors to the city could mingle and foster an appreciation of English language book culture. The popularity of the library amongst expatriates and foreign travellers connected readers with the important intellectual social circles in Italy. William Dean Howells described the Vieusseux as a space to meet and mingle for the city's tourist and expat communities in his novel, *Indian Summer* (1886):

> After breakfast he went without delay to Viesseux's [sic] reading-room, to examine his catalogue, and see what there was in it to his purpose. While he was waiting his turn to pay his subscription, with the people who surrounded the proprietor, half a dozen of the acquaintances he had made at Mrs. Bowen's passed in and out. Viesseux's [sic] is a place where sooner or later you meet every one [sic] you know among the foreign residents at Florence…[35]

The library was therefore not only a place where people went to acquire information, there was a social element to the space where people could be seen and interact with their peers.

Reader records demonstrate the importance of this space for women interested in cultivating their knowledge as well as their social sphere. The Vieusseux Library reader records show 4,197 women with the title "Mrs." and another 3,096 with the title "Miss" used the library between 1870–1885 suggesting the frequency of Anglo-

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[34] Julia Taylor McCain, "Women and Libraries," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Alistair Black and Peter Hoare, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 545.
[35] William Dean Howells, *Indian Summer* (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2015).

American women visitors.[36] Despite some women returning as repeat visitors over a span of several years, these numbers demonstrate that thousands of women visited the library in a fifteen-year period. Reader records after 1885 no longer exist, but presumably these numbers would have continued to rise into the late-1880s and 1890s as tourism and women's participation in leisure travel grew simultaneously.[37] Among the thousands of women who visited the reading room were guidebook writers and those intimately connected to them. Alethea Lawley Wiel, Julia Ady Cartwright, Louisa May Alcott, Josephine Tozier, Mary Berenson, and John Addington Symonds all had subscriptions to the Vieusseux.[38] Therefore, thousands of women and men had access to Medieval Towns guidebooks, and some may have even encountered the people responsible for writing them during their visit.

Libraries were important not only as spaces of research and networking, they could also be important sites to disseminate one's work. Lina Duff Gordon was well acquainted with the third director of the Vieusseux library, Carlo Vieusseux (dates unknown).[39] Since the library's membership records from the late-nineteenth century

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[36] These numbers were calculated using the online database of the library's loan records. Women of other nationalities are recorded using other indicators of gender, such as "Frau/Faulien" or "Mme/Mlle." See, Gabinetto G.P. Vieusseux, *Libro dei Soci: abbonamenti 1820–1885*, Online Database, Retrieved from: https://www.vieusseux.it/librosoci/librosoci_list.php?orderby=dDataAbbonamento.

[37] For a recent study on the growth and popularity of female travel, see Emma Robinson-Tomsett, *Women, Travel and Identity: Journeys by Rail and Sea, 1870–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

[38] Alethea Lawley visited in November 1885. Julia Ady Cartwright was at the Vieusseux Library in December of 1877, December 1880, April and October of 1882, May 1883, May and December of 1884, and December 1885. Josephine Tozier visited in October of 1871. Mary Smith [Berenson] visited in March 1883. Louisa May Alcott visited in October of 1870. Julia Cartwright, "Diary Entry, Monday 24 December 1877" in *A Bright Remembrance: The Diaries of Julia Cartwright 1851–1924*, ed. Angela Emanuel (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989); Gabinetto G.P. Vieusseux, *Libro dei Soci: abbonamenti 1820–1885*, Online Database.

[39] Carlo inherited the Vieusseux Reading Rooms/Library in 1892 from his father, Eugenio.

have not been preserved, we cannot know for certain if Duff Gordon was a reader, however, the catalogue records do show that both of Duff Gordon's guidebooks, *The Story of Perugia* and *The Story of Assisi*, were available to borrow at the library.[40] Knowing the library's director had advantages, for when French novelist and critic Paul Bourget travelled to Perugia with the MTS guidebook "in his pocket!!!" Carlo Vieusseux informed Duff Gordon and Symonds of the news.[41] As we observed in Chapter Three with the borrowing records of Susan and Joanna Horner's *Walks in Florence*, a single guidebook could be borrowed hundreds of times, illustrating that book sales alone only hint at the true breadth of a guidebook's audience. Vieusseux's library was therefore a place where women might gain information for their work, meet and connect with other intellectuals and writers who might further their careers, and provide a platform to distribute their work to a large audience.

The library also had the ability to bring guidebook writers together with those who had privileged access to archival resources. While researching a historical book on Vittoria Colonna in 1888 at the Marciana Library in Venice, Alethea Lawley met Taddeo Wiel (1849–1920). Wiel was a composer and the assistant librarian responsible for cataloguing the music held at the Marciana.[42] With an intimate knowledge of the library's resources, Wiel assisted Lawley with her research and she conveyed her

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[40] G. P. Vieusseux's Reading Rooms and Circulating Library, *Catalogue of the English Books* (Florence: January 1896); G. P. Vieusseux's Reading Rooms and Circulating Library, *Catalogue of the English Books* (Florence: October 1900); G. P. Vieusseux's Reading Rooms and Circulating Library, *Catalogue of the English Books* (Florence: October 1901).
[41] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 23, 1900, WAT:I:G:77:H:1–14, folio 7, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[42] Taddeo Wiel, *Teatri musicali veneziani del Settecento. Catalogo delle opere in musica rappresentate nel secolo XVIII a Venezia* (Venice: Arnaldo Forni, 1897); Henry James, "To Adriana Curtis, July 7th, 1890," In *Letters from the Palazzo Barbaro* (London: Pushkin Press, 2012), 117.

"warmest thanks" for his "unfailing assistance" during her time at the library.[43] They married two years later.[44] Taddeo Wiel was supportive of his wife's literary career and she repeatedly credited her husband for his assistance in many of her works, including a dedication to him in *The Story of Verona*.[45] Once married, it is clear from the long list of acknowledgements included in the prefaces of her works that Alethea Wiel was particularly well connected to Italian libraries and the academics that worked in them.[46] Her social class and her husband's connection to the Marciana gave her privileged access to its resources, but over the course of her literary career she also fostered important relationships with several other Italian libraries and their scholars, including Carlo Malagola (1855—1910), Head of the State Archives in Venice, Giuseppe Biadego (1853—1921) at the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona, and scholars at the Magliabechiano Library (now the Uffizi Library) in Florence. Taddeo also provided support and encouragement. In *The Romance of the House of Savoy* (1898), Wiel explained that "The idea of the book originated with my husband, and to him a gratitude beyond words is due for constant help and invaluable advice."[47] It is clear then that not only did her husband actively encourage her writing and provide helpful advice and suggestions, he facilitated greater access to primary source material and library archives. Other women in the Medieval Towns series were also well connected to libraries that held Italian treasures. Ella Noyes was acquainted with Giuseppe Agnelli (1856–1940),

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[43] Alethea Wiel, *Vittoria Colonna: A Study* (London : Gilbert & Rivington, 1889), v.
[44] "Hon. Madame Alethea Wiel," *Daily Telegraph*, April 16, 1929, The Telegraph Historical Archive: 15.
[45] Alethea Wiel, *The Story of Verona* (London: J.M. Dent, 1902), viii.
[46] Alethea Wiel, *The Story of Bologna* (London: J.M. Dent, 1924) ix; Wiel, *The Story of Verona*, viii.
[47] Alethea Wiel, *The Romance of the House of Savoy, 1003–1519* (New York; London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), vii.

the director of the National Library in Ferrara, and Augusto Droghetti (1844–1918), director of the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Ferrara, while Janet Ross and Lina Duff Gordon befriended Guido Biagi (1855–1925) the director of the Laurentian Library.[48] Many women guidebook writers were therefore well connected to Italian libraries and used them as places of research, professional network building, and to disseminate their work to travellers and expatriates with an interest in Italy.

When not researching in galleries, museums, and libraries, women sought out the personal collections of scholars and experts. Medieval Towns women befriended many significant contacts who held large private libraries and unique collections within Italy. Personal libraries were often just as important in securing specific resources and many friends and family members lent copies of books they owned to women pursuing guidebook writing. Lina Duff Gordon frequently received books from private collections, including Guiseppe Bellucci (1844–1921), an Italian anthropologist and professor at the Università degli Studi di Perugia while conducting research for *The Story of Assisi*.[49] While writing a historical work and guidebook spin-off to Rome, Duff Gordon also visited the home of "Sir John," who was anxious to supply her with all the texts she required:

> Half his huge library was soon upon the ground, & I sat on the floor in a distracted attitude trying to take in even the titles of the learned works he offered to me. He said I could take them <u>all!!</u> only on one condition that I was to bring them back myself & talk them over which

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[48] Ella Noyes, *The Story of Ferrara,* The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1904), xiv; Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Vaughan, February 19, 1899, folio 10v, WAT:I:G:69:H:1–10, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[49] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, January 6, 1899, WAT:I:G:69:H:1–10, folio 3v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; *Guida Alle Collezioni Del Museo Etrusco-romano in Perugia* (Perugia: Unione Tip. Cooperativa, 1910).

was readily agreed to.[50]

Research resources, particularly those needed for scholarly guides, were often held by men and women in certain social circles.[51] Women with connections to the owners of private libraries were therefore well positioned to gain the materials they needed to produce their guidebooks. While scholarly libraries in Britain and America only gradually began to allow women entry (albeit with varied forms of restriction) in this period, Italy's libraries seem to have welcomed foreign women with relative freedom, with the result that they attracted many women guidebook writers.

II) The Hotel

The hotel was an important place of interaction between guidebook writer and audience, ultimately aiding in the production and success of guides. Required to travel for the in-person reconnaissance of the places they described in their guides, women often found themselves in hotels or pensions for days, weeks, even months. Hotels and pensions were places where foreigners lived in close quarters with one another, increasing the likelihood of forming an acquaintance with fellow residents. The nature of these close quarters and the frequency of their contact created the ideal conditions for information exchange and interest both about other visitors and the many Anglo-Americans that made Italy their home.

Those who travelled for the purposes of writing a guidebook might publicize the purpose of their journey and many travellers petitioned these writers for personalized

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[50] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Aubrey Waterfield, December 19, 1901, WAT:I:G:4:ff1–18, folio 17, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[51] Mitchell, "'The busy daughters of Clio'," 117.

travel advice. While staying at the Hotel Brufani for the research of *Perugia* in 1897, Margaret Symonds complained to her friend Agnes Haig: "The hotel Brufani is full of people, most of them awful swells. All bring introductions or scrape acquaintance. 'Miss Margaret Symonds' will be able to tell us, for of course she is writing a book and knows everything, etc. etc."[52] Close ties to their audience meant that writers often also received personal feedback from their readers, either through direct contact or through a third party who reported back to the writer. Small social circles and the connections fostered by proximity within hotels meant that word of mouth was often responsible for spreading news about the guidebook's impending publication and identifying its author(s), prompting people to seek out the writers and "scrape acquaintance" in order to meet a literary celebrity and obtain personal travel guidance. Lina Duff Gordon similarly reported to Symonds that the hotel created space for rumours and intrigue:

> The amount of gossip that goes on at the Brufani about us [Duff Gordon and Symonds] is sickening. Venetia Cooper said whoever she spied[?] up the stair Mme. Brufani was talking about us, and telling everyone we were returning there in a few days to write about the whole of Umbria. . . . . Sig. Novelli hinted broadly to Mr. Roger Fry that he had written the book. I was much amused.[53]

The Hotel Brufani was a locus for gossip about the women and their work, which evidently continued to circulate even after they had long departed. Many of the fellow travellers in hotels were themselves famous writers; evidently Roger Fry, the painter, critic, and member of the Bloomsbury group had heard of *Perugia* while staying at the Hotel Brufani. It is possible that talk in the hotel was what first acquainted Fry with

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[52] Letter from Margaret Symonds to Agnes Haig, Spring 1897, DM1279/4, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol, UK.
[53] The Brufani was a palace-turned-hotel in Perugia; Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Vaughan, April 1898, WAT:I:G:67:H:1–10, Folio 10, 10v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

Duff Gordons' writing. Fry later gave Duff Gordon permission to quote from his art lectures for *The Story of Assisi*,[54] while he quoted from her guidebook in an essay on Giotto.[55] Those who stayed in hotels were inevitably travellers who were interested to some degree in learning about their surroundings and news that a resident was in the process of writing a guidebook usually sparked curiosity.

The close quarters of the hotel pushed together Anglophone expats and tourists, and in some cases these interactions had a direct impact on the writers and the work they chose to produce. While researching and writing *Perugia*, Symonds wrote to Haig from the Hotel Brufani to describe an event which renewed her motivation to complete the book:

> For two whole days I have been coping with the history of its cathedral which is most full and enthralling. Descending, rather exhausted by my labours, to table d'hôte last night, I heard one English lady tourist inquire in a languishing voice to her brother whether there was such a thing as a cathedral in Perugia! I returned to my labours girded about a fresh energy and almost canonized that lady for her ignorance. Lina and I must teach them…[56]

Interactions between writer and audience were an important element to guidebook writing. Symonds' encounter with a tourist ignorant of the very subject she was engaged in studying provided her with a greater sense of purpose, and ultimately, highlighted what she felt was the necessity of writing a guidebook: to educate the masses of tourists without expertise in art or history. The hotel was thus also a space where guidebook writers were directly confronted with fellow travellers, providing them with a connection to their audience and allowing them to observe first-hand what

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[54] Duff Gordon, *Assisi*, vii.
[55] Roger E. Fry, "Giotto," *The Monthly Review* (London) 2, no. 5 (February 1901): 96.
[56] Letter from Margaret Symonds to Agnes Haig, November 15, 1897, DM1279/4, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol, UK.

was general knowledge and what was not. This social interaction gave guidebook writers an indication of what their consumers wanted or needed to know while simultaneously solidifying their own expertise and authority.

The close quarters of the Anglophone community could also directly impact the guidebook's reputation and news of sales. The "busy florentine [sic] tongues" accidentally started a rumour that *Perugia* had been completely sold out in Florence within the first two weeks.[57] The rumour begun after "It was impossible to get the book in Florence & the booksellers kept saying the 'edition was out' meaning their copies were all sold."[58] In effect, the gossip mill created the false impression that *Perugia* sold more successfully than it really had. True or not, the attention these rumours garnered could not have failed to act as positive publicity and effectively spread the news of the book's evident success to even more potential readers. In such ways, social connections and spaces of interaction between travellers helped bolster interest among potential readers, and these rumours acted as a word-of-mouth endorsement that furthered the book's success.

The act of travel itself sometimes presented challenges to guidebook production for women and hotels could sometimes be seen as spaces which could pose a risk to a woman's moral reputation. In 1896, Symonds and Duff Gordon travelled together to Perugia to conduct the necessary research for *Perugia*. In her autobiography, Duff Gordon remarked,

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[57] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, April 1898, WAT:I:G:67:H:1–10, folio 10v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute of Florence Archives, Florence, Italy.
[58] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, April 1898, WAT:I:G:67:H:1–10, folio 10v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

> It is strange now to think of it being unusual for young girls (I was twenty-two and Symonds was twenty-five) to stay alone in an [sic] hotel although accompanied by a trusted maid. We were even to be looked after by Madame Brufani, the proprietress of Hotel Brufani.[59]

As unmarried women of the middle-upper class, they were expected to adhere to certain social codes of behaviour for the appearances of propriety—their maid and female hotel owner facilitated this outward display of morality. Indeed, maintaining appearances offers a possible explanation for why, when writing about the trip in her memoirs, Janet Ross erroneously recalled that Janet Catherine Symonds (Margaret's mother) acted as a chaperone during this trip, despite the fact that both Symonds' and Duff Gordon's accounts state that they travelled alone.[60] Despite the increasing number of women who travelled without male escorts in the latter-half of the period, Duff Gordon's account highlights one of the possible obstacles young unmarried women faced to becoming professional writers: they were still thought to need a degree of supervision. In a letter to her friend Agnes Haig, Symonds explained some of the difficulties which arose from travelling unaccompanied:

> Lina and I brought all sorts of letters of introduction with us — one of these to the head of the police which were at first scornful of sending in. We were, however, so bothered by boys yesterday that we mean to make our power felt. Perhaps the great man will give a special police-man![sic][61]

As "scorn" was their initial reaction to the idea that they would need to introduce themselves to the head of the local police, it is evident that both Symonds and Duff Gordon originally felt such a precaution was unnecessary or even ridiculous. However,

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[59] Duff Gordon made an error in her calculation of their ages; while Duff Gordon was twenty-two, Symonds was actually twenty-seven in 1896. See, Waterfield, *Castle in Italy*, 65.
[60] Ross, *The Fourth Generation*, 365.
[61] Letter from Margaret Symonds to Agnes Haig, November 15, 1896, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Correspondence, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol.

after frequent attention from men on the street, they apparently changed their minds. This suggests that while some British women felt that they should not need such protection based on their preconceived notions of male behaviour towards women of their class, when placed in new surroundings they could face new obstacles to their freedom of movement.

The hotel was also a place where women could occupy a room of their own and dedicate their time to their task instead of having to submit to the faux-familial setting of staying with acquaintances or family friends. While researching in Assisi, Duff Gordon was invited to stay with Mrs. Collins, an acquaintance of the Rosses who lived outside Assisi's city centre. However, instead of conforming to conventional forms of travel decorum whereby women lodged with female friends or family, Duff Gordon chose instead to stay in Assisi proper, at the Subasio Hotel. As a result, Collins was apparently "rather cool" towards her because, as Duff Gordon assumed, Collins believed she would stay with her while she did her work, "occasionally going over to Assisi to glance at its churches," or, as Duff Gordon wrote sarcastically: "more probably my gazing at them through a spy glass [sic] from her windows."[62] Duff Gordon's belief that Collins failed to comprehend the amount of time and effort Duff Gordon would employ to write the guidebook indicated that she felt not everyone fully understood the complexity of writing a guide, the importance of physical space, or the seriousness with which she and other women writers undertook their work. Completely disregarding the need to capture the spatial element of the town in a guide and the more physical and practical nature of the book, Collins likely believed that the book would be

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[62] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, July 3, 1899, WAT:I:G:72:H:9–11, folio 11, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

written with the help of other learned texts on the subject, mostly written by male academics. This was a popular belief, as guidebook reader Eliza Archard Conner once complained: "The guide-book makers have been copying that encyclopedia … Few of them read as though their authors have been over the ground them-selves. They have, almost without exception, simply sat down and copied a lot of musty, antediluvian rubbish."[63] By contrast, Duff Gordon rejected the domestic practice of staying with female friends in exchange for closer proximity to her object of study and greater freedom to come and go as she pleased, hinting at the possible limitations of social networks.

When writing *Assisi*, the book's illustrator, Nelly Erichsen, joined Duff Gordon and they set about exploring and working together: "Miss Erichsen & I started at the early hour of 7 when the summer air was still deliciously fresh… Miss E. drove and we clattered into Perugia amidst the astonished & somewhat supercilious gaze of her citizens."[64] As it turned out, staying at the Subasio Hotel was doubly beneficial. It not only gave Duff Gordon more intimate access to the spaces of the city, but it put Duff Gordon in close proximity to local experts, including Signor Rossi, the proprietor of the Hotel. Duff Gordon later acknowledged the value of Rossi's assistance in the preface to *Assisi*, as his "intimate knowledge of his native town" proved to be of great value.[65] The hotel provided women with the freedom to work unencumbered by the niceties one

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[63] Eliza Archard Conner, *Abroad, a Summer in Europe*, (Cincinnati, W.E. Dibble & co., 1883), 28.
[64] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, July 3, 1899, WAT:I:G:72:H:9–11, Folio 9, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[65] Duff Gordon, *The Story of Assisi*, 1900, vii.

might be required to show a private host and facilitated research by connecting women with knowledgeable locals.

Hotels could also nurture writer-publisher relations as guidebook producers and publishers sometimes travelled together and stayed in hotels. J.M. Dent travelled frequently with Medieval Towns authors and illustrators while in Italy. Dent recalled fondly of "going out with Madame Wiel to Verona and listening to all its historic romances," visiting Ferrara with his "dear friends Ella and Dora Noyes"[66] and exploring Siena with Janet Ross.[67] Strengthening these connections helped mitigate any disadvantages that may have resulted from living so far from London and the spaces where significant literary and social connections were made. Hotels could also help foster positive author-publisher relationships.

Hotels were thus sites of network building between reader and writer, where news, rumour, and curiosity about a guidebook spread, and where guidebook writers learned more about their audiences' needs and how to better address them. They might also offer women accommodation that gave them greater freedom to pursue their work with purpose and in a professional manner. They acted as places of networking, bringing together persons of literary, artistic, or even local importance, as well as creating stronger personal ties between producers and their publisher.

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[66] Dent, *Memoirs*, 111.
[67] Dent, *Memoirs*, 88.

III) The Villa



Figure 38 **Villa overlooking the city of Florence, Engraving, Nelly Erichsen, *Florentine Palaces,* 1901.**

Villas offer perhaps the most significant example of a space which nurtured the interconnected social and professional networks that drove guidebook publication. Although Britain also had a long history of literary salons,[68] towards the end of the nineteenth century, the rise of the predominantly male "clubland" effectively edged women out of spaces of literary business.[69] This was also increasingly the case in America, and distinctly separated domestic space from that of literary business. In Italy, where male-clubs were not as popular or widespread, there existed a different model: villadom. Ironically coined by twentieth-century writer Adolous Huxley in reference to the homes rented or purchased by Anglo-American expatriates in Italy around centres like Florence, villadom presented a more equal playing field for women engaged in cultural production.[70] An apposite description of villadom was offered by E.M. Forster in *A Room with a View*:

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[68] Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson eds., *Women in British Politics, 1760–1860: The Power of the Petticoat* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Amy Prendergast, *Literary Salons across Britain and Ireland in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Palgrave Studies in the Enlightenment, Romanticism and the Cultures of Print (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

[69] For recent studies on gender and club culture, see Barbara Black, *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012); Amy Milne-Smith, *London Clubland: A Cultural History of Gender and Class in Late Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[70] Kinta Beevor, *A Tuscan Childhood* (London: Viking, 1993), 105.

> Living in delicate seclusion, some in furnished flats, others in Renaissance villas on Fiesole's slope, they read, wrote, studied, and exchanged ideas, thus attaining to that intimate knowledge, or rather perception, of Florence which is denied to all who carry in their pockets the coupons of Cook.[34]

Since the term was coined, villadom has also been used to refer to the community of expatriates who lived in the hills surrounding Florence in the nineteenth century,[71] a space where so many women guidebook authors and illustrators met influential men and women in the larger literary and cultural domain. Here, women were integral in the creation and facilitation of spaces which solidified the literary social networks that characterized the nineteenth-century guidebook market. In so doing, women directly benefited from promoting spaces where they could converse about cultural and literary business on equal terms. The particular spatial context of Italy offered women more freedom to blend social, intellectual, and professional networks to form strong bonds

[71] Richard M. Dunn, "Villadom: The Florence of Mary Berenson, Mabel Dodge, and Mina Loy," in *Otherness: Anglo-American Women in 19 and 20th Century Florence*, ed. Bruno P. F. Wanrooij (Fiesole: Cadmo, 2001), 41–55.

with important cultural producers, both male and female.

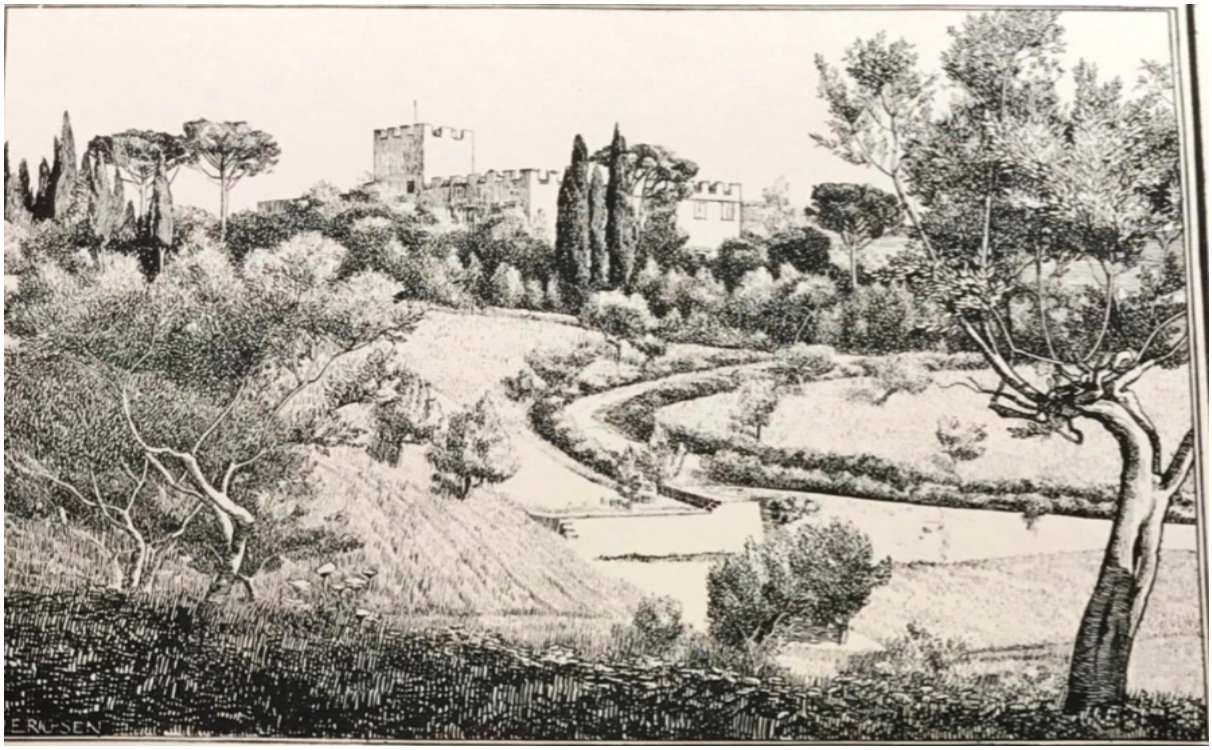


Figure 39 **Poggio Gherardo, Nelly Erichsen, *Florentine Places*, 1901**.

The key locus for the creation and dissemination of the Medieval Towns guidebook series was undoubtedly Poggio Gherardo, the thirteenth-century castle and home of Janet Ross and Lina Duff Gordon nestled on the slopes of Fiesole overlooking the city of Florence. The medieval fortress, named after the Gherardi family who had owned the castle since 1431, changed hands in 1888 when it was purchased by the Rosses. It was in this quasi-private space where intellectuals and members of the cultural elite from all over Europe and North America flocked, inspiration struck, and literary deals were negotiated.

The salon Janet Ross held at Poggio Gherardo facilitated the literary networks necessary to bring women into the guidebook market, while also developing strong personal relationships between the women producers and their publisher. Having lived in Florence for decades, Ross established herself and her home as the place to visit for

anyone with enough connections to do so. Duff Gordon recalled these weekly social visits in her memoirs:

> A feature of life at Poggio Gherardo was the Sunday afternoon reception when many people with letters of introduction came to visit 'the redoubtable Mrs. Janet Ross'. No one could give a more charming welcome, though few could rival her in freezing with a look those she disliked. The welcomed guests would boast of their success as though they had won a victory. One man sent by a mutual friend to see her is said to have rung the bell and then run away, his courage failing at the last moment.[72]

In Italy, Ross was a celebrity and her salons "were a marked feature in Florence and people of all nationalities" hoped to be invited to join this elite group.[73] The intellectual and social life of Florence held Janet Ross and Poggio Gherardo at its centre. Ross's home brought important literary figures and educated elites of both sexes together in conversation and the presence of those invited to visit her implied that they were someone worth knowing. However, according to her publisher, she was "democratic in her choice of friends. To have done anything of note was sufficient for an entrée to her circle."[74] Her list of friends ranged from European royalty to Italian peasants, yet this provided her with the advantage of knowing people at all levels of society engaged in the widest variety of intellectual and practical pursuits. Arthur Ransome once wrote about Ross, "She seems to drive with immense skill and grace a twenty-in-hand [horse team] composed indiscriminately of horses, dromedaries, camels, mules, poets, historians, painters, politicians, and financiers."[75] The success of her efforts can be seen most clearly in the sheer number of ties she could claim to important cultural and

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[72] Lina Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 54.
[73] J.M. Dent, *Memoirs*, 83.
[74] Dent, *Memoirs*, 84.
[75] Janet Ross scrapbook of newspaper cuttings, WAT:II:C:2, folio 65, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

intellectual persons, visible in the sociogram created for this purpose.[76] The ties that Ross could claim in her social circle includes people from across Europe and North America, demonstrating her transnational and transatlantic reach. Since these connections are only the ones discovered through reading her personal correspondence (published and unpublished) as well as her published memoirs, it is likely that there are many connections that could be added to this list.

Contemporaries were well-aware of Ross's network, and visitors would listen "enthralled [by] the stories of people she had known."[77] Ross herself was relentless when it came to networking, and she used her relationships consciously and strategically to her professional advantage. An engaging and educated host, Ross was well connected to accomplished people in an array of fields, but significantly, she personally knew several male writers and publishers of guidebooks to Italy, including Edward Hutton (1875–1969), Augustus Hare (1875–1969), William B. Spence (1814–1900), and John Murray III (1808–1892).[78] The biography Ross wrote about the women in her family, *Three Generations of Englishwomen* (1888), as well as her own autobiography, *The Fourth Generation* (1912), further solidified and spread news of her networks and fame on an international scale. On August 18, 1912, the *New York Sun* published a large spread on Janet Ross and her book *The Fourth Generation* accompanied by large portraits of Janet as a young woman and her many famous friends and family members.[79]

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[76] See Appendix A.
[77] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 54.
[78] Lina Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 41; Letters to John Murray, publishers of Janet Ross, 1866–1888, MS.41039, John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[79] Janet Ross scrapbook of newspaper cuttings, WAT:II:C:2, folio 54–57, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

The tradition of literary salons, such as those which continued at Poggio Gherardo under Ross's guidance, equipped women "with the intellectual tools to negotiate the public impersonal interactions in print."[80] The villa therefore offered many women of the Medieval Towns series training in the construction of a professional identity. Both men and women used villas as a means of finding literary inspiration and for exposure to new cultures and ideas. Poggio Gherardo was a space where people mingled, but it was also used by many in the same way as a gentlemen's social club: for dining, entertainment, and business. Some of the most iconic British and American writers and famous persons of the century visited Poggio Gherardo. Ross hosted Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) and his family on several occasions and he used Poggio as a kind of office, coming and going "at all hours."[81] The Berensons, the American essayist Charles Dudley Warner (1814–1900), English poet Alfred Austin (1814–1900), curator and art critic Sidney Colvin (1814–1900), and painter and son of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning, Pen



Figure 40 **Janet Ross, b/w photo, 1920-1921, Unknown Photographer, 701733 Ms B8 Box 14, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Biblioteca Berenson, Villa i Tatti, Florence, Italy.**

[80] Benjamin Dabby, *Women as Public Moralists in Britain: From the Bluestockings to Virginia Woolf* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), 13.
[81] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, October 12, 1892, WAT:I:G:54:H1, folio 14v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

Browning (1814–1900) were some of the featured guests.[82] Many writers and intellectuals enjoyed the relaxed atmosphere of the villa and their visits fostered friendships amongst those in the fields of art, history, geography, and literature. The hospitality offered at Poggio Gherardo, combined with natural beauty of the grounds and stimulating company, offered the perfect conditions for those looking for inspiration—literary or otherwise—and many stayed for long periods of time. The villa thus connected those in the literary world together, particularly when travelling to Italy, as providing a hub for Anglophones who tended to seek each other out while abroad. The symbiotic relationship between space and professional networks exemplified at Poggio Gherardo shows the importance of the villa as a place which brought people with similar interests together with similar interests and fostered a nexus of creative energy.

While the literary home could act as a space to build friendships among those interested in literary and cultural production, it also offered a platform to promote one's own writing or that of a friend/family member. After her niece had published her first guidebook to Perugia, Janet Ross promoted the book among the elites who came to visit her. When two Antrobus cousins arrived at the villa for lunch:

> Aunt J[anet] began telling him about 'the B' [the book, *Perugia*] & my nerves were at the last pull when Col. Antrobus opened his eyes & in drawling tones asked 'What is Perugia' and seeing my learned Aunt's astonished look hazarded a guess, 'Is it a province?' A nervous fear of Aunt J's brought him very near the mark. Well, I nearly kissed him. It was such a relief to find someone who didn't know all about 'the B' [book].[83]

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[82] See Appendix A.

[83] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, February 6, 1898, WAT:I:G:65:H:1–6, folio 2, 2v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; Most likely she is referring to Sir Edmund Antrobus, 4th Baronet (1848–1915) who was a Colonel of the Coldstream Guards.

From this encounter, it is clear Ross spoke about Duff Gordon's guidebook frequently, putting her home and the connections it fostered to good use, until it became an anomaly for someone *not* to know about Duff Gordon's guide. As a result, the book was apparently well known by everyone in Ross and Duff Gordon's social circle, an impressive list of people that included members of the British, American, and Italian intellectual elite.

Domestic spaces for networking were also used by women guidebook writers when looking to gain advantage with their publisher. Ross regularly invited J.M. Dent to stay at Poggio Gherardo over a period of several years. Aiming specifically to advance Ross' own work *Florentine Villas* (1901), Duff Gordon described the way her aunt used her position as a host for professional gain: "Aunt Janet is determined to get good terms from him for her villa book as she has invited him here for 2 nights."[84] An experienced writer, Ross knew that a solid personal relationship with one's publisher was just good business. Having spent years in the literary world writing to put her son through Oxford,[85] she knew how to use hospitality as a means of forming a closer relationship with her publisher, one which enabled her to secure a business contract in her favour. Dent often stayed as a guest of the Ross' for weeks, sometimes also accompanied by his wife, further merging business and personal relationships. Dent also stayed at Poggio Gherardo with other members of the Medieval Towns Series, such

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[84] Correspondence between Duff Gordon Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, May 8, 1899, WAT:I:G:70:H:9–14v, folio 14, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; Janet Ross, *Florentine Villas: with reproductions in photogravure from Zocchi's etchings and many line drawings of the villas by Nelly Erichsen* (London: J.M. Dent, 1901)
[85] Janet Ross, *Correspondence from Janet Ross to Henry Layard*, January 29, 1886, Unpublished correspondence, WAT:I E:23:ff1–10, Folio 3–5, Waterfield Collection, British Institute of Florence Archives, Florence, Italy.

as Nelly Erichsen, or well-known scholars like Thomas M. Lindsay.[86] In addition, he spent time with Duff Gordon and Ross on trips in Florence and the surrounding area, and his visits frequently coincided with the release of Duff Gordon's guides. Shortly after the release of *Perugia*, Dent came to stay and Duff Gordon sent a letter describing his visit to Symonds:

> Mr. Dent's visit here was very amusing... He was most bland & charming & praised Perugia with great emotion. He talked as if it were going to become an English classic!! Of course no one will write about Perugia now! ... He asked me... couldn't I sit down at once & begin Assisi. I said I must have time and I must also have Mrs. Vaughan [Margaret Symonds]. Fancy what a nice dull book mine would be! However, Dent distinctly said he was keeping Assisi for us so some day we shall meet there.[87]

As promised, Dent did save *Assisi* for Duff Gordon who, despite not being able to convince Symonds to join her in the venture, released the book in 1900. It was often during Dent's trips to Italy that the next volumes in the series were decided and the commissions assigned to writers and illustrators. The villa acted as a space to plan new guidebooks and, through hosting, women secured favourable commissions by building rapport with their publisher.



Figure 41 **J.M. Dent, b/w photo, n.d., Unknown Photographer, 237.82, Garden City Collection, Letchworth Garden City, UK**.

[86] Dent, *Memoirs*, 87.
[87] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, 1898, WAT:I:G:68:H:1–8, folio 3, 3v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

The villa as a literary hub was not only used to the advantage of those who lived there. News of Dent's arrival at Poggio Gherardo spread quickly in the English-speaking community of Florence, encouraging other writers to seek an audience with him in the hopes of securing a publishing deal. Duff Gordon recalled returning home from a day of exploring Florence with Dent "to find the Poggian [sic] slopes peopled by anxious authors with their pockets bulging with 'interesting' manuscripts eager to see the light of day."[88] Although he did not accept every book proposal simply because they were known to Ross, Duff Gordon remarked that "This little trip must cost him dear as he has been commissioning books all round."[89] In effect, Poggio Gherardo became Dent's temporary office as he met with anxious authors and read over their manuscripts and book pitches. Dent's use of the villa to secure new book contracts further highlights the importance of space, and villas in particular, to the building of professional networks and the development of the Italian scholarly guidebook.

Other women of the MTS also followed Ross' example and used their homes as a means of advancing their literary careers. Once she established her own household, Duff Gordon also began inviting Dent to stay in her own villa. Duff Gordon and her new husband, Aubrey Waterfield (1874–1944), invited Dent to their home while the newlyweds were working on a historical account of Rome, a book which later produced a small guidebook spin-off. When Dent arrived to discuss the book on Rome, he was introduced to Waterfield's sister Margaret, who showed him some of her drawings of gardens, hoping to get a publication deal. Despite believing he could not make the book

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[88] Correspondence of Lina Duff Gordon to Aubrey Waterfield, n.d. [1892?], WAT:I:G:1:ff1–11, folio 4v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[89] Correspondence of Lina Duff Gordon to Aubrey Waterfield, n.d. [1892?], WAT:I:G:1:ff1–11, folio 5, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.



Figure 42 **Lina Duff Gordon and Aubrey Waterfield's Wedding portrait. *Return from the Ride*, oil on canvas, Charles Furse, 1902, N01963, Tate Britain, London, UK.**

successful, he "arranged that if Miss Waterfield could get some expert gardeners to write on garden colour I would take the book."[90] *Rome and its Story* (1904) and *Garden Colour* (1905) were both published by Dent, again demonstrating the correlation between hosting and the solidification of literary contracts.[91]

Duff Gordon and Ross were not the only ones to employ their homes in this way; Dent also spent "many delightful days at the house of [his] friend Madame Wiel."[92] Wiel lived in Venice where she also developed friendships with literary figures like Henry James (1843–1916).[93] Thus, the Italian villa allowed women writers to

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[90] Dent, *Memoirs*, 116.
[91] Dent, *Memoirs*, 116; Lina Duff Gordon and Welbore St. Clair Baddeley, *Rome and its Story* (London: J.M. Dent, 1904).
[92] Dent, *Memoirs*, 85.
[93] James, *Letters from the Palazzo Barbaro*, 117.

establish networks with other writers, promote their work among others in their social sphere of influence, and establish solid relationships with their publishers that benefited their literary careers.

Conclusion

The libraries, hotels, and villas of Italy provided women guidebook producers opportunities to solidify connections to well-known and respected individuals, maintain contact with social circles in the literary world. In these spaces, they leveraged social connections in order to benefit their professional careers. Hotels and libraries allowed writers to interact with their readers, equipping them with insights into what should be included in the guidebook while also convincing them of the importance of their work. These spaces also gave women a place to work unbound by the restrictions of British and American institutions or the watchful eye of a conventional domestic home or pension. Italy offered British and American women opportunities to live intellectually stimulating and engaging lifestyles, resulting in a surge of Anglophone female cultural production.

Uncovering the importance of Italy to women's cultural output and their intellectual lifestyles, this chapter has demonstrated the international reach of the intellectual aristocracy and women's place within this group of cultural elites. While many came from families with ties to cultural networks, not all entered through social connections. Italy, not England, was the space which forged these connections and women claimed entry through their consumption of common cultural interests and the production of intellectual capital and authority. The case of the women of the MTS suggests that we should consider widening the geographical scope of analysis of the

intellectual aristocracy, one which also acknowledges women as key players in this cultural elite.

Chapter 6
Medieval Towns Series: Constructing Careers

On March 27, 1898, after the recent publication of the first guidebook in the Medieval Towns Series, Lina Duff Gordon happily wrote to her co-author Margaret Symonds:

> I too am foolishing [sic] excited at the charming appearance of [The Story of] Perugia… One thing is certain & that is—Perugia has opened out a whole new world to me—not a world of publishers eager to give us more work—but a world of saints living their dream-like lives in medieval towns somewhere in Tuscany or Umbria.[1]

A newly published author, here Duff Gordon signalled that guidebook writing revealed a new world of possibilities in historical scholarship to women interested in history and art. While she may have not considered *The Story of Perugia* to have initiated her entry into a world of publishing opportunities, it became the first of many works she would author in her lifetime and launched her long writing career.

Chapters Four and Five uncovered the networks and spaces that enabled the female producers of the Medieval Towns series to publish their guidebooks. In this final chapter, we now interrogate the scholarly guidebook subgenre more closely, teasing out what this type of guide offered women in professional terms and how they negotiated and situated their careers through the specialized scholarly guidebook subgenre. As

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[1] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, March 27, 1898, WAT:I:G:66:H:1–15, folio 6, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

noted in Chapter One, the majority of women who wrote guidebooks chose to publish scholarly guides; this chapter thus also offers deeper insights into how women constructed a professional identity within the guidebook market as a whole. Through unpublished correspondence written by the MTS authors and their circle of friends and family, we gain an unparalleled understanding of the process by which women built and/or maintained careers in non-fiction writing. Other sources that support these letters include published memoirs and biographies, diaries, reviews in the periodical press, and the guidebooks themselves.

Linda H. Peterson has identified three areas where women needed to excel in order to gain status in the literary world as professional writers: "economic success, critical esteem, and lasting reputation."[2] By uncovering the details of the careers of the female authors and illustrators of the Medieval Towns series in these three respects, this chapter argues that the guidebook offered women a platform upon which they could build or extend scholarly and artistic careers. Guidebooks acted as a space for women to pursue non-fiction publishing, showcase their ideas and authority, earn a measure of financial independence, and receive public acclaim and recognition for their work. This chapter provides insights into the different dimensions of the guidebook that could be utilized by women in the creation of a professional literary identity, while also highlighting the barriers that required negotiation or circumvention to achieve success.

In addressing the scholarly guidebook as a genre through which women were offered extended career possibilities, several threads of historiography converge to underpin the basis of this chapter. The first centres around the professionalization of

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[2] Linda H. Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 6.

history and art history in the nineteenth century. Scholars Elise Garritzen and Stefan Collini have identified the latter half of the nineteenth century as a transitional period in the study of history, from amateurism to professionalism, and argued that this "unfixed nature of the discipline provided novel opportunities for engaging with the past."[3] This engagement with the past in new ways is connected to the rising trend of nineteenth-century women choosing to write history that showcased the past lives of women. Benjamin Dabby, Mary Spongberg, Clara Tuite, Judith Johnston, and Hilary Fraser have all pointed to women's history writing in the Victorian period as disrupting,[4] "reconfiguring and feminizing" narratives of art and art history.[5] As we will see in this chapter, women's publication of scholarly guidebooks squarely fits within this framework. Through guidebook authorship, women engaged with history writing while subtly highlighting historical women's lives in ways that were not always evident in male-authored works. Yet this aspect of guidebook publishing has been largely neglected in scholarship on the nineteenth-century guidebook to date.

As revealed in Chapters One and Three, women published in the scholarly guidebook subgenre more often than any other type of guide. Yet, the authority with which women could claim historical knowledge was increasingly impacted by

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[3] Elise Garritzen, "Women Historians, Gender and Fashioning the Authoritative Self in Paratexts in Late-Victorian Britain," *Women's History Review* (August 19, 2020): 3.
[4] Benjamin Dabby, *Women as Public Moralists in Britain: From the Bluestockings to Virginia Woolf* (Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Press, 2010); Mary Spongberg and Clara Tuite, "Introduction: The Gender of Whig Historiography: Women Writers and Britain's Pasts and Presents," *Women's History Review* 20, no. 5 (November 2011): 673–87; Judith Johnston and Hilary Fraser, "The Professionalization of Women's Writing: Extending the Canon," in *Women and Literature in Britain 1800–1900*, ed. Joanne Shattock, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 231–50; Hilary Fraser, "Women and the Ends of Art History: Vision and Corporeality in Nineteenth-Century Critical Discourse," *Victorian Studies* 42, no. 1 (Autumn 1999): 77–100.
[5] Fraser, "Women and the Ends of Art History," 81.

strengthening links between professionalization and a higher education gained through a formal institution.[6] As Deborah Logan has suggested, "history was defined by strict notions of gender and genre, a primary tenet being that the recording of history was reserved for those formally educated and trained in archival research and scholarly methodology."[7] Bonnie Smith's *The Gender of History*, interrogates the link between gender and professionalism in significant depth, arguing that a "historiography that eradicates amateurism to tell a singular story of professionalism's high accomplishments" has prevented the consideration of women amateur historians and their "relationship to the development of intellectual and political womanhood."[8] Even as women entered university in Britain at increasing rates in the 1880s and 1890s, Carol Dyhouse has demonstrated that the opportunities for advancement into academic posts remained limited and women who graduated with degrees were "still unusual enough to provoke public interest."[9] As an alternative, scholarly guidebook writing offered the opportunity to conduct research and receive both compensation and recognition for this work outside of the male-dominated university and faculty boards of academia, both of which frequently stifled women's ambitions for academic equality. Guidebook writing was therefore one of many avenues that women could follow in the interest of leading intellectual lives.

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[6] Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice*, 1st Harvard University Press pbk., ACLS Humanities E-Book (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 7.
[7] Deborah A. Logan, "History Writing," in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. Linda H. Peterson, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 206.
[8] Smith, *The Gender of History*, 9.
[9] Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction Of Sex?: Women In British Universities, 1870–1939* (London: Routledge, 1995), 134, 141, 17.

Containing a fluid blend of subjects such as history, biography, art history, and classics, certain subgenres of guidebook blurred distinctions between disciplines, and in the process, worked to obfuscate traditional views about who had authority to write about these subjects. As Alison Chapman notes, "certain kinds of books… were valued over others because genre was also part of the hierarchy of status and achievement."[10] Guidebooks were perceived to be lower on the ladder of literary achievement than traditional histories, however, as Hilary Fraser has argued, "writing in less prestigious genres," such as guidebooks, "enabled women to explore prohibited territory under cover and to find an authoritative voice."[11] Given that the "Victorian literary establishment, and the very business of publishing, privileged male writers," guidebooks offered an alternative and more approachable arena for women to explore non-fiction writing.[12]

The division between *professional* and *amateur* when applied to Victorian women's writing has long been a subject of scholarly debate. While Gaye Tuchman points to the lack of control nineteenth-century women writers had over certain elements of their work,[13] Johnston and Fraser argue that "the constant efforts to maintain that control, even if they were unsuccessful, show to what extent women

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[10] Alison Chapman, "Achieving Fame and Canonicity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. Linda H. Peterson, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2015) 77.
[11] Fraser, "Girl Guides," 63.
[12] Alison Chapman, "Achieving Fame and Canonicity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. Linda H. Peterson, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 74.
[13] Gaye Tuchman with Nina E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 36.

regarded themselves as professional and behaved professionally."[14] This study supports Johnston and Fraser's argument, as evidence from guidebook writers consistently demonstrates that efforts were made to assert control and agency over their work, signaling their professionalism.

One of the ways guidebook writers developed and strengthened their authority as writers was through life writing. Women authors used letter writing to develop and share their research and ideas in a collaborative writing process. As Katie Barclay and Sarah Richardson argue, writing offers a stage on which women can "perform selfhood" and that the act of writing "comes to comprise the self; the self is not a priori to the text, but 'becomes' as it is expressed in written form."[15] Likewise, Cynthia Huff argues that life writing was a place for Victorian women to try out "their authority in terms simultaneously private and public."[16] As we have seen, women guidebook writers tested this authority through various forms of life writing, including diaries and correspondence between fellow authors, family, and friends. Thus, in both their published and unpublished writing, women guidebook producers actively performed and constructed notions of selfhood, and through the act and process of writing, worked to cultivate the identities of professional writer, artist, and scholar. In particular, their

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[14] Judith Johnston and Hilary Fraser, "The Professionalization of Women's Writing: Extending the Canon," in *Women and Literature in Britain 1800–1900*, ed. Joanne Shattock, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 235.
[15] Katie Barclay and Sarah Richardson, "Introduction: Performing the Self: Women's Lives in Historical Perspective," *Women's History Review: Performing the Self: Women's Lives in Historical Perspective* 22, no. 2 (2013): 179.
[16] Cynthia Huff, "Towards a Geography of Women's Life Writing and Imagined Communities: An Introductory Essay," *Prose Studies* 26, no. 1–2 (2003): 7.

letters represented an important avenue for women to test and express authority semi-privately, before asserting it publicly in final guidebook form.[17]

Unlike practical guidebooks which are often overtly political, scholarly guidebooks, as we will see later in this chapter, were more subtle about addressing political subjects in an effort to conform to the prescribed "scientific" form of scholarly writing.[18] Much recent scholarship has demonstrated connections between women's travel writing and political activism. Mirella Agorni has examined the role of travel to Italy and women translators in the eighteenth century, arguing that translation work expressed underlying proto-feminist sentiments.[19] Other scholars, such as Rebecca Butler, have shown travel writing as an outlet where women could express their political opinions during Italy's struggle for unification in the mid-nineteenth century.[20] Both Butler and Agorni show how alternative forms of writing, such travel writing and translation, offered women avenues to express their political agendas, circumventing barriers that may have prevented them from doing so otherwise. Guidebooks could also

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[17] For a study of life writing as it relates directly to guidebook authorship, see Hannah Sikstrom, "Susan Horner's Journeys, Journals and Gems: The Unpublished Travel Accounts of an Intellectual Woman in Italy," *Women's Writing* 24, no. 2 (2017): 227–47.
[18] Smith, *The Gender of History*, 1.
[19] Mirella Agorni, *Translating Italy for the eighteenth century: women, translation and travel writing, 1739–1797* (Northampton, MA: St. Jerome Pub., 2002); Perry R. Willson, *Women in Twentieth-Century Italy*, Gender and History (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Catherine Waters, Michael Hollington, and John Jordan, eds., *Imagining Italy: Victorian Writers and Travellers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Stephen Bending ed., *Women's Travel Writings in Italy*, Chawton House Library Series Women's Travel Writings (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009); Kathryn Walchester, *Our Own Fair Italy: Nineteenth Century Women's Travel Writing and Italy 1800–1844* (London: Peter Lang, 2007); Hannah Sikstrom, "Performing the Self: Identity-Formation in the Travel Accounts of Nineteenth-Century British Women in Italy" (Oxford, Oxford University, 2015); Alison Chapman, *Networking the Nation: British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840–1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[20] Rebecca Butler, *Resurgence and insurgence: British women travel writers and the Italian Risorgimento, 1844–1858*, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing (Bangor: Bangor University, 2016).

make space for women interested in political commentary. Building upon scholarship on historical writing, gender, and genre in the Victorian literary market, this chapter fleshes out the ways in which guidebooks presented opportunities for women to construct intellectual and literary identities.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first examines the chronology of the careers of the women contributors to the MTS series, focusing on the part played by guidebook publishing in their professional itinerary. The ensuing sections use Linda Peterson's three criteria for defining a professional woman writer as a framework: critical esteem and authority, economic success, and lasting reputation."[21] Section two thus explores women's path to claiming authority through guidebook writing and within the context of growing professionalization of history and art history at the tail end of the century. Section three focuses on the financial aspects of publishing, including the negotiation of literary contracts and payment for an initial work and later editions, underscoring that women strived to exert agency over the monetary element of their professional careers. Finally, the last section addresses the reputation of the series and its women producers, pointing to its broad audience and critical acclaim as measures of overall success.

I) Professional careers

As outlined in previous chapters, the Medieval Towns guides were written for those who sought a guidebook that was of a high literary quality, provided well-researched information, and focused on the "distinct personality and national life" of

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[21] Linda H. Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 6.

each town described.[22] The series designed and marketed itself to appeal to this educated reader in several ways, however the most significant to this chapter is the recognition of individual authors rather than franchise names.

Those who wrote scholarly guidebooks for the MTS series were usually experts or could bring particular insight about their topic to the series. For example, Thomas Okey, an Italian scholar and author of three Medieval Towns guides, would later become the first Professor of Italian at Cambridge.[23] This simultaneously strengthened the credibility of the series while it also set it apart from general interest guides whose author's names were usually replaced by a franchise title (i.e., Murray's Handbooks). By having the names of recognized scholars on the title page, the publishers of the Medieval Towns aimed to position the series as one of a higher calibre than general interest guides. Promoted as being "written all by experts," the authors provided the series with a greater sense of authority and cultural clout.[24]

Although the majority of the MTS were already published authors, women wrote and illustrated guidebooks at many different stages in their professional careers. Some authors, like Lina Duff Gordon, were inexperienced in the literary world when they first ventured into guidebook writing. The only member of the MTS with no previous publishing experience, Lina Duff Gordon authored the first two Medieval Towns guides in 1898 and 1900, with an additional guidebook and works of history to follow, before becoming a foreign correspondent in Italy for *The Observer* during the

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[22] J.M. Dent, *The Memoirs of J. M. Dent 1849–1926, with some additions by Hugh R. Dent,* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1928), 79.
[23] Thomas Okey, *A Basket Full of Memories: An Autobiographical Sketch* (London: J.M. Dent, 1930).
[24] "Advertisement," *The Academy and literature*, (1902–1905) Jun 18, 1904, vol. 1676, British Periodicals, 668.

First World War. She later earned an OBE for her work, and founded the British Institute of Florence, an institution aimed at undermining fascism and fostering friendship between Italy and Britain.[25]

While not entirely new to publishing, other authors had only recently begun their literary careers before joining the MTS. Margaret Symonds had published two works of travel literature, one co-authored with her father J.A. Symonds and one solo work, before she accepted J.M. Dent's offer to write the first guidebook in the series.[26] Symonds authored only one guidebook, *The Story of Perugia* (1898), at the age of twenty-seven before largely retiring from writing after her marriage to William Wymar Vaughan.[27] Similarly, Ella Noyes was also relatively new to publishing when she joined the MTS. Her first book, *Saints of Italy* (1901), was published under J.M. Dent Publishing Co. three years before she was commissioned to author an MTS guide to Ferrara. Working closely with her sister Dora, a professional artist and former student of the Royal Academy who produced the guidebook illustrations, Ella wrote three of the

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[25] Lina Duff Gordon, *A Castle in Italy: An Autobiography* (London: John Murray, 1961); Lina Duff Gordon, *Home Life in Italy: Letters from the Apennines* (London: Macmillan Co., 1908); Lina Duff Gordon, *A Concise and Practical Guide to Rome* (London: J.M. Dent, 1905); Lina Duff Gordon and Welbore Baddley St. Clair, *Rome and Its Story* (London: J.M. Dent, 1904); Lina Duff Gordon, *The Story of Assisi*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen and Helen M. James, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1900); Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, *The Story of Perugia*, illustr. Helen M. James, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1898).

[26] Margaret Symonds, *Days Spent on a Doges Farm* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893); J.A. Symonds and Margaret Symonds, *Our Life in the Swiss Highlands* (London: A. and C. Black, 1892).

[27] Symonds did write a few book reviews for the periodical press and a few unpublished works, but she did not continue writing guidebooks despite many pleas from both Duff Gordon and Dent for her to continue authoring works in the MTS.

Medieval Towns guides and two other works of travel literature, all under J.M. Dent Publishing Co.[28]

Others were already mid-career when they entered into the guidebook market. Before joining the MTS and writing her first Medieval Towns Guide, *The Story of Verona* (1902), Alethea Lawley Wiel wrote several history books on Italian subjects.[29] Besides guidebooks and history books, Wiel was also a frequent contributor to *Country Life* magazine, authoring works on Italian life and travel. Wiel published with the MTS well into the twentieth century, authoring *The Story of Bologna* in 1923.[30]

The MTS also secured more seasoned authors like Janet Ross. Ross frequently wrote on Italian subjects and was an already well-established author before she decided to engage with the guidebook genre. Ross wrote many articles about Italian life in *MacMillan's Magazine*, books on travel literature, an Italian cookbook, and a biography of her female descendants before joining the MTS.[31] She published two guidebooks,

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[28] Ella Noyes, *Salisbury Plain: Its Stones, Cathedral, City, Villages*, illustr. Dora Noyes (London: J.M. Dent, 1913); Ella Noyes, *The Story of Milan*, illustr. Dora Noyes, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1907); Ella Noyes, *The Casentino and Its Story*, illustr. Dora Noyes, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1905); Ella Noyes and Dora illus. Noyes, *The Story of Ferrara*, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1904); Ella Noyes, *Saints of Italy; Legends Retold by Ella Noyes*, illustr. Dora Noyes (London: J.M. Dent & co., 1901).

[29] Alethea Lawley [Wiel], *The Romance of the House of Savoy, 1003–1519* (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898); Alethea Wiel, *Venice*, The Story of Nations (London: Fisher & Unwin, 1894); Alethea Wiel, *Two Doges of Venice: Being a Slight Sketch of the Lives and Times of Tomaso Mocenigo and Francesco Foscari* (London: Cheswick Press, 1891); Alethea Lawley [Wiel], *Vittoria Colonna: A Study with Translations of Some of Her Published and Unpublished Sonnets London* (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1889).

[30] Wiel, *The Story of Bologna*.

[31] Janet Ross, *Old Florence and Modern Tuscany* (London: J.M. Dent, 1904); Janet Ross, *Florentine Villas*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen (London: J.M. Dent, 1901); Janet Ross, *Leaves from My Tuscan Kitchen: Or, How to Cook Vegetables* (London: J.M. Dent, 1899). "Advertisements & Notices," *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 25, 1876, British Library Newspapers; "Advertisements & Notices," *Examiner*, August 28, 1875, British Library Newspapers; "Advertisements & Notices," *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 28, 1877, British Library Newspapers.

The Story of Lucca (1912) and *The Story of Pisa* (1909), co-authored with Nelly Erichsen.[32]

The boundary between author and illustrator was sometimes blurred. Nelly Erichsen, a professional artist trained at the Royal Academy, illustrated many of the MTS guides before becoming an author, co-writing and illustrating *The Story of Pisa* and *The Story of Lucca* with Janet Ross. Erichsen also illustrated guidebooks for other publishers, such as Macmillan's Highways and Byways Series.[33] Others, like Helen M. James, remained illustrators for their entire careers. James was prolific during her professional life, illustrating eight of the Medieval Towns guides in just four years with the series.[34] While relatively little is known of James, it appears that the Medieval Towns' first guide in the series, *The Story of Perugia*, was her first book illustration.

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[32] Janet Ross and Nelly Erichsen, *The Story of Lucca*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1912); Janet Ross and Nelly Erichsen, *The Story of Pisa*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1909).

[33] Edward Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Somerset*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Highways & Byways Series (London: Macmillan, 1912); Norwood Young, *The Story of Rome*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1907); Thomas Okey, *The Story of Venice*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1905); John B. Firth, *Highways and Byways in Derbyshire*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Highways & Byways Series (London: Macmillan, 1905); Alethea Wiel, *The Story of Verona*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen and Helen M. James, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1902); Count Francis Lützow, *The Story of Prague*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1902); Ross, *Florentine Villas*; Edmund G. Gardner, *The Story of Florence*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1900); Lina Duff Gordon, *The Story of Assisi*, 1st ed., illustr. Nelly Erichsen and Helen M. James, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1900).

[34] Alethea Wiel, *The Story of Verona*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen and Helen M. James, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1902); Edmund G. Gardner, *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano*, illustr. Helen M. James, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1902); Thomas Andrea Cook, *The Story of Rouen*, illustr. Helen M. James and Jane E. Cook, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1901); Wirt Gerrare, *The Story of Moscow*, illustr. Helen M. James, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1900); Cecil Headlam, *The Story of Nuremberg*, illustr. Helen M. James, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1899); Hannah Lynch, *The Story of Toledo*, illustr. Helen M. James, The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1898); Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, *The Story of Perugia*, illustr. Helen M. James, 1st ed., The Medieval Towns Series (London: J.M. Dent, 1898).

Her career was cut short when she died of an illness before she could complete her last work, *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano* (1902). Female producers of the Medieval Towns Series were usually (but not always) recognized artists and authors before they engaged with guidebook publication. Based on the trajectories of the MTS authors, it seems plausible to suggest that the decision to enter the guidebook market appealed to women's professional aspirations in various ways and offered opportunities to women at many stages in their careers.

II) Claiming Authority

Scholarly guidebooks offered opportunities to women interested in claiming intellectual authority in art/historical writing and research. As the first solo-authored work of Lina Duff Gordon's career, *The Story of Assisi* (1900) demonstrates the role of the guidebook in establishing expertise and connoisseurship in women's scholarly writing and providing a space for the expression of an intellectual agenda. The unpublished letters of Duff Gordon written between 1892–1901 suggest that guidebook publishing could act as a gateway into the larger world of non-fiction publishing for a new scholar.

For new writers, guidebooks could offer a chance to develop confidence and expertise as a scholar and a writer. In Chapter Four, we explored the beginning of Duff Gordon's career through the co-production of the first guidebook in the Medieval Towns series, *Perugia*, with her friend and mentor, Margaret Symonds. New to the literary market, Duff Gordon's letters during the production of *Perugia* show that she was still developing her confidence in both her intellectual and writing abilities. One recurring theme throughout their early correspondence is Duff Gordon's deference to

Symonds's judgement and experience. She also expressed sentiments of self-deprecation to underscore her own inexperience: "Do send me your Paduan M.S. Yours will be the Artistic [sic] picture while mine is as cold and hard as the Forno glacier."[35] While the two women wrote *Perugia* together, Duff Gordon felt her own strengths lay in historical biography and art history, while she gave the more prestigious title of historian to Symonds: "Somehow I feel more in touch with the world (by which I mean nature) reading & learning about the painters than in reading history. You are becoming an historian & I am weakly groveling for knowledge in another direction..."[36] While both Symonds and Duff Gordon travelled frequently between Italy, Switzerland, and England, Symonds encouraged Duff Gordon's efforts as they exchanged ideas, edits, and manuscript proofs.

While Duff Gordon felt that her own expertise was still underdeveloped, she frequently tested her knowledge and authority through her correspondence with Margaret Symonds. Her letters expressed frustration at the level of ignorance displayed by the many visitors to Florence. In 1893, when she was obligated to guide two visitors around Florence, Duff Gordon complained:

> Glass windows became a frequent subject of conversation & I inwardly hoped they knew more about them than they did about pictures. I took them to see the lovely quadri at San Martino & the young lady remained with her mouth open but her imagination shut to all their beauty. I could have sworn when turning from them, the elder turned her face toward the ceiling & commenced admiring the hideous & glaringly modern fresco there depicted… 'Questo dev'essere molto vecchio' [That must be very old] she exclaimed to the priest who quietly told [her] it was 'robba nuova' [modern]. Next week I shall have to conduct them through the galleries. I shall show

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[35] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Vaughan, September 24, 1893, WAT:I:G:55:H:1, folio 14, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[36] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, October 30, 1896, WAT:I:G:58:H1, folio, 1v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

> them all the worst pictures for if they can't distinguish beauty for themselves they are not worthy to see the Chef d'oeuvres of Florence.[37]

Rather than guiding them in the appreciation and understanding of art, Duff Gordon expressed contempt for their ignorance and believed them to be unworthy of the knowledge that she had spent long hours cultivating. Her account underscores that while she may have believed herself to be a student when compared to Symonds, she felt she often knew much more than the average visitor to the city and could also demonstrate confidence in her own authority. Despite Duff Gordon's contradictory and competing versions of her identity as both inexperienced student and subject expert, identities could be simultaneously embodied, as Liz Stanley argues, "these competing truths and selves may [all have been] true."[38] The concept of multiple or conflicting identities is one of great importance, particularly to understanding the development of women's career identities as they assumed the role of guidebook writer. Through this concept, we can understand more fully the early career of Duff Gordon as she grappled with conflicting and contrasting versions of self, from an inexperienced scholar and novice writer to an art/historical expert and authoritative voice. Through her writing, Duff Gordon actively performed and constructed a professional selfhood, developing and negotiating the identities of professional writer and scholar.

The first step towards solidifying this scholarly identity and authoritative voice was through the research stage of guidebook writing. Eager to undertake a new solo-authored work, in 1899, Duff Gordon began preparing for *The Story of Assisi* (1900)

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[37] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, September 24, 1893, WAT:I:G:55:H:1, folio 13v, 14, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[38] Liz Stanley, *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1992), 11.

before *Perugia* had even made it to the shelves. She approached her subject in a decidedly rigorous and scholarly fashion: taking notes on her reading, synthesizing the arguments of other scholars, and discussing the merits of other academic works on Assisi with Symonds:

> I am reading a history of Assisi by Cristofani—a sort of Bonazzi, correct but without that satirist's dry humour. I see great possibilities & am writing out a dry concise squeeze of the book which afterwards is to be mellowed & rendered somewhat more readable by picturings from a Ciatti... I have my eye on a certain Conti who wrote in 1600 when dear old Ciatti was amusing himself writing la Storia di Perugia. In Cristofani there is a long account about Ingegno, very interesting indeed...[39]

Her grasp of the scholarship of her subject is shown here through her discussion of various merits of historical works mixed with the addition of primary source materials, all of which are written in their original Italian. Duff Gordon's guidebook writing was based on the same rigorous historiographical research that increasingly characterized the work of historians who sought to follow the Rankean model of history writing.[40]

As already discussed, the guidebook could be a more accessible genre to women looking to engage with scholarship than traditional history works because of its lower literary status. The creation of *The Story of Assisi* offers some insight into this in practice. Originally, Duff Gordon had intended to write a short history piece on St. Francis' life. Duff Gordon was intrigued with the saint, whose importance she felt had "never been realized by his biographers," and she originally planned to write a short

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[39] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, December 26, 1897, WAT:I:G:63:H:1–16, folio 10–10v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[40] Georg G. Iggers, "The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth-Century 'Scientific' History," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, eds. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók (Oxford University Press, 2011), 41–58.

periodical piece about his life and work.[41] The true scope of her topic soon revealed itself however, and she realized that it was "quite impossible in 3,000 words to... describe or even touch upon the different well known events of his life."[42] Deciding to write a more substantial piece, it is significant that she chose to transform the work into a guidebook, not a historical text. Given her anxieties about single authorship, it is possible the guidebook seemed less threatening. The guidebook could, in instances like this, cloak historical scholarship as travel writing and ease any of the "anxieties of authorship" that a new writer may have experienced.[43]

The quality of her research and the rigour with which Duff Gordon approached *The Story of Assisi* is suggestive of the way in which scholarly guidebook writing could act as a space for women to embody the role of scholar and historian. In contrast to the earlier hesitancy she expressed when writing history, Duff Gordon wrote "pages & pages of history notes about Assisi."[44] She deepened her knowledge by reading texts such as Giorgio Vasari's *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (1558) and Thomas Celano's *La vita prima di S. Francesco d'Assisi* (1879), and consulting experts such as Bernard Berenson.[45] She also read eighteenth-century biographies of St.

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[41] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 6, 1898, WAT:I:G:65:H:1–6, folio 2v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[42] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 6, 1898, WAT:I:G:65:H:1–6, folio 2, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[43] Mitchell, "'The busy daughters of Clio'," 118.
[44] Letter from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 6, 1898, WAT:I:G:65:H:1–6 , Folio 2v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute of Florence Archives, Florence, Italy.
[45] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, April 2, 1898, WAT:I:G:67:H:1–10, folio 4v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; By the "new edition" of Vasari's *Lives*, Duff Gordon would have been referring to the edition published in 1568 rather than the first edition published in 1550 as the book would not be translated into English until 1908. See, Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (Fiorenza: Giunti, 1568); E.L. Seely transl., *Stories Of The Italian Artists From Vasari*, (London; New York: Chatto & Windus, Duffield & Co., 1908).

Francis,[46] and histories of Assisi written in Italian by Antonio Cristofani which she found "very interesting indeed."[47] Duff Gordon frequently expressed enthusiasm in the research process, exclaiming that she felt "absolutely entranced" by Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1843), which she was "endeavouring to digest the whole 5 vols" because he had the incredible "power of making one think and even opened a new world of thought to [her]."[48] Expanding her grasp of the subject, Duff Gordon seemed to become more confident in her identity as an art historian and historian and began to use her knowledge to approach the subject in a unique way. Instead of following the dry format she found in other histories, she determined to get at "the spirit of medieval Assisi" which she envisioned should be constructed as "a kind of imaginary portrait—a day out of its medieval chronicles."[49] Effectively, Duff Gordon described using historical imagination to reconstruct, insofar as it is possible, an understanding of medieval life; a technique which is now routinely used by professional historians, but was still a relatively uncommon practice for history writing at the time, particularly among male historians.[50]

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[46] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 6, 1898, WAT:I:G:66:H:1–15, Folio 9v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[47] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, December 26, 1897, WAT:I:G:65:H:1–6 , Folio 10v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; Antonio Cristofani, *Della vita e degli scritti del conte Bernardino di Campello, storico e letterato spoletano del secolo XVII*, (Assisi: Tipografia Sensi, 1873); Antonio Cristofani, *Il piu antico poema della vita di S. Francesco D'Assisi scritto innanzi all'anno 1230; ora per la prima volta pubblicato e tradotto da Antonio Cristofani* (Prato: R. Guasti, 1882);
[48] Letter from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, December 8, 1898, WAT:I:G:68:H:1–8, folio 8v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[49] Letter from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, April 2, 1898, WAT:I:G:67:H:1–10, Folio 4v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[50] Lisa Kasmer, *Novel Histories: British Women Writing History, 1760–1830* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2012); Deborah A. Logan, "History Writing," in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. Linda H. Peterson, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 207.

One of the ways that Duff Gordon (and Symonds) used the technique of historical imagination was to place a stronger emphasis on the lives of women in history. *The Story of Perugia* begins with a three-chapter history of the city, one which reaches as far back as the Etruscan period, before arriving at the author's present day. Unlike practical guidebooks examined in Chapter One, *Perugia* contained no explicitly gendered travel guidance, however, it did call attention to the historical importance of women in past societies, reflecting the authors' wider personal views on women's place in contemporary society.[51] For example, while describing Etruscan carvings the authors highlight the fact that "Women were respected and held a high position in society" and that this "fact is clearly shown by their prominence upon the tombs, where they sit side by side with their husbands, as they were probably in the habit of doing at their feasts."[52] While this might be understood as merely a factual description of Etruscan gender roles, its placement in a scholarly guidebook written by women is noteworthy given that this information was not found in male-authored texts, as demonstrated below.

An analysis of three guidebooks published in the same period by male authors, written in both Italian and English, that specifically examine the history of Perugia and discuss the Etruscan era, reveals no mention of Etruscan women's social rights or their apparently equal status to men. William Heywood and R. Langton Douglas's *A History of Perugia* (1910), R.A. Gallenga Stuart's *Perugia* (1905), and Raniero Gigliarelli's

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[51] In a letter written to Symonds on February 6, 1898, Duff Gordon wrote, "I shall soon be hearing of you subscribing to women's rights," see Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, February 6, 1898, WAT:I:G:65:H:1–6, folio 1v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[52] Symonds et al., *The Story of Perugia*, 273.

Perugia Antica E Perugia Moderna (1907) were all published around the same period as *The Story of Perugia*, but without any reference to Etruscan women's equality.[53] Duff Gordon and Symonds' focus on the important status of Etruscan women therefore differs from other guidebooks of a similar nature written by men, underlining the subtle ways in which the author's gender could influence the kind of history presented in a guidebook and how this presentation could be used to promote a greater understanding of past women's lives, creating links between examples of gender equality in the past and its possibility in the present. *Perugia* serves as an example of female authors using their guidebook writing to showcase historically important women from which "moralizing" lessons could be learned for improvement of women's place in contemporary society.[54]

The transition from inexperienced novice writer to scholar and expert is most clearly visible through the changing tone of Duff Gordon's letters to Symonds. As she became more confident in herself as a scholar, Duff Gordon asserted her new-found expertise by instructing Symonds in the works she felt most accurately portrayed the saint. She advised Symonds to read Paul Sabatier's *Vie de saint François d'Assise* (1894), as well as Ernest Rénan's *Nouvelles études d'histoire religieuse* (1884), but to avoid Domenico Cavalca's *Vite di S. Francesco d'Assisi e di Santa Eufrosina* (1870) which she found to be "Absolutely dull & pedantic."[55] Evidently, the student had

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[53] William Heywood and R. Langton Douglas eds., *A History of Perugia* (London: Methuen & Co., 1910); R.A. Gallenga Stuart, *Perugia* (Bergamo: Instituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1905); Raniero Gigliarelli, *Perugia Antica E Perugia Moderna* (Perugia: Unione Tipografica Cooperativa, Editrice Gennaio, 1907).
[54] Dabby, *Women as Public Moralists in Britain*, 1.
[55] Letter from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, April 8, 1898, WAT:I:G:67:H:1–10, Folio 2, Lina Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; Paul Sabatier, *Vie de saint*

become the teacher; Duff Gordon espoused strong views on which scholars she believed to be the most accurate, illustrating her growing confidence in her understanding of the historiography on St. Francis and her own stance on the subject. Her skills in European languages provided her with the ability to read both historical texts in Latin and Italian as well as contemporary scholarship in several languages. Language skills were a great advantage in history writing, one which Duff Gordon held over many of her male peers who were not trained in languages to the same extent.[56] As fellow Medieval Towns author Thomas Okey noted, "In Victorian days, before the foundation of the Schools of Modern Languages at Oxford and Cambridge, knowledge of the leading European languages [among male scholars]...was rare," and this included Italian.[57] Through her knowledge of languages, Duff Gordon was able to gain a level of expertise difficult to achieve by male scholars.

Despite her growing confidence, the path to becoming a professional writer and scholar was not necessarily linear. Confidence and authority could swiftly be replaced by doubt and insecurity. Duff Gordon asked Symonds more than once if she could help her with *Assisi* even as it neared its publication date:

> Do tell me what you feel drawn to do about Assisi? Dent won't wait till the Spring...do you feel inspired to write an essay on S. Francis? I wish you would. You could make his spirit walk the Umbrian hills

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François d'Assise (Paris: Fischbacher, 1894); Giovanni Francesco di Bernardone, *I fioretti di San Francesco: testo di lingua secondo la lezione*, ed. P. Antonio Cesari (Milano: M. Guigoni, 1868); Ernest Renan, "François d'Assise," *Nouvelles études d'histoire religieuse* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1884); Domenico Cavalca, *Vite di S. Francesco d'Assisi e di Santa Eufrosina* (Milano: E. Sonzogno, 1870).

[56] Susan N. Bayley and Donna Yavorsky Ronish, "Gender, Modern Languages and the Curriculum in Victorian England," *History of Education* 21, no. 4 (December 1992) 367.

[57] Thomas Okey, *A Basket Full of Memories, an autobiographical sketch* (London: J.M. Dent, 1930), 46.

> again—And I imagine how delightful for me to be able to have your work in my poor, humble book![58]

The pressure of authoring a solo work was one that weighed heavily on Duff Gordon, and she sought comfort, reassurance, and assistance from her mentor. While Symonds refused to research or assist in writing *Assisi*, she did agree to edit the manuscripts. With the spring deadline looming in September of 1899, Duff Gordon lamented that her "sentences now seem to me too short & jerky" and she wanted to rewrite the whole thing, but felt it was "useless doing so until I have your suggestions" and finally resorted to begging, "please, please help me & don't mind what you say to me or what you scratch out."[59] While Duff Gordon sought comfort and reassurance from Symonds as she wrote *Assisi*, she also gained invaluable experience testing her new role as a solo writer. Others also noted the impact of writing a solo work had on Duff Gordon; Mary Berenson remarked in her diary that "it has done her a great deal of good to write this book alone" suggesting that ultimately the production of a solo work was a good learning experience for Duff Gordon.[60] Duff Gordon's writing of *The Story of Assisi* offers a unique insight into the process by which women became professional non-fiction writers, the complex path towards claiming a scholarly identity, and the journey to assuming authority.

While the production of *The Story of Perugia* and *The Story of Assisi* provide insights into the opportunities that guidebooks afforded women interested in non-fiction

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[58] Letter from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 8, 1899, WAT:I:G:72:H:1–11, folio 4v, 2, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[59] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, September 1899, WAT:I:G:73:H1–16, folio 13v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[60] Mary Berenson diary entry, May 23, 1900, 702919–702723, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti, Florence, Italy.

writing, it also reveals obstacles that required negotiation. Despite any success they achieved from publishing in this genre, women still faced several challenges in building careers and asserting their right to claim authority in the non-fiction book market. While Duff Gordon took her writing seriously, others sometimes positioned her project as an amateur past-time which could be discarded if it became too strenuous. During a visit to Poggio Gherardo, Katharine Symonds (1875–1952), Margaret Symonds' younger sister, wrote to her father about Duff Gordon and her work: "It's amusing to watch her [Duff Gordon] writing her book on Assisi and the labour and toil it costs her…'Of the making of many books there is no end'. It hardly seems necessary to make so many."[61] Katharine's observations indicate the disparity between Duff Gordon's views of her writing as serious *work*, and therefore her identity as a professional writer, while others who viewed it as unnecessary. Duff Gordon's perception that what she was doing was labour was underscored by her frequent use of the word "work" to refer to her daily research and writing.[62] Duff Gordon was not the only women guidebook author who felt that writing a guide was labourious; Symonds described her efforts as such to her father when writing *Perugia*: "Life is a perfect whirlwind these days, and my literary labours are all gone everywhere like my M.S.S. which strew the room and make me mad when I re-enter after scouring the neighbouring hills."[63] Guidebook writing was both mentally and physically tiring, as writers travelled to each place to experience the

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[61] Letter from Katharine Symonds to J.A. Symonds, April 29, 1900, DM1279/1, Symonds Family Correspondence, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol.
[62] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 8, 1899, WAT:I:G:72:H:1–11, folio 5v, 8, Waterfield Collection, British Institute of Florence Archives, Florence, Italy.
[63] Letter from Margaret Symonds to Agnes Haig, Winter 1896, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Correspondence, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol.

sights *in situ*, ensuring they were as faithful to their subject as their reading public demanded. Spending long days reading, copying, writing, and editing, many women pursued their subject of research with purposeful commitment that was not always understood by their contemporaries.

Women authors of the MTS also experienced resistance from male scholars who felt threatened or sceptical of the authority they garnered in the process of writing guides. Arriving in Perugia with letters of introduction "to various learned citizens" Duff Gordon and Symonds observed that the learned men they were to meet received them with suspicion.[64] In her memoirs, Duff Gordon recalls that she believed these male scholars "felt sure no woman under sixty would be writing a book" and that any unmarried woman who did so "would be ugly, possibly with prominent teeth, like so many maiden ladies who came to warm their blood in the lovely sunshine of Italy."[65] That Duff Gordon ironically conjures up images of ugly spinsters as the only women men would believe interested in writing history reveals something of the persistent stereotypes of who could be a scholar. In Perugia, the two young women were first introduced to Giuseppe Bellucci (1844–1921), a professor at the Università degli Studi di Perugia who,[66] according to Duff Gordon, was chosen from the learned citizens for "the ordeal" of "inspecting" them.[67] Apparently surprised by their youth and physical appearance, Duff Gordon recalled that he at first refused to help them, assuming they were "only frivolous young women."[68] Duff Gordon's recollections indicate that she

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[64] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 65.
[65] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 65.
[66] Giuseppe Bellucci was a professor at the Università degli Studi di Perugia. See, *Guida Alle Collezioni Del Museo Etrusco-romano in Perugia* (Perugia: Unione Tip. Cooperativa, 1910).
[67] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 65.
[68] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 65.

felt stereotyped based on her gender, age, and physical appearance. According to Duff Gordon, it was only after they spent time convincing Bellucci they were "serious students" that he agreed to assist them in their research.[69] Evidently, their persistence and the seriousness with which they approached the work won over the professor, who not only agreed to assist them, but eventually became a life-long friend.

The news that two women were writing a guidebook to Perugia also drew hostile attention from famous Renaissance art historian Bernard Berenson (1865–1959). Although the details of the confrontation were never fully described, Duff Gordon and Symonds both expressed their mutual surprise and shock at Berenson's behaviour in their correspondence. Duff Gordon wrote to Symonds: "I've discovered the secret of his behaviour to us that famous day"[70] and explained Berenson's apparent rudeness:

> The reason that Mr. Berenson ruffed our feathers so on that occasion was that he imagined us both to be conceited young ladies who knew nothing (that our ignorance was infinite is not far off the mark) and imagined they were going to give the world some more valuable information on Perugino. So he proceeded to squash and annihilate them. He behaved badly but then he is a queer little person capable of doing small things like that and yet he is one of the kindest and most sympathetic people I know.[71]

In her account, Berenson's reaction was similar to Bellucci's: their age and sex were evidence of their ineptitude or unworthiness to write art history. While Duff Gordon may have perceived Berenson's actions in a more negative light than intended, it is unlikely to have been exaggerated given the frequency with which Berenson displayed such hostility to women art historians. Despite the important role several women art

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[69] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 65.
[70] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, May 9, 1897, WAT:I:G:60:H:1–17, folio 13v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[71] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, February 6, 1898, WAT:I:G:65:H:1–6, folio 3–3v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

historians and collectors played in his own career development,[72] historian Hilary Fraser has noted that Berenson generally regarded the work of women art historians as "inevitably subsidiary to a man's expertise."[73] Berenson once commented that the acclaimed Julia Ady Cartwright was "quite unlike the ordinary lady art critic" because she actually "knew what she was talking about."[74] This was not the first time Berenson had confronted a female scholar about her work; he also made accusations of plagiarism against Vernon Lee and Clementine Anstruther-Thomson in their co-authored work on art aesthetics, "Beauty and Ugliness."[75] Mandy Gagel, who has studied the disagreement between Berenson and Lee, notes that Berenson was not unaware of Lee's intelligence and important contributions to art history, after all, he had studied *her* work before becoming recognized as an expert himself.[76] Seeking to establish himself in a burgeoning field, Berenson's insecurity stemmed from his desire to establish his reputation in the art world which "contrasted greatly with Lee's outspoken, 'unfeminine' nature and unorthodox lifestyle."[77] Berenson also frequently belittled and criticized his wife, Mary Berenson, as "stupid" despite the significant role she played in developing many of the concepts on aesthetics for which only he received credit.[78] A

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[72] Including Vernon Lee, Mary Berenson, and Michael Field.
[73] Hilary Fraser, *Women Writing Art History*, 2.
[74] Julia Ady Cartwright, *A Bright Remembrance: The Diaries of Julia Ady Cartwright 1851–1924*, ed. Angela Emmanuel (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), 4.
[75] Vernon Lee and Clementine Anstruther-Thomson, "Beauty and Ugliness," *Contemporary Review*, Part I (October 1897): 544–69; Part II (November 1897)
[76] Mandy Gagel, "1897, A Discussion of Plagiarism: Letters Between Vernon Lee, Bernard Berenson, and Mary Costelloe," *Literary Imagination* 12, no. 2 (2010): 154–179.
[77] Gagel, "1897, A Discussion of Plagiarism," 158.
[78] Mary Berenson diary entry, October 8, 1896, 702919–702723, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti, Florence, Italy. For scholarship on Mary Berenson as it relates directly to this subject and guidebooks in particular, see Ilaria Della Monica, "Mary Berenson and The Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 2019 (June 3, 2019); Ilaria Della Monica, "Notes on Mary Berenson's Diary (1891–1893)," *Visual Resources* 33, no. 1–2 (April 3, 2017): 140–57.

negative reaction to two women guidebook writers asserting authority in the domain of art history was therefore not out of character for Berenson. While Berenson apparently attempted to redeem himself by giving Duff Gordon private gallery tours and informal art history lessons,[79] his behaviour suggested that he felt female scholars of art history threatened his security in a newly developing academic field. This apprehension, it appears, also extended to those women who chose to write scholarly guidebooks which engaged with art history. Such encounters between male scholars and women guidebook writers highlight the barriers women could face when publishing any work of non-fiction, including guidebooks.

Undoubtedly, the main hurdle for women interested in scholarly guidebook writing was their lack of formal and institutionalized education. All but one of the male Medieval Towns authors either attended or lectured at Cambridge or Oxford, while none of the women writers attended university. As noted in Chapter Four, lack of such accreditation impacted women's authority to claim certain kinds of knowledge and had material consequences. For example, while women made up 60% of authors for the Medieval Towns guides to Italy, the majority of the work they published was focused on minor towns. The larger cities with Greek or Roman history, like Florence, Venice, and Rome, were written by male authors, of whom almost all had a university education. Differences in access to formal education may have had an impact on the kinds of work available to women, even in a collection like the MTS that supported the work of women authors.

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[79] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, May 9, 1897, WAT:I:G:60:H:1–17, folio 13v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

Male writers for the series wrote guides for the larger (or more historically important) towns in Italy and abroad. Cecil Headlam (1872–1934), a former student of Oxford and Rugby,[80] wrote several guides in the Medieval Towns collection: *The Story of Oxford* (1907), *The Story of Chartres* (1902), *The Story of Naples* (1927), *The Story of Nuremberg* (1899); Edmund G. Gardner (1869–1935) a graduate of Cambridge,[81] wrote *The Story of Florence* (1900) and *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano* (1902).[82] Norwood Young (1860–1943) received a private education at Clifton College, and authored *The Story of Rome* (1901), as well as guides to Rome for the Murray's Handbooks franchise.[83] While the guidebook genre gave women greater access to scholarly art/historical discourses, the professionalization and institutionalization of knowledge still seems to have presented barriers in scholarly guidebook publication, particularly for large and important cities with ties to Greek and Roman history.

While women's exclusion from the larger Italian cities in the guidebook market was partially the result of male dominance in the non-fiction literary world, the reality was more complex than simple male doubt of female capability. Women writers themselves were sometimes hesitant to take on guides to larger cities, often because

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[80] "Headlam, Cecil, (19 Sept. 1872–12 Aug. 1934)" *Who's Who & Who Was Who,* Oxford UPress, Accessed 5 Apr. 2019.
[81] "Gardner, Edmund Garratt, (12 May 1869–27 July 1935), Emeritus Professor of Italian, University of London, since 1934," *Who's Who & Who Was Who,* Accessed 5 Apr. 2019.
[82] Gardner also wrote many other books on Italy and was considered to be an expert on Dante.
[83] "Young, Norwood, (1860–22 April 1943)," *Who's Who & Who Was Who,* Oxford University Press (December 01, 2007); Norwood Young, *The Story of Rome*, illustr. Nelly Erichsen, Mediaeval Towns Series (London: Dent &, 1901); John Murray (Firm), *Handbook for Rome and the Campagna,* ed. Norwood Young (London, E. Stanford, 1908); Norwood Young, *The Growth of Napoleon: a Study in Environment* (London: John Murray, 1911); Norwood Young, *Napoleon in Exile* (London: Stanley Paul & Co., 1914); Norwood Young, *The Life of Frederick the Great* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1919); Norwood Young, *Carlyle: His Rise and Fall* (London: Duckworth, 1927); Norwood Young, *Fortuna, or Chance and Design*, To-day and To-morrow Series (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1928); Norwood Young, *George Washington: Soul of the revolution* (New York, R. M. McBride & company, 1932).

they felt they were not properly educated to undertake the task—a common concern among nineteenth-century women non-fiction writers.[84] As historian Rosemary Ann Mitchell notes, while many women were successful writers of history, this "did not prevent individual women historians experiencing the 'anxiety of authorship'."[85] A clear example of anxiety of authorship is present in discussions surrounding *The Story of Florence*. When Dent approached Duff Gordon with the idea of including Florence in the Medieval Towns Series, she contemplated the idea: "You know I am half tempted to try my hand at a history of Florence..."[86] However, regardless of the success she had achieved with the publication of *Perugia* and *Assisi*, Duff Gordon repeatedly expressed doubts about her ability to write a guide to such an important city: "I've 'advised' Mr. Dent about Florence…. I couldn't promise to do the work—I don't think I am capable for the work but said I thought my Aunt and Sig. Biagi might be willing."[87] After reading Gino Capponi's *Storia della Repubblica di Firenze* (1875),[88] Duff Gordon again lamented that she was "not learned enough to undertake the work,"[89] and that she felt she could not write a guide to Florence even after "years of study."[90] Her self-doubt alludes to the kind of pressure placed on writers undertaking a guidebook focused on a

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[84] Judith Johnston and Hilary Fraser, "The Professionalization of Women's Writing: Extending the Canon," in *Women and Literature in Britain 1800–1900*, ed. Joanne Shattock, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 244.
[85] Rosemary Ann Mitchell, "'The busy daughters of Clio': Women writers of history from 1820 to 1880," *Women's History Review* 7, no. 1 (1998), 118.
[86] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, December 9, 1900, WAT:I:G:79:H, folio 6, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[87] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 19, 1899, WAT:I:G:69:H:1–10, folio 10v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[88] Gino Capponi, *Storia della Repubblica di Firenze* (Firenze: G. Barbera, Editore, 1875)
[89] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, March 8, 1899, WAT:I:G:69:H:11–14, folio 13, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[90] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, March 8, 1899, WAT:I:G:69:H:11–14, folio 13, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

major Italian city and the kind of education they believed such a book required. Despite training in Latin and a host of resources and experts available to her, Duff Gordon felt she lacked the kind of education required to write such a guide, an education which was the predominant focus of schools attended by her male peers.

Given the many instances where Duff Gordon asserts her expertise and even serves rebuttal arguments to some of her critics, it is clear that she did grow confidence in her role as a writer, however this did not completely negate the anxiety that came with writing a guide to one of the most important cities in Italy. Male publishers could also compound this self-doubt. For example, while Dent proposed the idea to Duff Gordon, he did not *exactly* offer her the work outright. Rather he positioned her possible involvement as a joint endeavour, or as a last resort:

> Do you think it is possible to condense into a similar kind of book—perhaps a little longer—the story of Florence and do you think Mrs. Ross and you—or someone else could undertake to do it? I do not give you the offer of this now, but I should like to feel very much that if you advise it and I see my way I might have you to fall back upon to do it.[91]

It is also important to note that Dent did not feel sufficiently confident in his women authors to offer Florence to one of them directly, rather he suggested it should be a joint effort, if no other more qualified author presented themselves. It is therefore noteworthy that guides to large cities were not readily offered by publishers to solo female writers. Fifty years later, Duff Gordon did publish a guidebook to Florence, *Florence: A Short Guide to the Art Treasures of Florence* (1950).[92] However, the combination of her

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[91] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 19, 1899, WAT:I:G:69:H:1–10, folio 10, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[92] Lina Duff Gordon, *Florence: A Short Guide to the Art Treasures of Florence* (Florence: Marzocco, 1950).

publisher's initial hesitancy and her own self-doubt demonstrate that barriers to education and self-censorship could prevent women guidebook writers from accessing larger and more culturally significant areas of the guidebook market.

The frequency with which women co-authored scholarly guidebooks also suggests that this tactic was a way for women to both gain a foothold in scholarly publishing, while also enabling them to share the burden of knowledge—as well as any consequent criticism the book might face.[93] As a way of mitigating the challenge of not possessing such an education, co-authorship with a male writer also offered a solution to publishing a book to one of the larger cities of Italy. In *Rome, and its Story* (1904) Duff Gordon co-wrote a historical work with Welbore St. Clair Baddeley (1856–1946), an amateur archeologist, travel writer, and author of several guidebooks to Italy, several of which he also collaborated on with another famous guidebook writer, Augustus J.C. Hare (1834–1903). The two authors, Duff Gordon and St. Clair Baddeley, divided their work into "Ancient Rome" and "Christian Rome" with St. Clair Baddeley being responsible for the first part and Duff Gordon writing the second. Thus, each author wrote in their area of expertise, allowing them to share the work and also the pressure of publishing a historical piece on a city which already boasted a significant list of titles. Given that co-authorship is an approach found only in scholarly guides from the works surveyed for this study, it seems plausible to suggest that sharing scholarly work with men could lend more credibility to women's texts, while also offering a way to mitigate the "anxieties of authorship" more readily felt when writing scholarly works.[94]

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[93] While it was not unheard of for men to co-author guides, it appears it was more common for women to do so.
[94] Mitchell,"'The busy daughters of clio'," 118.

While it is important to acknowledge the challenges women faced in asserting professionalism and expertise, there were also extraordinary and unforeseen scholarly benefits to guidebook writing. The publishing of *Perugia* resulted in a lifelong friendship between women and male scholars, such as Professor Bellucci and Bernard Berenson, who had originally dismissed their work. Yet even more significantly, the authors of *Perugia* were formally recognized by an institution of higher learning for their guidebook's contribution to scholarship. On February 18, 1899, Margaret Symonds received a letter from the Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia that both she and Lina Duff Gordon would be awarded honorary degrees. Expressing pride at their accomplishment, Symonds wrote in reply:

> My Dear Sir,
> I received last night your very kind letter, with the news that you & the members of the Academy of Fine Arts at Perugia had the extreme kindness to elect me as an honorary member of your assembly. I received at the same time the beautiful diploma which I shall of course have framed and hung in my sitting room. I need scarcely tell you how proud & pleased this intelligence has made me, & that I value the honour you have done me most thoroughly. I have a deep affection as well as admiration for your wonderful Umbrian city & it has been a great pleasure to my friend, Miss Duff Gordon, & to myself to see that our small book has had some success in England & that it is about to be translated into Italian. We could not, in so short a span, adequately describe the deep charm and interest of a city so rich in art and history as Perugia is, but if we have pointed out to the traveller some few more points than those supplied in our English guidebooks we are happy. Much—very much—remains to be written, & I am hoping myself to make someday a fuller study through the works of Mariotti.[95]

Despite the humble tone of the letter, Symonds highlights their book as being both more complete and thorough than other guidebooks to Perugia on the market. The scholarly

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[95] Margaret Symonds letter to Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia, February 19, 1899, folio 3–4, Archives of the Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia, Perugia, Italy.

nature of their text ultimately resulted in their recognition from fellow scholars in their field. Duff Gordon expressed similar joy upon receiving her own diploma: "You may imagine my excitement upon arriving here to find the huge diploma with its painted griffin all complete. I little deserve so great an honour but you may think how I love it & guard my treasure jealously."[96] Both women stress they felt both pride at receiving such recognition, one they would have likely not received from any British institution for guidebook writing, scholarly or not. While many women enrolled in British and American universities were still lobbying for the right to earn diplomas after years of study and examinations, writing a guidebook had earned two women symbolic degrees from an institution of higher learning—possibly the highest form of recognition they could have hoped to achieve.

The scholarly guidebook offered women a place to develop and construct identities as professional writers and scholars, a process which was by no means linear, and often fractured and disrupted by doubt. Yet, despite needing to negotiate preconceived notions of female capability when it came to scholarly writing, women gained confidence, authority, and intellectual capital through guidebook writing. They used the guidebook as a public platform to assert their expertise which they often worked out first through correspondence and other sources of life writing. Guidebook writing offered formal recognition for their scholarship, sometimes acting as an avenue to circumvent and negotiate gendered barriers to their participation in the non-fiction book market.

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[96] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, March 8, 1899, WAT:I:G:69:H:11–14, folio 15v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

III) Financial Success

Women guidebook writers and illustrators also claimed their professional status by seeking a measure of financial independence and autonomy through negotiating their own literary contracts and payments. The inconsistent and often complicated methods of payment used by publishing companies in the nineteenth century has made studying the financial gain of writers challenging; adding the author's gender to this complex system of royalties and copyright payments only further serves to complicate matters. Just as they received lower wages for the same work in other professions, women generally received less compensation for their writing than men.[97] Yet, payments for scholarly guidebooks nonetheless offered a measure of financial incentive and enabled some women to support themselves, fund their travel, or facilitate their intellectual pursuits. Women cultivated and employed professional skills to handle the business of publishing including negotiating contracts, royalties, and copyright.

Some women depended more than others on their earnings from publishing, particularly those who were not supported by inherited wealth or a husband's income. The Noyes sisters came from a relatively large and comfortable middle-class family.[98] Their father Samuel and brother Harry were solicitors (the latter attended Oxford), while their brother Robert was a solicitor's article clerk, and Edward worked in civil

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[97] There are of course women who earned considerably more than the average woman, particularly if they were famous authors, but in this case, I am referring to women's wages more generally. Gaye Tuchman and Nina E. Fortin, "The Invasion, or how women wrote more for less" in *Edging Women out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers and Social Change*, Routledge Library Editions Women, Feminism and Literature 13 (London: Routledge, 2012).

[98] The 1881 census shows that the Noyes family, 9 in total (7 children), employed three servants, suggesting a degree of financial security. *Census Returns of England and Wales*, 1881, Class: RG11, GSU roll: 1341152; Piece: 656; folio: 47, Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), 1881, 22.

service. Since both Noyes sisters remained unmarried throughout their lives, some financial support was doubtlessly provided by their family enabling them to live and make several trips to Italy. Their guidebooks were published in 1904, 1905, and 1907 respectively. Since guides took on average a year to write, the sisters would have been in Italy in 1903, 1904, and 1906 to complete their research and illustrations. We can assume that the funds from their book sales were not used solely for the purpose of funding travel, as only a year after their last book was published Margaret Noyes wrote to Mary Berenson that they could not afford a trip to Italy in 1908.[99] Therefore, it seems that while the Noyes' were supported by some measure by their families, guidebooks and other forms of writing were still an important source of income to their daily lives.

Helen M. James (by all accounts unmarried) eagerly completed all the opportunities for illustration that emerged with the MTS until her premature death, suggesting that the income her illustrations earned her was critical to her survival. From the income of Nelly Erichsen, another unmarried illustrator (although from a well-off merchant family), we can estimate that James would have made approximately £20 per book for her illustrations—£160 for eight guidebooks illustrated between 1898–1902.[100] Compared to the earnings of a working class woman, say a maid who earned between £10–16 per year, this was more than enough for a frugal woman to live.[101] When combined with other work, unmarried illustrators could have earned enough to live in

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[99] Correspondence from Ella Noyes in Sutton Veny, Wiltshire to Mary Berenson, April 6, 1908, DG656.N7, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Villa i Tatti, Florence, Italy.
[100] It is unclear whether or not illustrators received any further compensation when new editions were published, so this is a conservative number; Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 8, 1899, WAT:I:G:72:H:9–11, folio 4, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[101] John Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 227.

modest comfort, particularly in Italy where living costs were more affordable. Nelly Erichsen chose to live permanently in Bagni di Lucca after repeated trips to Italy to complete guidebook illustrations. Also unmarried, the decision to remain in Italy could have been partially a financial one, as she could more easily afford comfortable living while living closer to the subject of her work, reducing the costs for travel between Britain and Italy.

Married women sometimes used their writing to bolster their family's income and support their children. The Panic of 1866, a significant banking crisis, caused serious financial repercussions for the Ross household.[102] As a result of heavy financial losses, Henry and Janet Ross were forced to leave Egypt. While not exactly destitute, they chose to settle in Italy instead of England for its more affordable living.[103] By 1880, Janet Ross was writing articles about Italian life for *Macmillan's Magazine* to earn income, using the money to support her son Alexander through university at Oxford.[104] Writing to her friend Henry Layard, Ross bluntly stated that her motivations for writing were financial: "I am so hard up, that I really am writing for money & not for honour & glory… I shall not be able to go to England at all, unless I can make enough by my pen."[105] As Layard was godfather to Ross' son, this admission may have been used to elicit his sympathy and assist her in securing more writing opportunities

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[102] Ross, *The Fourth Generation*, 158–159.
[103] Ross notes that at the time British foreigners could sometimes get 29 *lira* for 1£. Ross, *The Fourth Generation*, 176.
[104] Ross, *The Fourth Generation*, 207; Correspondence from Janet Ross to Henry [Layard], January 26, 1886, WAT:I E:23:1–10, folio 3v–5, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[105]Correspondence from Janet Ross to Henry [Layard], 29 January 26, 1886, WAT:I E:23:1–10, folio 3v–5, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

for which she often requested his assistance.[106] Yet her admission does not seem to have been exaggerated; throughout 1899, Ross frequently expressed anxiety about being paid promptly for her books *The Land of Manfred* and *Three Generations of English Women* by her publisher, John Murray.[107] Ross also turned to other more creative ways of earning money: selling hand-painted fans, writing song lyrics, and authoring articles for periodicals.[108] From a year's work in 1886, Ross expected "to make about £80."[109] As we will soon see, this was comparatively low when measured against the earnings a guidebook offered.

The series' first two guides, *Perugia* and *Assisi* offer clues as to what guidebook publishing paid its women writers. As the original publisher's contract has not been uncovered (if one was ever formally drafted), it is difficult to point to an exact figure for the earnings of Duff Gordon from her portion of the sales of *Perugia*. However, in her autobiography Duff Gordon noted that both she and Symonds each received £100 for the first edition of the guide, and from her correspondence we can gather that Duff Gordon received an extra £21.17 from continued royalties in 1900.[110] Given that she perceived herself to have played a more minor role in the book's production, she even wrote to Symonds insisting she receive less of the proceeds.[111] We might assume that

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[106] Correspondence from Janet Ross to Sir Henry [Layard], August 2, 1888, WAT:I E:25:ff1–13, folio 10–13, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[107] Correspondence from Janet Ross to Sir Henry [Layard], August 21, 1888, WAT:I E:26:ff1–14, folio 10–11, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[108] Correspondence from Janet Ross to Henry [Layard], April 4, 1886, WAT:I E:23:ff1–10, folio 9–10, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[109] Correspondence from Janet Ross to Henry [Layard], April 4, 1886, WAT:I E:23:ff1–10, folio 9–10, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[110] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 116.
[111] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, April 20, 1900, WATIG76H:6–10, Folio 10, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

Symonds received a higher share of the subsequent royalties. *The Story of Perugia* was in its seventh edition by 1912; if we use this figure to average the earnings, Duff Gordon received approximately £20 in royalties from each subsequent edition. This places Duff Gordon's total earnings for *Perugia* at roughly £240, while Symonds may have received a higher sum.

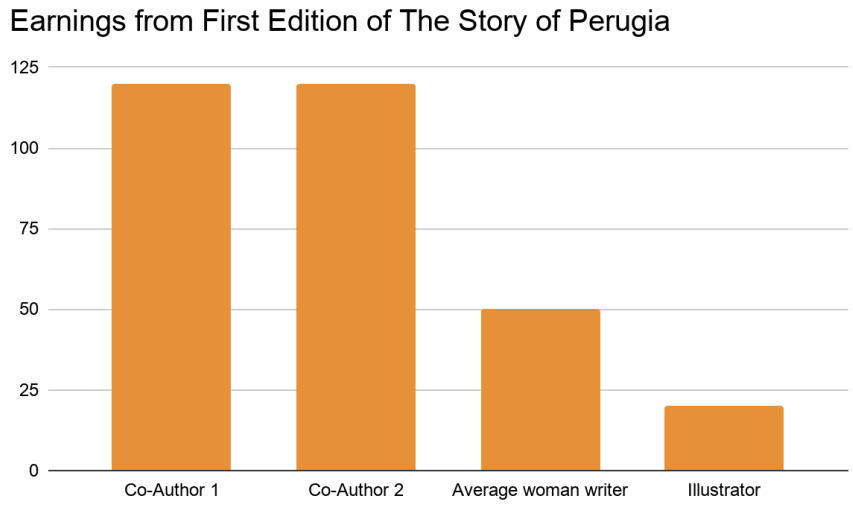


Figure 43 **Earnings from the First Edition of *The Story of Perugia***

Duff Gordon wrote in her letters to Symonds that the first edition of *Assisi* had a print run of 2,500—an above-average number for the period.[112] Since the books were published both in America and in Britain/Europe (not including the Italian translation, for which we have no clear idea of print run numbers) it is estimated that 35,000 copies were printed (seven editions x 2,500 copies x two publishing houses [one American and one British]).[113] From *Assisi,* Duff Gordon received an initial advance payment of £20 for royalties from the first print run, which had early sales totalling 719 copies in

[112] Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market 1836–1916* (Aldershot UK: Ashgate, 2003), 34.
[113] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 5, 1901, WAT:I:G:80:H:1–11, folio 6–6v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

England and 500 in America.[114] While she never directly stated how much she was paid in total for her work on *Assisi*, we can assume that it would have been approximately equal to what both authors had earned for *Perugia* the previous year: a sum of £200 plus royalties.[115] Using the data on the earnings of female writers applying to the Royal Literary Fund, the majority of women cited an average yearly income of £1–70 from all sources of writing, with an average copyright value of £50.[116] Even taking into account the travel costs for research, which might be averaged at £10 a month,[117] female authors of the Medieval Towns series earned a higher wage than many other female writers of the period.

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[114] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 5, 1901, WAT:I:G:80:H:1–11, folio 6–6v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[115] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 116.
[116] The Royal Literary Fund was a charitable organization which provided support to writers who were struggling financially because of an unexpected change in circumstances or poverty. See, S. D. Mumm, "Writing for their Lives: Woman Applicants to the Royal Literary Fund, 1840–1880," *Publishing History*, Vol.27, Jan 1, 1990, ProQuest.
[117] This is an estimate taken from the prices of a month's lodgings (£4) in Assisi which Symonds describes in a letter to Agnes Haig, as well as information provided in Georgina Grahame's 'how-to' guide for expats thinking of moving to Italy. See, Georgina S. Grahame, *In a Tuscan Garden* (London; New York: J. Lane, 1902); Letter from Margaret Symonds to Agnes Haig, Winter 1896, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Correspondence, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol.

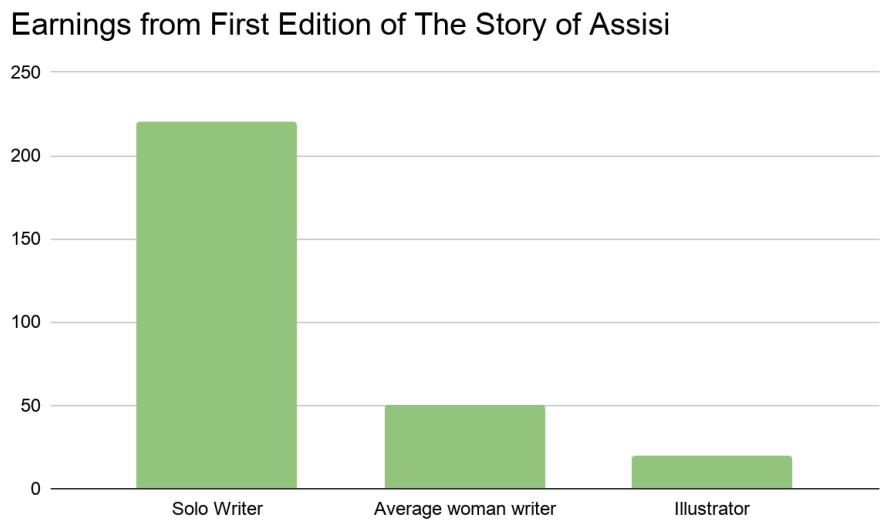


Figure 44 **Earnings from the First Edition of *The Story of Assisi***

Yet, how significant an amount were these earnings in the context of their lives? As her guardians, Janet and Henry Ross paid Duff Gordon's living expenses until 1902, when she married Aubrey Waterfield, an artist with little financial security. Further clues to Duff Gordon's financial situation are recorded in Enid Layard's (1843–1912) diary entry of 1893:

> The poor girl is miserably poor—Her father came into a fortune of £10,000 a year & ran thro' it in less than 2 years & Lina is left with £3,000 left her by an aunt—& never receives 1d from her father. Luckily she has a good uncle & Aunt in the Rosses–" [118]

Unsupported by her father, Duff Gordon relied on what was considered by her contemporaries to be a small inheritance and the kindness of her aunt and uncle. Her choice to marry an artist was not popular with her family. The Ross family opposed Duff Gordon's marriage to Waterfield because they did not believe he would be able to support Duff Gordon properly. In one of the letters between Duff Gordon and Aubrey

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[118] Mary Enid Evelyn Guest Layard, "JOURNALS OF MARY ENID EVELYN LAYARD (1912–1869)," October 24, 1893, Ca' Capello, Venice, Add MS 46153–46170, Western Manuscripts, The British Library, London, England.

Waterfield before they were married, Duff Gordon notes that someone had asked her if two people could live off £500 a year and her response was: "Certainly not—£1,000 a year is the necessary sum."[119] This roughly correlates with the findings of John Burnett's study on the cost of living in the nineteenth century, which states that middle-class newly-weds could live comfortably on an income of about £700 per annum.[120] On average then, one successful guidebook would equate to about 30% of a yearly salary that could support two people of the middle-class in Britain—a relatively substantial sum.

Returning to the importance of social networks illustrated in Chapter Four, guidebook producers put their social connections to work both at home and abroad and often received news of their sales numbers from people they knew. Exchanging news of *Perugia*'s book sales in Italy and England, Duff Gordon reported to Symonds that "The book is selling like wildfire in Florence. 10 copies were sold in one day at one shop and the man told a friend of ours that the whole edition was sold out in London!!!!!"[121] This suggests that women were actively involved in the sales side of book's publication and that they monitored their financial success through both the published press and reports from friends and family delivered via private correspondence.

The women authors of the MTS knew the value of their work and did not hesitate to protest when they felt they were not being fairly compensated. Writing a guidebook often required copious amounts of research, tedious fact checking, and

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[119] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Aubrey Waterfield, 1902, WAT:I:G:5:ff1–16, folio 2, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[120] Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living*, 238–239.
[121] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Vaughan, April 8, 1898, WAT:I:G:67:H:1–10, Folio 1v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

travelling to view spaces or access material in libraries and archives, all activities which increased the cost and value of their labour. In 1899, Duff Gordon urged Symonds not to allow Dent to undercut them in the payment of further editions of *Perugia*: "his suggestion to you is shameful & surely £10 is a ridiculous sum to be paid for the 2nd edition?"[122] While some female writers could turn out several fictional works in a year,[123] most guidebook authors could only write one guide in the same amount of time. Their work also required special skills and knowledge, such as Italian (or other foreign languages) as well as the ability to support themselves while travelling and writing for a whole year before they saw any returns on their investment. Therefore, while the guidebook did provide the means for a measure of financial independence, the opportunity was primarily accessible to women of the upper or middle classes who had the educational background, financial support (from family or by other means), social networks, and adequate time to commit to its production. This financial aspect of guidebook publishing further illustrates why women of a certain class and financial position made up the clear majority of scholarly guidebook writers.

While writing scholarly guidebooks was intellectually stimulating and provided opportunities for control over women MTS authors' financial circumstances, it did not always pay enough for the amount of time and research involved. Although their publisher was "pleased" and "the reviews were favourable," Duff Gordon and Symonds were disappointed that they "did not get more than about £100 each which had also to

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[122] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Vaughan, May 8, 1899, WAT:I:G:70:H:9–14, folio 14v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[123] As an example, some of the more prolific fiction writers in the same period wrote upwards of 40 novels during their careers, such as Emma (E.D.E.N.) Southworth (66 novels), Ouida (Maria Louise Ramée) (40 novels), or Annie Shepherd Swan (over 200 novels/short stories/serials).

cover [their] expenses."[124] Since Duff Gordon was a member of Ross' household, her living and travel expenses were paid by her family. Ross wrote of her frustration that, "Up until now [she was] out of pocket by her [Duff Gordon's] pen, someone must pay hotel bills & travelling."[125] To support herself as she travelled to write guidebooks, Duff Gordon sometimes turned instead to forms of writing that could see a quicker return on investment, often those which fell within genres more closely associated with prevailing nineteenth-century ideas of femininity.

By the end of the nineteenth century, women had already been publishing works of non-fiction for centuries, but many contemporaries believed women's strengths lay primarily in writing works that coincided with the conservative idea of womanhood, such as fictional novels, children's literature, poetry, or descriptive travel accounts.[126] However, if we examine Duff Gordon and her career in the MTS, it becomes clear that sometimes women used genres traditionally coded female as simply a means through which they could finance their scholarly work. Not long after the release of her first co-authored guidebook, Duff Gordon began to look towards her next literary project, however, travel for the necessary research required money, and she needed to finance her intellectual pursuits. As William Whyte has noted, "the intellectual aristocracy was rich in learning but poor in wealth...they possessed large quantities of intellectual capital, but held much lower levels of economic capital."[127] This lack of financial

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[124] Duff Gordon, *Castle in Italy*, 116.
[125] Correspondence from Janet Ross to Madge Symonds Vaughan, Aug 20, 1901, WAT:I E:28:ff1–17 folio 5–6, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[126] Logan, "History Writing," 207–208; Alison Chapman, "Achieving Fame and Canonicity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. Linda H. Peterson, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 75.
[127] William Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 10, no. 1 (2005): 28.

capital certainly impacted Duff Gordon, and she confessed to Symonds that she had started an altogether different project: "Now to make you laugh for I know it will amuse you to hear that Mr. Dent is to bring out a cookery book for me!!!" Expressing embarrassment, Duff Gordon confessed: "The truth is I wanted to make a little money in order to be able to stay at Assisi in Sept."[128] Duff Gordon's proposed idea to Dent was a vegetarian cookbook that she originally called *Italian Vegetarian Soups & Dishes*. Unlike the difficult and time consuming work of the guidebook, she planned to write the cookbook in a mere six weeks.[129] Having never had to cook herself, the recipes were actually the work of Poggio Gherardo's cook Giuseppe; however, Duff Gordon found that writing the cookbook was such boring work that she grew tired of the whole project and decided instead to sell the unfinished book to her aunt.[130] The work was published by Ross as *Leaves from our Tuscan Kitchen* (1899) and eventually became the work most associated with Ross today, despite her numerous non-fiction works on Italy.[131] Rather than their primary interest, domestic literature could sometimes be used merely as a way of financing what some women saw as more important and interesting scholarship.

The women guidebook producers of the MTS actively strove to earn money from their work and took the income their books generated seriously. While some

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[128] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 19, 1899, WAT:I:G:69:H:1–10, folio 10, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[129] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, February 19, 1899, WAT:I:G:69:H:1–10, Folio 10, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[130] Unfortunately, we do not know how much she sold her unfinished work for as she does not provide the details; Janet Ross, *The Fourth Generation* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1912), 339.
[131] Janet Ross, *Leaves from our Tuscan Kitchen, or how to cook vegetables* (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1899).

women used the money to support further research and travel, others used the income to supplement their own living expenses or their children's education. Guidebooks paid well when compared to average earnings of women writers at the time, but the investment of time and travel costs up front meant that guidebook publication was not a means to earn a quick income for those needing immediate support. Indeed, domestic literature or publishing in the periodical press was sometimes turned to as a means to earn enough to support what some saw as more stimulating and important scholarly work. The financial side of guidebook publishing therefore reaffirms that women guidebook writers saw themselves as professional scholars and writers who did whatever was necessary to ensure they could continue pursuing their work and intellectual lifestyles.

IV) Reviews, Recognition, & Reputation

As a form of nineteenth-century mass-media, the guidebook offered a wide audience from which women writers and illustrators could gain acclaim, recognition, and establish a public reputation. The sheer number of tourists and potential guidebook readers, coupled with the upswing in interest in Italy and the Renaissance offered opportunities for women to earn a measure of fame for their work. Through guidebook publication and illustration, women were publicly acclaimed as artists, writers, and scholars.

Reviews in the periodical press were perhaps the most widespread and influential form of public acknowledgement. They and the critics who wrote them were an important element of the book trade, influencing an author's public reputation. The periodical press was thus critical to establishing the professional career of any writer or illustrator. Reviews of the MTS reveals that the series as a whole, and its women

producers, were highly regarded on both sides of the Atlantic by Anglo-American readers.[132] As a result, women were publicly recognized as figures of authority on art and art historical subjects.

Female-authored guides of the series received high praise from some of the most important and intellectually weighty periodicals of the day. In 1898, *The Spectator* praised *Perugia*, insisting: "Though Miss Symonds and Miss Duff Gordon only claim for their volume the modest title of a 'guide-book,' we think it is worthier of a higher niche in the temple of literature..."[133] The reviewer also felt that the authors' personal sentiments and appreciation of their subject successfully "distinguish[ed] it from a mere guide-book, and the historical narrative, though necessarily condensed, is admirably written."[134] Thus, the reviewer suggested, the work achieved a higher literary standing than one would expect from a guidebook because of the quality of the book's scholarship. *Perugia* also received similarly positive reviews in *The Standard* and *The Athenaeum*.[135] Receiving glowing reviews from such well-regarded periodicals was an important element in the creation of a public professional identity for women writers.

The Athenaeum, that bastion of male scholarship, found *Assisi* to be "one of the best of the series of handbooks to historic towns that Messrs. Dent have issued"[136] Of

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[132] This success can also be measured by the publisher's choice to reissue the book in further editions, and *Perugia* went through two editions in its first year with another two released by 1901.
[133] "The Story of Perugia. By Margaret Symonds and Lina Duff Gordon" (Book Review) *The Spectator,* October 8, 1898, vol. 81, no. 3667, ProQuest: 471.
[134] "The Story of Perugia," *The Spectator*, 471.
[135] "The Story of Perugia (Book Review)," *The Standard (London, England)*, November 30, 1898, British Library Newspapers, Part II 1800–1900; "The Story of Perugia. By Margaret Symonds and Lina Duff Gordon (Book Review)," *The Spectator (London, England)*, October 8, 1898.
[136] "In Tuscany [The Story of Assisi]," *The Athenaeum*, February 9, 1901, British Periodicals, 172.

the seven books included in the *New York Tribune*'s review of the series as a whole, Duff Gordon's *Assisi* was given positive reviews that took up 50% of the article's column space, while the other six books, some authored by men, merited merely a small paragraph each.[137] G.B. Rose of the *Sewanee Review*, America's longest-running quarterly magazine focusing on books of academic quality, announced in 1906:

> ... there has long been a demand for a compact volume, easily carried in the pocket, that should give the substance of the legends and present the history of Assisi's art more fully than in the brief pages of Baedeker. This work has now been admirably performed by Lina Duff Gordon in the volume on Assisi published by J. M. Dent & Co., of London, in their series of 'Mediaeval Towns'[138]

Not only did Rose highlight the utility and historical focus of Duff Gordon's guide, but he squarely stated that *Assisi* was a scholarly guidebook, one that outstripped Baedeker in its depth. Reviews in periodicals would suggest that the MTS series succeeded in gaining a reputation for scholarly and well-researched guidance, in the process cementing the reputation of Medieval Towns authors.

The writers of the MTS were not the only ones to receive public praise in the periodical press for their work. Illustrations were important enough to the book's overall appeal that they usually warranted some form of commentary by reviewers. The illustrators of the series influenced the visual desirability of the guides and therefore played an important role in marketability and overall success of the series. In 1901, *The New York Tribune* paid particular attention to the guide's materiality, noting that the guides were "not only small, but the use of the right paper has caused them to be light

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[137] "For Travellers: An Ideal Series of European Guide-Books," *New York Tribune*, May 11, 1901, 1.
[138] G.B. Rose, "Assisi," *The Sewanee Review* 14, no. 1 (January 1906) 51; For more on *The Sewanee Review*, see also John Bell Henneman, "Ten Years of the Sewanee Review: A Retrospect," *The Sewanee Review* 10, no. 4 (1902): 477–92.

in the hand: they are bound in thin, more or less flexible and sufficiently durable covers, and they are uncommonly well illustrated."[139] *The Manchester Guardian* admired Erichsen's "charming sketches," while *Country Life* found that "the illustrators [James and Erichsen], in their light and delicate drawings, have given substantial help, both to her who wrote and to those who will read and keep this admirable little book."[140] *The Athenaeum* found Erichsen's illustrations for *Assisi* to be "admirable," while *The Bookman* asserted that *The Story of Pisa*, another one of Erichsen's works, was "one of the most attractive" of all the MTS guides.[141] Nelly Erichsen and Helen M. James both received praise for their illustration of *The Story of Verona* in *The London Quarterly Review* who observed that their drawings were rendered "with delicate skill. "[142] Illustrators, praised for their significant contribution to the visual appeal of the series, were therefore also key actors in the production of a successful guidebook and received public commendation for their efforts. Such praise worked to solidify illustrators as professional artists whose work could dramatically enhance the utility of a guide.

Given the numerous connections between guidebook writers and the larger literary world outlined in previous chapters, it is not surprising that many reviewers and writers knew each other personally. As Katie Halsey has rightly observed of the late-

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[139] "For Travellers: An Ideal Series of European Guide-Books," *New York Tribune*, May 11, 1901, 19th Century U.S. Newspapers, 1.
[140] "Books of the Week [The Story of Assisi]," *The Manchester Guardian (1901–1959)*, January 10, 1901, ProQuest Historical Newspapers- The Guardian and The Observer; "Books of the Day [The Story of Verona]," *Country Life Illustrated (1897–2005),* January 3, 1903, ProQuest Historical Newspapers - Country Life Illustrated.
[141] "The Story of Pisa," *The Bookman; a Review of Books and Life (1895–1933)*, April 1909, British Periodicals.; "Our Library Table (Story of Assisi Book Review)," *The Athenaeum*, no. 4028 (January 7, 1905): 15.
[142] "The Story of Verona (Review)," *The London Quarterly Review (1862–1932)*, January 1903, British Periodicals.

eighteenth century, friendships in the literary world had an "important financial and professional dimension" whereby those within the same "network could promote each other's works in various ways, and at various stages of the books' creation, production and circulation."[143] This was undoubtedly the case with Medieval Towns authors, as we have seen throughout the past two chapters, and was no less prevalent in the reviewing stage of a book's lifecycle. Besides writing guides and history books, Alethea Wiel was also a frequent contributor to *Country Life* magazine where she likely developed a professional relationship with the publication's staff. In 1902, *The Story of Verona* received positive reviews in *The Saturday Review*, *The London Review*, and *The Speaker*,[144] but none was quite as enthusiastic as *Country Life*:

> Madam Wiel by no means affects to have said the last word; but she has written with so much fulness [sic] and judgement that only a bold man or woman will attack the subject of 'Fair Verona' for many days to come … It is not a history simply, but it embodies enough of history, condensed into essence yet easily and lightly expressed, to compel even a stranger to Verona to understand its story, to compel him also to resolve to remain a stranger to it no longer than circumstances imperatively demand. It is not a treatise on Veronese art and architecture... it is abundantly clear, from the tone and the quality of which is written of architecture and of pictures, that the Signora Wiel is distinctly well qualified to undertake in its fulness [sic] the task which the scope of her volume has permitted to attempt in part only. In a word, this is a book which, for combination of sheer charm and usefulness, stands almost entirely alone.[145]

The reviewer did not simply praise the guide, but exuberantly underlined Wiel's expertise and authority, noting that she was "well qualified" to write about the city's history, architecture, and artworks. Furthermore, the reviewer even ranked Wiel above

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[143] Halsey, "'Tell Me of Some Booklings'," 130.
[144] "Medieval Towns: Verona," *Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art*, British Periodicals, (94: 2450, Oct 11, 1902), 465; H.M.C. "The Story of Verona," *The Speaker: the liberal review*, British Periodicals (Nov 8, 1902), 152.
[145] "Books of the Day," *Country Life*, (January 3, 1903), 26.

both male and female writers who might attempt to write future books on the subject. What higher goal could a guidebook author hope to achieve than to hear that their work was so useful and well written that no one would want to attempt to outdo it? Given Wiel's prior relationship with the magazine and its writers, the reviewer was likely not an impartial commentator but a friend, one who wanted *Verona* and Wiel to succeed. Evidence from correspondence between guidebook authors and their social networks reveals that many writers knew their reviewers. Alethea Wiel was acquainted with the Symonds family for over twenty years before Margaret Symonds wrote a review for Wiel's guide to Verona in 1902.[146] Similarly, social connections sometimes alerted writers of upcoming reviews well in advance. Ross reported to Henry Layard in May of 1889 that Henry Reeve was to review her book, *The Land of Manfred*, in July, and asked him: "If you see any notices do send them to me."[147] The social connections of guidebook authors to the wider literary scene might thus also be important to the success and reception a guidebook received in the press, influencing the market, the minds of readers, and the reputation of the authors.

Authors also preserved their reviews. Janet Ross and Lina Duff Gordon both created scrapbooks of the publicity their work received. The reviews they collected came from a range of periodicals and magazines from Italy, Britain, America, and throughout Europe, indicating the international reach of both their work and reputations. But scrapbooks were not just a place to store praise; authors filled them

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[146] Letter from Janet Catherine Symonds to Madge Vaughan [Symonds], October 25, 1902, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Correspondence, University of Bristol Special Collections, Bristol, UK.

[147] Correspondence from Janet Ross to Sir Henry Layard, May 4, 1889, WAT:I E:26:ff1–14, folio 8, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

with all reviews, positive and negative, providing some insight into the purpose behind their creation. Authors retained all commentary, good and bad, perhaps to reflect and learn from these critiques or else to reinforce their own stance on a particular subject. The degree to which attention was paid to public critique is evidenced both by the preservation of the review but also from the author's markings and notes often found in the margins, indicating close reading on the part of the author.[148]

While the majority of published reviews of the MTS guides were positive, there were also some negative responses to their work. Two unfavourable reviews of *The Story of Assisi* and *The Story of Perugia* were written by scholar Julia Arnold Huxley (1862–1908), sister of novelist Mary Humphry Ward (1851–1920) and friend of Vernon Lee.[149] Duff Gordon shared clippings of these reviews with Symonds, but rather than being upset about the criticism, she was "amused to find she [Huxley] is out of her depth when she [said] Cimabue did not paint Madonna in the Lower Church. No critic, ancient or modern, has ever denied it as his work."[150] Duff Gordon's comments demonstrate a confidence in her own expertise on the subject, showing an acknowledgement of the authority and connoisseurship she had accumulated from her research. Thus, sometimes even negative reviews served to reinforce authority.

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[148] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, December 15, 1898, folio 14, WAT:I:G:68:H:11–12v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; Janet Ross scrapbook of newspaper cuttings, WAT:II:C:2, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

[149] She was also the mother of Aldous Huxley, who later coined the term "villadom" that was discussed in the previous chapter; Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, January 25, 1901, WAT:I:G:80:H, folio 6v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

[150] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Vaughan, January 25, 1901, WAT:I:G:80:H, Folio 6v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

Like any professional writer, women guidebook authors could choose to accept or reject criticism for future editions. In *Assisi* Duff Gordon chose to discuss the close relationship between St. Francis and St. Clare, a nun. Stressing the significance of St. Clare's role to the story, Duff Gordon wrote:

> Her gentle influence played an important part in his life, giving him a friendship which is one of the most beautiful things to dwell on in their lives. Some have sneered at its purity, and compared so ideal a connection to a commonplace mediaeval tale of monk and nun; but it is degrading even to hint at such an ending to the love of these two for each other, and impossible to believe it after reading M. Sabatier's beautiful chapter on St. Clare, where he touches, in some of his most charming pages, upon a side of St. Francis' character that most biographers have but little understood.[151]

The *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* commented on the above passage by stating: "it is equally degrading, because [it is] wholly unnecessary, to refer to it [the relationship of St. Clare and St. Francis] in any way, even to recall that some scoundrelly sectary [Sabatier] or senseless villain may once have hinted at some such thing."[152] While the reviewer hoped that a revised edition would "see this vindication expunged," Duff Gordon chose not alter the emphasis on St. Clare in the subsequent editions. Instead, Duff Gordon used her authority as a guidebook writer to stress the role of a historical woman by demonstrating St. Clare's contributions to Saint Francis' life and the part she played in bettering society through her moral purity. Despite presenting an argument that she knew was contested, she nonetheless felt justified in standing her ground despite any opposition. The confidence Duff Gordon displayed in

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[151] Duff Gordon, *The Story of Assisi,* 1900, 265–266; She is referring to Charles Paul Marie Sabatier, who was a French clergyman and historian. He wrote what was considered to be the first modern biography of St. Francis of Assisi in French in 1894. It was translated and published in English in 1906.

[152] "The Story of Assisi" *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, June 22, 1901, 91:2382, British Periodicals, 809.

putting forth her arguments for public debate further emphasizes the guidebook as a space where women could pursue their intellectual agendas and claim connoisseurship in their own right.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the guidebook offered some protection from criticism for women who engaged in scholarship because of its lower status in the literary canon compared to historical treatises. Some reviewers still seemed to question women's ability to write history, even within guides. Following the publication of *The Story of Lucca* in 1913, the *Athenaeum* wrote a review that, while complimentary of Erichsen's work on contemporary Lucca, was a rather scathing critique of Ross who wrote the historical section: "Mrs. Ross's chapters … fall below the rather low standard of historical narrative which she set herself in 'The story of Pisa.' They can be of no conceivable value to the serious student; they may, perhaps, amuse the tourist."[153] Others also received reviews which challenged their authority to write history within their guides. Ferdinand Schwill reviewed *The Story of Ferrara* for *The American Historical Review* in 1905. While he found Ella Noyes's work to be "carefully done" and "showing evidence of original study" he concluded that: "Miss Noyes gives us a readable book and a faithful guide to the city's antiquities, but not a history, in the large sense..."[154] By reinforcing that *Ferrara* was a guidebook and not a work of history, Schwill stressed that the guidebook should be considered of lower status than a serious historical text. Although in this, and the comments made about Mrs. Ross's chapters do not explicitly cite female authorship as the reasons for the weaknesses criticized by the

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[153] "The Story of Lucca (Review)," *The Book Review Digest* 9 (1913).
[154] Ferdinand Schwill, "The Story of Ferrara (Book Review)," *The American Historical Review* 11, no. 1 (October 1905): 139.

reviewer, it is strongly implied. Schwill's comment effectively reminded the reader that the guidebook did not belong on the same level of esteem as a traditional history, and thus by extension, its authors were to be considered travel writers, not historians.

Besides published reviews, authors could also expect to receive more personal feedback provided by their friends and family. As discussed in Chapter Two, guidebook authors were also guidebook readers, and many shared their opinions of guides amongst themselves. Duff Gordon and Symonds discussed the merits of other guidebooks in the Medieval Towns series, including *The Story of Nuremberg* which Duff Gordon believed looked "very good indeed" and *The Story of Toledo* which she thought was "very dry."[155] Also a guidebook author, Mary Berenson personally provided Duff Gordon, whom she considered as one of her closest friends,[156] comments for revisions to *Perugia*.[157] Their impressions and reviews of guidebooks, while undoubtedly influential for their own work, also contributed to the larger discourse concerning guidebooks and travel literature. An awareness of the other guidebooks on the market was an important element of guidebook writing and also made them experts capable of providing informed reviews in journals and newspapers.

A guidebook could also be critiqued by scholars who knew the author on a personal level. *Perugia* was read by those in the authors' social circle, including many famous authors, critics, and artists like Paul Bourget (1852–1935), Charles Dudley

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[155] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, July 1899, WAT:I:G:72:H:9–113, folio 11, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[156] Mary Berenson's diary, 702919–702723, Mary and Bernard Berenson Papers, Harvard University, Villa i Tatti Archives, Florence, Italy.
[157] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, April 8, 1898, WAT:I:G:67:H:1–10, folio 1v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.

Warner (1829–1900), and William Michael Rossetti (1829–1919).[158] Once *Perugia* was published, even "arch enemy Berenson cast an eagle eye over its contents and said it deserved success."[159] Guidebooks were widely read and sometimes the Medieval Towns guidebooks were cited in scholarly publications, including works of history written by women.[160] Thus, in the form of a guidebook, female scholarship, ideas, and authority found a wide readership and were met with overall admiration.

Women who wrote practical guidebooks also consistently read and promoted scholarly guides written by women. For example, in her guide *European Travel for Women* (1900), Mary Cadwalader Jones lists 65 non-fiction works on Italy, 15 of these being authored by women. These included *The Story of Perugia* among other female authored guides such as *Walks in Florence* (1873).[161] Guidebooks therefore offer a prime example of how the communications circuit works in practice: guidebooks are read by authors who then wrote pieces of scholarship, or guidebooks of their own, and filled in the information they deemed to be missing, each work narrowing the focus, building, or improving on the guides that were already in print. This places women firmly in conversation with other guidebook authors and scholars and highlights the

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[158] Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, June 23, 1900, Unpublished correspondence, WAT:I:G:77:H:1–14, Folio 7, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, March 27, 1898, WAT:I:G:66:H:1–15, folio 6 v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy; Correspondence from Lina Duff Gordon to Margaret Symonds, April 8, 1898, WAT:I:G:67:H:1–10, folio 1, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[159] Correspondence between Lina Duff Gordon and Margaret Symonds, March 27, 1898, WAT:I:G:66:H:1–15, folio 6v, Waterfield Collection, British Institute, Florence, Italy.
[160] Roger E. Fry, "Giotto," *The Monthly Review* (London) 2, no. 5, (February 1901), 96; Beryl D. de Selincourt, *Homes of the First Franciscans* (London: J.M. Dent, 1905).
[161] This includes the guidebook of Susan and Joanna Horner and the historical work on Venice written by Alethea Wiel, who would later become a Medieval Towns author of guides to Verona and Bologna. See, Mary Cadwalader Jones, *European travel for women; notes and suggestions* (New York: Macmillan, 1900), 243–245.

interconnected and transatlantic nature of the guidebook industry and its Anglophone readers. Women writers were actively involved in this practice and intertextuality was thus used by women as a method of sharing the burden of knowledge, to retain their guides' utility, and deflect criticism, but was also used to acknowledge the contributions of other women writers.

Reports of the author's success were also kept and shared with the author via correspondence from friends and family. On a trip to Perugia following the publication of her daughter's guide, Janet Catherine Symonds reported to Margaret:

> They walk about in shoals, the British Spinster and the British parson, all with the little limp book, 'Color di Cenere' in their hands. They quote 'Miss Symonds' and they stare furtively at Miss S's mother and sister. You wouldn't enjoy being here for the next year or two under these circumstances, your self-consciousness would make you frantic.[162]

Evidently, the authors gained a measure of fame that was heightened in the guidebook's subject location or when in the presence of fellow travellers. One of Symonds' readers included an independently travelling "Head Mistress [sic]of a big high school in Birmingham, (300 girls)."[163] Described by Janet Catherine Symonds as a "Woman of Mind & appalling energy," when she found out that J.C. Symonds was the mother of Margaret Symonds, the woman insisted that she pass on to her daughter the message that her books had brought her great "pleasure" and that she had thoroughly enjoyed her work.[164] The extension of this fame to the author's relations also signals the degree to

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[162] Letter from Janet Catherine Symonds to Margaret Symonds, May 5, 1899, DM1279/4, Symonds Family Papers, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol, UK.
[163] Letter from J.C Symonds to Madge Symonds, January 1st, 1903, DM1279/5, Symonds Family Papers, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol.
[164] Letter from J.C Symonds to Madge Symonds, January 1st, 1903, DM1279/5, Symonds Family Papers, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol.

which the authors became known and recognized within the travelling community. Margaret Symonds' sister Katharine similarly reported that "your book was [in] everybody's hands and people were constantly asking … about you."[165] Amongst tourists, the book received enough attention that even those associated with its authors, such as family members, were considered famous by association. This level of fame demonstrates that women could claim both critical esteem and a lasting reputation, both of which were required to solidify their role as professional writers and scholars.[166]

Conclusion

The scholarly guidebook offered a platform for women to pursue professional careers in the non-fiction literary market and a space to assert scholarly authority. The genre created room for women to develop or extend their identities as scholars, artists, and writers at various stages in their professional lives. The Medieval Towns series offers insights into the professional development of women in the guidebook market as well as the wider literary world. The time and energy women guidebook producers applied to their writing, drawing, research, and pursuit of financial remuneration point to a concerted effort to maintain and embody professionalism. They frequently asserted their connoisseurship and right to control the direction of their own careers, often supporting one another in this shared endeavour. Although the path to authority was non-linear, women repeatedly demonstrated their commitment to pursuing research and

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[165] Letter from J.C Symonds to Madge Symonds, February 26, 1899, DM1279/5, Symonds Family Papers, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Bristol, UK.
[166] Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters*, 6.

writing ambitions, often negotiating significant barriers along the way to achieving their goals.

If, as Alison Chapman has argued, a writer's excellence was assessed through "periodical reviews or books of literary criticism" as well as other "cultural indicators of esteem" including "prizes, honours, memorials, and monuments," then we can certainly point to the authors and illustrators of the Medieval Towns series as successful literary professionals. While the female-authored guides of the Medieval Towns series received some criticism, their works were valued and appreciated by their readers and critics largely claimed the books to be of high quality.[167] Its authors gained a measure of fame during their own lifetimes, particularly amongst their scholarly and cultural social circles, and the community of travellers. That women could receive honorary degrees for their scholarly guidebook writing is perhaps the most poignant example of the recognition they earned for their work.

[167] "Books of the Day," *Country Life*, (January 3, 1903), 26.

Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that re-evaluating how we define the guidebook in the nineteenth century allows for a more accurate and inclusive representation of the guidebook genre. I have also identified texts which have largely been missed or under-examined, uncovering both the diversity and range of the guidebook market. Recognizing this diversity also uncovers the gendered history of the guidebook, shedding new light on the ways women read and used a range of guides and highlighting their prominence as key contributors to and consumers of the genre.

Through an examination of the Medieval Towns series, this thesis has also revealed the significance of the guidebook as an avenue for women's scholarly writing. As my research demonstrates, women guidebook authors most often published in the scholarly subgenre of guides, a trend which has–until now—gone unnoticed by historians. This trend suggests that the guidebook offered women an alternative means of publishing scholarly material, particularly related to the study of art history and history. My work has revealed that the MTS offers meaningful insights into the guidebook market and women's non-fiction publishing, including the education and training necessary to break into guidebook publishing, the social networks needed for professional career development, and the response garnered from readers and fellow cultural elites. Analyzing this series has offered unique and significant insights into female guidebook production by investigating both a breadth of surviving primary source documentation from authors, artists, and their friends and family, as well as the number of female-produced guides in the series and underscores the importance of the guidebook as a place for women's scholarly work and publication.

The women authors of the MTS were highly educated, socially well connected, and gained significant recognition and success by publishing in the series, marking their importance of their contribution to the series, but also to scholarly guidebook production in general. Women producers in the Medieval Towns series were members of a cultural elite and their social circles included many of the most celebrated figures of their time. Their social networks provided them with several advantages in guidebook publishing, including access to resources and professional development. Recognizing the women who produced scholarly guidebooks as scholars and considering how they established themselves as such within intellectual and cultural networks prompts a redefinition of how we understand the intellectual elite as being both more international and more dependent on and inclusive of women scholars than previously understood.

In the 1950s, Noel Annan, a British cultural elite, argued that in the nineteenth century the "intellectual aristocracy" was born out of family connections, or networks, whereby intellectuals married intellectuals to create a cyclical pattern and a cohesive group of cultural elites.[168] Annan's work emphasized the importance of certain families (Macaulay, Stephen, Strachey) as well as certain spaces (primarily the universities of Cambridge and Oxford) in creating conditions for the British *intelligentsia* to thrive.[169] Several scholars have sought to develop Annan's ideas by investigating what it meant to be an intellectual in the nineteenth century. For T.W. Heyck, it was only in the late nineteenth-century that Britain developed the idea of the *intellectual* as a concept and

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[168] Annan, "The Intellectual Aristocracy".
[169] Max Weber, Guenther Roth, and Claus Wittich, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 462.

that this concept was directly linked to the development of universities and the professionalization of academic knowledge that developed late in the century.[170]

More recently, William Whyte has revisited the idea of the intellectual aristocracy, arguing that if the group is to be understood as a subclass of society which emerged in the Victorian period, one must study their "patterns of consumption; of their clothes, their homes, their lives and their lifestyles."[171] In other words, Whyte has argued that an intellectual elite was not merely a by-product of social networks and family ties, but emerged from an environment in which these elites were consumers and producers of an intellectual subculture. Through an analysis of women guidebook producers, my thesis supports Whyte's model but builds on it to be more inclusive of both gender and geography.

While both Annan and Whyte acknowledge that women were a part of this intellectual elite, they are given only fleeting attention and the focus of both authors is predominantly on men; overall women in these studies are positioned mainly as familial links between intellectual men.[172] By contrast, Sonya Rudikoff points to women as leading "intertwined lives of intellectual aesthetic interest, with numerous connections to the ... 'intellectual aristocracy'."[173] The means by which women entered and operated within this intellectual elite remains under-studied. However, by examining female

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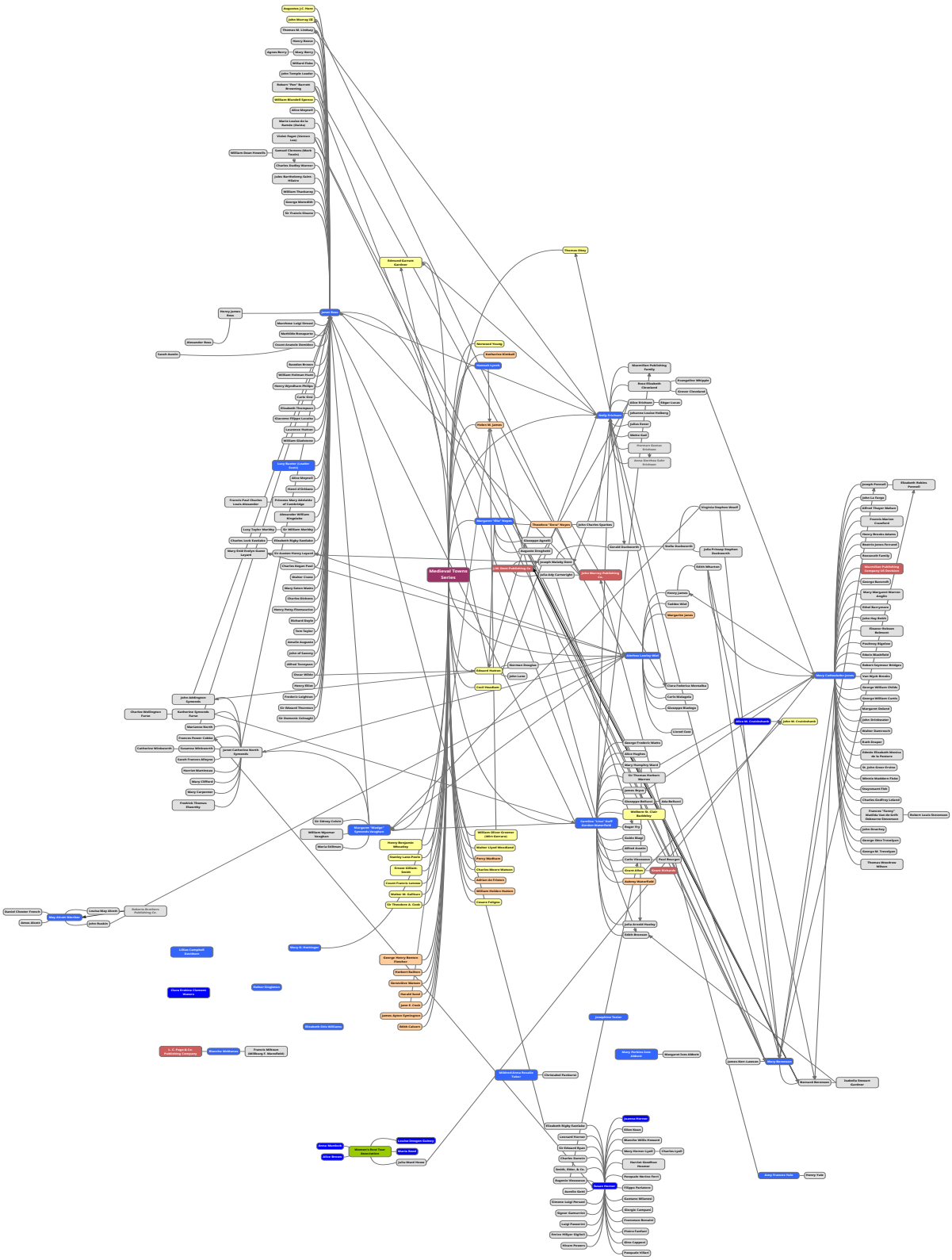
[170] T.W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (London; Sydney: Croon Helm, 1982).
[171] Whyte, *The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited*, 18.
[172] In Annan's original study, J.A. Symonds is listed as a member of the intellectual aristocracy because of his own intellectual accomplishments as well as his ties to the Stephen family. His daughters, Margaret (MTS author) and Katherine, are simply mentioned as the respective wives of William Vaughan and Charles Furse. Whyte, *The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited*, 20; Annan, "The Intellectual Aristorcracy," 280, 282.
[173] Sonya Rudikoff, "The Known and the Unknown in a Late-Victorian Friendship: Virginia Woolf and the Vaughans," *Woolf Studies Annual* 4 (1998): 103.

scholarly guidebook writers, this thesis has uncovered some of the ways in which women participated and co-created the British cultural and intellectual elite.

Furthermore, all previous studies of the intellectual elite focus squarely on the geographic location of England, missing the prevalence of expatriate communities and the popularity of travelling and living abroad for extended periods of time for many in the upper and middle-classes.[174] Using Whyte's model to define intellectual elites, my research demonstrates that we need an expanded understanding of the geographic scope of the intellectual aristocracy to recognize its international reach and the prominent role that women, like the guidebook authors of the MTS series, played within it. Analyzing the circumstances through which women readers, producers, and innovators of the nineteenth-century guidebook market produced their work sheds new light on women's writing and on the significant role women played in cultural and scholarly production in this period.

[174] Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life*; Annan, "The Intellectual Aristocracy,"; Whyte, "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited".

Appendix A: Sociogram



Appendix B: Members of the Social Network

Abbott, Mary Perkins Ives
(1857–1904) American. Literary critic and writer. Literary editor of *The Chicago Herald*. Wrote *A Woman's Paris: A Handbook of Every–Day Living in the French Capital* (1900)

Abbott, Margaret Ives
(1878–1955) American. First American woman to win an Olympic event (in golf) at the Paris 1900 Olympics. Her mother (Mary Ives Abbott) also participated (she placed 7th). She died without knowing she had won the Olympics.

Alcott, Louisa May
(1832–1888) American. Writer and novelist. Sister of May Alcott Nieriker.

Adams, Henry Brooks
(1838–1918) American historian. Political family, descended from two US Presidents.

Agnelli, Giuseppe
(1856–1940) Italian. Director of the National Library in Ferrara.

Anglin, Mary Margaret Warren
(1876—1958) Canadian. Broadway Actress.

Alexander, Francis Paul Charles Louis
(1837–1900) Austrian-British. Duke of Teck. Austrian born and married Mary Adelaide into the British royal family.

Allen, Grant
(1848–1899) Canadian-British. Writer. Produced the Grant Allen Historical Guidebook series (scholarly) as well as a guidebook for American and colonial travellers (practical).

Alleyne, Sarah Frances
(1836–1884) British. Advocate of women's higher education.

Auguste, Amalie
(1801–1877) German. Princess of Bavaria and Queen of Saxony.

Austin, Alfred
(1835–1913) British. Poet. Appointed Poet Laureate in 1896.

Austin, Sarah
(1793–1867) British. Editor, linguist and translator from German. Socialite and mother of Lucie Duff Gordon and grandmother of Janet Ross.

Baddeley, Welbore St. Clair
(1856–1946) British. Antiquarian and writer. Co–wrote a historical book about Rome with Lina Duff Gordon.

Bancroft, George
(1800–1891) American. Historian.

Barthelemy-Saint-Hilaire, Jules
(1805–1905) French. Philosopher, journalist, statesman, and possible illegitimate son of Napoleon I of France.

Barrymore, Ethel
(1879–1959) American. Actress.

Baxter, Lucy (Leader Scott)
(1837–1902) British. Writer of mostly works about art or travel literature. Writer of the guidebook, *The Castle of Vincigliata* (1897).

Beith, John Hay
(1876–1952) British. Novelist, playwright, essayist and historian who wrote under the pen name Ian Hay.

Bellucci, Ada
(1879–1971) Italian. Collector of traditional tools and textiles. Promoted the craft movement in the Umbrian style. Daughter of Giuseppe Bellucci.

Bellucci, Giuseppe
(1844–1921) Italian. Anthropologist.

Belmont, Eleanor Robson
(1879–1979) American. Actress.

Berenson, Mary Smith Costelloe
(1864–1945) American. Art historian. Author of *Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court* (1894). Wife of Bernard Berenson.

Berenson, Bernard
(1865–1959) Lithuanian. Art historian. Husband of Mary Berenson.

Berry, Agnes

(1764–1852) British. Writer. Sister of Mary Berry.

Berry, Mary
(1763–1852) British. Writer. Sister of Agnes Berry.

Biadego, Giuseppe
(1853–1921) Italian. Director of the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona.

Biagi, Guido
(1855–1925) Italian. Writer and historian. Director of the Laurentian Library.

Bigelow, Poultney
(1855–1954) American. Journalist.

Blashfield, Edwin
(1848–1936) American. Painter and muralist.

Bonaini, Francesco
(1806–1874) Italian. Philologist, paleographer and archivist. Director of the National Archives in Florence.

Bonaparte, Mathilde Laetitia Wilhelmine
(1820–1904) French. Princesse Française, Princess of San Donato. Daughter of Napoleon's brother Jérôme Bonaparte and his second wife, Catharina of Württemberg, daughter of King Frederick I of Württemberg.

Bourget, Paul
(1852–1935) French. Novelist and critic.

Bridges, Robert Seymour
(1844–1930) British. Poet Laureate from 1913–1930.

Bronson, Edith
(1861–?) American-Italian. She became Countess Rucellai on her marriage to Cosimo Rucellai in 1895.

Brooks, Van Wyck
(1886–1963) American. Literary critic, biographer, historian.

Brown, Alice
(1857–1948) American. novelist, poet and playwright. Co–authored the guidebook *A Summer in England* (1892).

Brown, Rawdon
(1806–1883) British. Historian.

Browning, Robert “Pen” Barrett
(1849–1912) British. Artist. Son of poets Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Robert Browning.

Bryce, James
(1838–1922) British. Academic, jurist, historian and Liberal politician.

Campani, Giorgio
Dates unknown. Italian. Inspector of the Royal Museum and Galleries in Florence.

Capponi, Gino
(1792–1876) Italian. Politician and historian.

Carpenter, Mary
(1807–1877) British. Educational and social reformer.

Cartwright, Julia Ady
(1851–1924) British. Art historian. Published her first work with J.M. Dent but switched to John Murray publishing company afterwards.

Childs, George William
(1829–1894) American. Publisher who co–owned the Philadelphia Public Ledger newspaper with Anthony Joseph Drexel.

Clemens, Samuel (Mark Twain)
(1835–1910) American. Writer. Neighbour to Janet Ross and Lina Duff Gordon.

Cleveland, Grover
(1837–1908) American. Politician and lawyer. The 22nd and 24th President of the United States. Rose Cleveland was his sister and first lady from 1885–1886.

Cleveland, Rose Elizabeth
(1846–1918) American. Acting First Lady of the United States between 1885–1886 during the first of her brother, President Grover Cleveland’s, two administrations.

Clifford, Mary
(1842–1919) British. Politician. Founding member of the National Union of Women Workers.

Colnaghi, Domenic
(1834–1908) British. British Consul in Cyprus in the 1860s who excavated archaeological finds that were donated to the British Museum in 1866. He later served as the Consul in Florence.

Cobbe, Frances Power

(1822–1904) Irish. Writer, social reformer, anti–vivisection activist, and leading women's suffrage campaigner.

Colvin, Sidney
(1845–1927) British. Curator, literary and art critic.

Crane, Walter
(1845–1915) British. Artist and book illustrator.

Crawford, Francis Marion
(1854–1909) American. Novelist who wrote about Italy and was born in Bagni di Lucca (where Nelly Erichsen lived)

Cruickshank, Alice M.
Dates and nationality unknown. Wrote guidebooks to Italy with her husband, J.W. Cruickshank. Lived in Florence. Husband and wife team took over writing Grant Allen's Historical guides when he died prematurely.

Cruickshank, John W.
Dates and nationality unknown. Took over writing guidebooks for Grant Allen's Historical Guidebook series when Grant Allen died prematurely. Lived in Florence. Married to Alice M. Cruickshank.

Curtis, George William
(1824–1892) American. Writer and civil rights activist.

Cust, Lionel
(1859–1929) British. Art historian and director of the National Portrait Gallery. Also worked at the prints and drawings department of the British Museum.

Damrosch, Walter
(1862–1950) American-German. Conductor.

Davidson, Lillias Campbell
(1853–1934) American–born British writer. Founded the Lady Cyclists' Association. Wrote practical guidebook, *Hints to Lady Travellers at Home and Abroad* (1889)

Deland, Margaret
(1857–1945) American. Novelist, short story writer, and poet. Part of the literary realism movement.

Demidov, Anatole Nikolaievich
(1813–1870) Russian. First Prince of San Donato. Russian industrialist.

Dent, Joseph Malaby

(1849–1926) British. Publisher. Founded J.M. Dent & Sons and was the publisher of the Medieval Towns Series.

Dickens, Charles
(1812–1870) British. Writer and social critic.

Douglas, Norman
(1868–1952) British. Writer.

Doyle, Richard
(1824–1883) British. Illustrator.

Draper, Ruth
(1884–1956) American. Actress.

Drinkwater, John
(1882–1937) British. Poet and dramatist.

Droghetti, Augusto
(1844–1918) Italian. Director of the Pinacoteca Nationale di Ferrara.

Duckworth, Gerald
(1870–1937) British. Publisher. Founded his own publishing company after leaving J.M. Dent & Sons. Half–brother of Virginia Woolf.

Duckworth, Julia Prinsep Stephen
(1846–1895) British. Pre–Raphaelite model and philanthropist. Mother of Virginia Woolf.

Duckworth, Stella
(1869–1897) British. Sister of Gerald and half–sister of Virginia. Daughter of Julia Prinsep Stephen.

Eastlake, Elizabeth Rigby
(1809–1893) British. Writer, art critic and art historian; wrote regularly for *The Quarterly Review*. Elizabeth was Janet Ross's cousin.

Eastlake, Charles Lock
(1793–1865) British. Painter, gallery director, collector and writer. Married to Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake.

Elizabeth, Mary Adelaide Wilhelmina
(1833–1897) British. Princess. Granddaughter of George III, grandmother of Edward VIII and George VI and great–grandmother of Elizabeth II. She held the title of Duchess of Teck through marriage.

Elliot, Henry
(1817–1907) British. Ambassador from Britain to Italy. Cousin of Janet Ross.

Elworthy, Fredrick Thomas
(1830–1907) British. Philologist and antiquary.

Erichsen, Nelly
(1862–1918) British. Born to a Danish family. Illustrated Medieval Towns, *The Story of Rome* (1901); *The Story of Venice* (1905); *The Story of Florence* (1900)

Ervine, St. John Greer
(1883–1971) Irish. Biographer, novelist, critic, dramatist, and theatre manager.

Exner, Julius
(1825–1910) Danish. Painter.

Fanfani, Pietro
(1815–1879) Italian. Novelist.

Ferrand, Beatrix Jones
(1872–1959) American. Landscape architect. Daughter of guidebook writer Mary C. Jones.

Ferri, Pasquale Nerino
(1851–1917) Italian. First director of the Department of Prints and Drawings of the Uffizi Gallery.

Fiske, Minnie Maddern
(1865–1932) American. Actress.

Fiske, Willard
(1831–1904) American. Librarian and scholar.

Fish, Stuyvesant
(1851–1923) American. Businessman and president of the Illinois Central Railroad.

Fletcher, George Henry Benton
(1866–1944) British. Illustrator. Produced illustrations for at least 15 books, mostly travel books or travel–guides, including *The Story of Naples* (1927).

Foligno, Cesare
Dates unknown. Italian. Author of *The Story of Padua* (1910)

French, Daniel Chester
(1850–1931) American. Sculptor. May Alcott Nieriker was his art tutor.

Friston, Adrian de
Dates and nationality unknown. Illustrator of Medieval Towns, *The Story of Winchester* (1932)

Fry, Roger
(1866–1934) British. Artist and art critic. Member of the Bloomsbury Group.

Furse, Charles Wellington
(1868–1904) British. Painter and husband of Katharine Symonds Furse. Brother–in–law to Margaret Symonds.

Furse, Katherine Symonds
(1875–1952) British. Nursing and military administrator. Led the British Red Cross Voluntary Aid Detachment force during the First World War and served as the inaugural Director of the Women's Royal Naval Service. An alpine skier in her youth at a professional level. Sister to Margaret Symonds, daughter of J. A. Symonds and Janet Catherine Symonds.

Gad, Mette
(1850–1920) Danish. Translator. Wife of artist Paul Gauguin.

Gamurrini, Signor
Dates unknown. Italian. Government archaeologist for Tuscany and Umbria.

Gallican, Walter M.
(1861–1946) British. Writer and journalist. Author of the Medieval Towns, *The Story of Seville* (1903)

Gardner, Edmund Garratt
(1869–1935) British. Scholar and writer, specializing in Italian history and literature. Wrote Medieval Towns, *The Story of Florence* (1900); *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano* (1902)

Gardner, Isabella Stewart
(1840–1924) American. Art collector. Used the Berensons as dealers to amass a large portion of her collection. Opened the Gardner Museum in Boston, MA.

Giglioli, Enrico Hillyer
(1845–1909) Italian. Zoologist and anthropologist.

Gilliatt–Smith, Ernest
(1858–1935) British. Bohemian (Czech). Wrote the Medieval Towns, *The Story of Bruges* (1901)

Gotti, Aurelio
(1833–1904) Italian. Art historian and writer.

Graf von Lützow, Franz Heinrich Hieronymus Valentin
(1849–1916). German. Author of *The Story of Prague* (1902)

Greener, William Oliver (Wirt Gerrare)
(1862–1935) British. Weapons expert and writer. Son of gun manufacturer William Wellington Greener. Wrote the Medieval Towns, *The Story of Moscow* (1900)

Guiney, Louise Imogen
(1861–1920) American. Poet, essayist and editor. Co–authored the guidebook with the Women's Rest Tour Association, *A Summer in England* (1892)

Hare, Augustus J.C.
(1834–1903) British. Travel writer. Author of several guidebooks to Italy.

Headlam, Cecil
(1872–1934) Writer. Wrote Medieval Towns Guidebooks, *The Story of Oxford* (1907); *The Story of Nuremberg* (1899); *The Story of Chartres* (1902); *The Story of Naples* (1927).

Heiberg, Johanne Louise
(1812–1890) Danish. Actress.

Hottinger, Mary D.
(1893–1978) British. Writer, editor, and translator. Author of the Medieval Towns, *The Story of Basel* (1933)

Hosmer, Harriet Goodhue
(1830–1908) American. Neoclassical sculptor. Considered to be the most distinguished female sculptor in America during the 19th century.

Horner, Leonard
(1785–1864) Scottish. Geologist, social reformer, politician, and co–founder of the *Edinburgh Review*.

Howard, Blanche Willis
(1847–1898) American. Novelist who lived for a portion of her life in Germany.

Howe, Julia Ward
(1819–1910) American. Feminist, writer, speaker, and activist. First President of the Women's Rest Tour Association.

Howells, William Dean
(1837–1920) American. Novelist. Good friends with Mark Twain.

Hughes, Alice

(1857–1939) British. Leading London portrait photographer specializing in images of fashionable women and children. Photographed Lina Duff Gordon.

Hutton, Edward

(1875–1969) British. Writer of travel literature. Wrote the Medieval Towns guidebook, *The Story of Ravenna* (1926)

Hutton, Laurence

(1843–1904) American. Essayist and critic.

Hutton, William Holden

(1860–1930). British historian and a priest of the Church of England. He was Dean of Winchester from 1919 to 1930. Writer of Medieval Towns, *The Story of Constantinople* (1900)

Hunt, William Holman

(1827–1910) British. Painter and one of the founders of the Pre–Raphaelite Brotherhood.

Huxley, Julia Arnold

(1862–1908) British scholar and headmistress. Sister to Mary Humphry Ward and mother of Aldous Huxley.

James, Helen M.

(1871[?]–1903) British. Illustrator. Had physical mobility issues (walked with crutches). Illustrated *The Story of Perugia* (1898); *The Story of Nuremberg* (1899); *The Story of Moscow* (1900); *The Story of Assisi* (1900); *The Story of Rouen* (1901); *The Story of Verona* (1902); *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano* (1902).

James, Henry

(1843–1916) American; later British. Writer.

Janes, Margarite

(1916–1931) British. Artist in the Arts and Crafts movement. Illustrator for *The Story of Bologna* (1923).

J.M. Dent Publishing Co.

Published the Medieval Towns Series. Later became famous for the Everyman's Library Series.

John Murray Publishing Co.

Famous for the Murray's Handbooks for Travellers Series based on the guides first published by Mariana Starke before Murray Co. acquired the copyright to the work after her death.

Jones, Mary Cadwalader

(1850–1935) American. Writer and literary agent. Wrote the practical guidebook, *European Travel for Women* (1900).

Kean, Ellen
(1805–1880) British. Actress.

Kerr–Lawson, James
(1862–1939) Scottish–born Canadian painter. Friend of Mary Berenson.

Kimball, Katharine
(1866–1949) American. Illustrator. Lived in London. Illustrated Medieval Towns Series, *The Story of Paris* (1919); *The Story of Canterbury* (1912); *The Story of Brussels* (1906); *The Story of London* (1904)

Kingslake, Alexander William
(1809–1891). British. Historian and travel writer.

Lacaita, Giacomo Filippo
(1813–1895) British–Italian. Politician and statesman.

La Farge, John
(1835–1910) American. Painter, muralist, stained glass window maker, decorator, and writer.

Lane, John
(1854–1925) British. Publisher.

Lane–Poole, Stanley
(1854–1931) British. Orientalist and archaeologist. Wrote the Medieval Towns, *The Story of Cairo* (1902).

Layard, Austen Henry
(1817–1894) British. Archaeologist, art historian, collector, politician and diplomat. Godfather to Henry and Janet Ross's son and husband to Mary Enid Evelyn Guest

Layard, Mary Enid Evelyn Guest
(1843–1912) British. Art collector and wife of Henry Layard

L.C. Page & Co. Publishing Company
Publisher of Blanche McManus and Francis Miltoun's work.

Leader, John Temple
(1810–1903) British. Politician and art connoisseur.

Leighton, Frederic

(1830–1896) British. Painter. Completed the iconic drawing of Janet Ross c. 1870 when she was about 28 years old.

Leland, Charles Godfrey
(1824–1903) American. Humorist and folklorist.

Lindsay, Thomas M.
(1843–1914) Historian and friend of Janet Ross and Nelly Erichsen.

Lucas, Alice Erichsen
(1855–1944) British. Writer and translator. Sister of Nelly Erichsen. Published the first translation of Hans Christians from Danish into English.

Lucas, Edgar
(1846–?) British. Lawyer. Brother–in–law to Nelly Erichsen. Husband of Alice Erichsen.

Lynch, Hannah
(1859–1904) Irish. Writer, journalist, New Woman author. Wrote Medieval Towns, *The Story of Toledo* (1898)

Macmillan Publishing Family
The Macmillan Publishing family lived in Tooting, London. Nelly Erichsen grew up with the Macmillan family as her neighbours. Later had a possible romantic relationship with Malcolm Macmillan. See Mary Berenson diaries.

Macmillan Publishing Company US Division
Mary C. Jones published her guidebook with Macmillan and introduced Edith Wharton to Macmillan to publish Wharton's first book.

Mahan, Alfred Thayer
(1840–1914) American. Naval officer and historian.

Mansfield, Millburg F. (Francis Miltoun)
(1871–?) American. Writer, publisher, and husband of Blanche McManus.

Malagola, Carlo
(1855–1910) Italian. Historian and Head of the State Archives of Venice.

Markby, William
(1829–1914) British. Judge and legal writer.

Markby, Lucy Taylor
(1841–1928) British. Wife of William Markby.

Martineau, Harriet
(1802–1876) British. Social theorist, sociologist, and writer.

McManus, Blanche
(1869–1935) American. Writer, illustrator, and artist. She and her husband, Millburg Francisco Mansfield (Francis Miltoun) wrote a series of illustrated travel books. She also wrote and illustrated children's books and the guidebook *The American Woman Abroad* (1909).

Meredith, George
(1828–1909) British. Novelist.

Meynell, Alice Christiana Gertrude
(1847–1922) British. Writer, editor, critic, and suffragist.

Milanesi, Gaetano
(1813–1895) Italian. Art historian and scholar.

Montalba, Clara Federica
(1840–1929) British artist, chiefly known for her watercolour paintings of Venice. Feminist.

Murdock, Anna
(1860–1950) American. Co–authored the guidebook with the Women's Rest Tour Association, *A Summer in England* (1892)

Murray, John III
(1808–1892) British. Publisher. Third head of the John Murray Publishing House.

Nieriker, Abigail May Alcott
(1840–1879) American. Artist and writer. Sister of Louisa May Alcott. Wrote practical guide, *Studying Abroad and How to do it Cheaply* (1875)

Noyes, Margaret "Ella"
(1863–1949) British. Writer and translator. Wrote the Medieval Towns, *The Story of Milan* (1926); *The Story of Ferrara* (1904).

North, Marianne
(1830–1890) British. Botanist and artist. Sister of Janet Catherine Symonds. Friends with Janet Ross.

Noyes, Theodora "Dora"
(1864–1960) Painter, illustrator. British. Illustrated The Medieval Towns, The Story of Milan; The Story of Ferrara.

Okey, Thomas

(1852–1935) British. Writer, Emeritus Professor of Italian, Cambridge University. Wrote the Medieval Towns, *The Story of Venice* (1905); *The Story of Paris* (1906); *The Story of Avignon* (1911)

d'Orléans, Henri Eugène Philippe Louis
(1822–1897) French. Duke of Aumale.

Orsi, Carlo
(?–1894) Italian. Painter and sculptor.

Paget, Violet (Vernon Lee)
(1856–1935) British. Art historian. Neighbour to Janet Ross and Lina Duff Gordon.

Passerini, Luigi
(1816–1877) Italian. Historian.

de la Pasture, Edmée Elizabeth Monica
(1890–1943) British. Author.

Parlatore, Filippo
(1816–1877) Italian. Botanist and medical doctor. Director of the Natural History Museum in Florence.

Paul, Charles Kegan
(1828–1902) British. Publisher and author.

Pennell, Joseph
(1857–1926) American. Artist and author of travel literature.

Pennell, Elizabeth Robins
(1855–1936) American. Author of travel literature.

Petty–Fitzmaurice, Henry
(1816–1866) British. The 4th Marquess of Lansdowne

Peruzzi, Simone Luigi
(1792–1870) Italian. Diplomat and author.

Philips, Henry Wyndham
(1827–1868) British. Artist and portrait painter.

Powers, Hiram
(1805–1873) American. Sculptor.

Railton, Herbert

(1857–1910) British. Artist and illustrator of books and magazines. Illustrated the Medieval Towns guides, *The Story of Chartres* (1902), *The Story of Oxford* (1907), *The Story of Edinburgh* (1905), *The Story of Cambridge* (1905), *The Story of London* (1904), *The Story of Bruges* (1901).

de la Ramée, Marie Louise (Ouida)

(1839–1908) British novelist. Neighbour to Janet Ross and Lina Duff Gordon.

Reed, Maria

(1855–1930) American. Co–authored the guidebook with the Women's Rest Tour Association, *A Summer in England* (1892)

Reeve, Henry

(1813–1895) British. Journalist (*The Times*, *The Edinburgh Review, Quarterly*).

Richards, Grant

(1872–1948) Publisher and nephew of Grant Allen. Published some of Allen's works including Grant Allen's Historical Guides Series.

Roosevelt Family

American political family.

Ross, Alexander

(1885–1953) Son of Henry and Janet Ross. Henry Layard was his godfather.

Ryan, Edward

(1793–1875) British. Lawyer, judge, and reformer of the British Civil Service.

Ross, Henry James

(1820–1902) British. Banker. Husband of Janet Ross.

Ross, Janet Ann Duff Gordon

(1842–1927) British. Writer, historian, and social leader. Medieval Towns, *The Story of Lucca* (1912); *The Story of Pisa* (1909)

Ruskin, John

(1819–1900) British. Leading art critic of the Victorian period

Saxony, Johann "John" of

(1801–1873) German. King of Saxony.

Singleton, Esther

(1865–1930) American. Author and journalist. Writer of guidebooks: *Venice as Seen and Described by Famous Writers* (1905) and *Rome as Seen and Described by Famous Writers* (1905)

Sloane, Francis
(1794–1871) Scottish. Librarian and art collector.

Smith, Elder, & Co.
The firm was founded by George Smith (1789–1846) and Alexander Elder (1790–1876) and successfully continued by George Murray Smith (1824–1901).

Sparkes, John Charles
(1833–1907) was an English educationalist and college head. He was in charge of the Royal College of Art from 1875 to 1898, as the headmaster from 1875 to 1881, and Principal from 1881 to 1898. Sparkes recommended both Dora Noyes and Nelly Erichsen to study art at the college.

Spence, William Blundell
(1814–1900) British. Painter and art dealer. Wrote a guidebook for art collectors, *The Lions of Florence* (1852).

Stevenson, Frances "Fanny" Matilda Van de Grift Osbourne
(1840–1914) American. Writer. Wife of writer Robert Louis Stephenson.

Stevenson, Robert Louis
(1850–1894) British. Author.

Stillman, Maria Euphrosyne Spartali
(1844–1927) British. Member of the second generation of the Pre–Raphaelite Brotherhood. Stillman met Margaret Symonds while in Rome.

Strozzi, Marchese Luigi
Dates unknown. Member of an ancient Florentine banking/political family.

Sund, Harald
(1876–1940). Norwegian. Architect, artist and illustrator. Illustrated the Medieval Towns guide, *The Story of Ravenna* (1926)

Symington, James Ayton
(1859–1939) British. Artist.

Symonds, Janet Catherine North
(1837–1913) British. Mother of Margaret and Katherine (also Janet, who died as a child). Married to John Addington Symonds, sister of Marianne North. Women's rights supporter.

Symonds, John Addington
(1840–1893) British. Historian of Italy, poet and literary critic.

Taylor, Tom
(1817–1880) British. Dramatist, critic, biographer, public servant, and editor of *Punch* magazine.

Tennyson, Alfred
(1809–1892) British. Poet Laureate.

Thackarey, William
(1811–1863) British. Writer and illustrator.

Thompson, Elizabeth Southerden
(1836–1943) British. Painter who specialized in painting scenes from British military campaigns and battles.

Thornton, Edward
(1817–1906) British. Diplomat.

Tozier, Josephine
(1864–?) American. Writer. Wrote *The Travelers' Handbook: A manual for Transatlantic tourists* (1905)

Trevelyan, George Otto
(1838–1928) British. Statesman and author.

Trevelyan, George M.
(1876–1962) British. Historian and academic.

Tuker, Mildred Anna Rosalie
(1862–1957) British. Writer. Member of both the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society and the Women's Social & Political Union. Wrote *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome* (4 parts)

Wadham, Percy
Dates and nationality unknown. Illustrated *The Story of Avignon* (1911)

Waterfield, Aubrey
(1874–1944) British. Artist. Graduate of New College, Oxford, the son of Ottiwell Charles Waterfield, the principal of Temple Grove School, East Sheen, London, and director of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. Married Lina Duff Gordon in 1901.

Waterfield, Caroline "Lina" Duff Gordon
(1874–1964) Writer and journalist. Co-founder of the British Institute in Florence for which she won an OBE. Wrote Medieval Towns Guidebooks, *The Story of Perugia* (1898); *The Story of Assisi* (1900); Outside of the MTS, Duff Gordon also wrote guides: *A Concise and Practical Guide to Rome* (1904) as well as *Florence: A Short Guide to the Art Treasures of Florence* (1950)

Waters, Clara Erskine Clement
(1834–1916) American historian, art historian, and travel writer.

Watson, Charles Moore
(1844–1916) British. Soldier and writer. Served in the Egyptian army 1882–1886, then became governor of the Red Sea littoral. He retired in 1902. Author of *The Story of Jerusalem* (1912)

Watson, Geneviève
Dates unknown. British. Illustrator. Wife of Charles Moore Watson and illustrator of *The Story of Jerusalem* (1912)

Watts, George Frederic
(1817–1904) British. Victorian painter and sculptor associated with the Symbolist movement. Painted Lina Duff Gordon's portrait.

Watts, Mary Seton Fraser Tytler
(1849–1938) British. Artist and social reformer. Wife of G.F. Watts.

Ward, Mary Humphry
(1851–1920) British. Writer. Anti–suffragist.

Warner, Charles Dudley
(1829–1900) American. Essayist, novelist, and friend of Mark Twain.

Warren, Thomas Herbert
(1853–1930) British. Fellow of Balliol College.

Wiel, Alethea Lawley
(1851–1929) Daughter of the Baron of Wenlock. British. Wrote Medieval Towns Guidebooks, *The Story of Bologna* (1923); *The Story of Verona* (1902).

Wiel, Taddeo
(1849–1920) Italian. Musicologist and librarian. Served as an assistant librarian at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice and head of the Venetian chapter of the Associazione dei Musicologi Italiani. Husband of Alethea Lawley Wiel.

Winkworth, Catherine
(1827–1878) British. Translator (German).

Winkworth, Susanna
(1820–1884) British. Translator and philanthropist.

Wilde, Oscar
(1854–1900) Irish. Poet and playwright.

Wharton, Edith
(1862–1937) American. Writer, playwright, designer. Sister–in–law to guidebook author, Mary Cadwalader Jones.

Wheatley, Henry Benjamin
(1838–1917) British. Writer, editor, and indexer. Wrote the Medieval Towns, *The Story of London* (1904).

Whipple, Evangeline Simpson
(1857–1930) American. Writer and philanthropist. Lived with Nelly Erichsen and Rose Cleveland (in a romantic relationship with the latter) in Bagni di Lucca, Italy.

Wilson, Thomas Woodrow
(1856–1924) American. 28th President of the United States

Woolf, Virginia Stephen
(1882–1941) Adeline Virginia Stephen. British. Writer. Related to Margaret Symonds Vaughan by marriage (cousin of William Vaughan). Member of the Bloomsbury Group.

Williams, Elizabeth Otis
Dates unknown. American. Writer. Authored the practical guide *Sojourning, Shopping, and Studying in Paris* (1907)

Woodland, Walter Llyod
(1876–?) Nationality unknown. Author of *The Story of Winchester* (1932)

Vaughan, Margaret "Madge" Symonds
(1865–1925) British. Daughter of J.A. Symonds and J.C. North Symonds. Co–wrote the first Medieval Towns Series guidebook, *The Story of Perugia* (1898) with Lina Duff Gordon.

Vaughan, William Wyamar
(1865–1938) British. Educationalist. Husband of Margaret Symonds. Related to Virginia Stephen Woolf (cousins).

Vieusseux, Eugenio
(1837–1892) Italian. Second director of the Vieusseux library. Father of Carlo Vieusseux.

Vieusseux, Carlo
Dates unknown. Italian. Historian and collector. Inherited the Vieusseux Reading Rooms/Library in 1892 from his father, Eugenio Vieusseux.

Villari, Pasquale
(1827–1917) Italian. Historian and politician.

Young, Norwood
(1860–1943) British. Writer. Wrote Medieval Towns, The Story of Rome (1901). Also wrote Murray's *Handbook to Rome and the Campagna* (1908)

Yule, Amy Frances
(1852–?) British. Writer. Authored Murray's *Handbook to Greece* (1884)

Yule, Henry
(1820–1889) British. Geographer and historian. Father of Amy Frances Yule.

Appendix C: Sample of Guidebooks to Europe by Subgenre and Author Gender

Guidebooks to Europe Written by Women

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———. *Winter Havens in the Sunny South: A Complete Handbook to the Riviera, with a Notice of the New Station, Alassio*. London: The Bazaar Office, 1880.

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Hunter, Ella. *A Lady's Drive from Florence to Cherbourg; or, Santo, Lucia, and Co., Where They Stayed, and What They Paid*. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1883.

Jones, Mary Cadwalader. *European Travel for Women; Notes and Suggestions*. New York: Macmillan, 1900.

McManus, Blanche. *The American Woman Abroad*. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1911.

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Tozier, Josephine. *The Travelers' Handbook; a Manual for Transatlantic Tourists*. London; New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1905.

Williams, Elizabeth Otis. *Sojourning, Shopping & Studying in Paris; a Handbook Particularly for Women*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1907.

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