Travel and Space in Nineteenth-Century Europe

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Chapter 6

The heat, the cold, the wet, hard, and cramped

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6 The heat, the cold, the wet, hard, and cramped

Introduction

Heavy rains were coming down as Amsterdam shipyard worker (or possibly shipwright) Johannes van Oostendorp traveled from Antwerp eastward. It was the early days of September 1830. He had been drafted as a foot soldier in the Dutch army that was supposed to stave off Belgian independence, and today, Van Oostendorp's battalion was on the march. That evening, the infantry failed to find a shelter for the night. They did not even have dry firewood. The soldiers were forced to sleep among the wet potato leaves. Looking back to this night in his memoir, Van Oostendorp marvels over his own endurance. During peacetime, he writes, the body can be so frail, but this changes when at war: "How does a person stand it, we are bound to say afterwards, and [*sic*] the body seems at that time to be hardened under these circumstances."[1] Van Oostendorp's overarching message concerns hardiness, therefore. Yet his text also betrays a strong need to tell his readers about his suffering.

So far, this book has looked at homeliness, social company, dirt and cleanliness, light, order, and spaciousness. Van Oostendorp's memoir broaches another theme that recurs throughout nineteenth-century travel writing: the tremendous impact of physical discomfort on travel experiences. After so far focusing mostly on the visual qualities of places, next to their smell, taste, and, usually imagined, touch (in the case of dirt), it is time in this chapter to go a little deeper into the tactile: that which is sensed through the skin and the rest of the somatosensory and interoceptive system. When traveling, Europeans were frequently confronted with their need, first, to maintain pleasant temperature levels; second, to stay dry; and, third, to ensure ample space and cushioning for the body. Incidentally, the tactile need for ample space came in addition to the visual need for spaciousness that was discussed in Chapter 4, and which concerned space on a much larger scale. These three sets of spatial desires and their related practices will now receive center stage therefore, and in this order. Since they have often been discussed in the literature under the label of "comfort," I, too, will use that term to speak about them collectively.[2]

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Significantly, the timing, social location, and narration of shipyard worker Van Oostendorp's experiences mentioned above belie a series of ideas that have shaped the historiography on comfort. I will outline these ideas first, and next return to Van Oostendorp and other nineteenth-century travelers.

Narratives of comfort: Desire, technology, satisfaction

The historical literature on comfort is dominated by narratives of growth: growth in the need for comfort or in the success in finding it; a growth induced by changing design tastes, by the hunt for status markers, and, importantly, by technology. The literature on comfort thus shows significant parallels and overlaps with the literatures on homeliness, privacy, and sensitivity to dirt. In her landmark book, Joan DeJean has called domestic comfort a turn-of-the-eighteenth-century invention by the Parisian aristocracy. She traces its history both as a spatial desire and as a set of interior-design solutions such as sofas and cupboards. Over the next 50 years, she writes, this preference and this practice spread outward geographically and down the economic ladder. DeJean does an important job in historicizing these sofas and other domestic features that are often taken for granted in the European world. Yet her book does not fully convince the reader that a desire for softness and the other aspects of comfort that she describes, or that methods of achieving these, did not yet exist before the seventeenth century. What she shows, instead, is that at court and other households designed for display, comfort and intimacy became explicitly conceptualized as design values next to splendor. They became a mark of distinction even, and increasing amounts of money were invested in them.[3] Yet in more average households, comfort probably did not need to fight so hard for an ideological position next to splendid displays, because the latter played a more marginal role in their economy to begin with. A desire for physical comfort may well have existed in the average European household long before the eighteenth century, therefore, and possibly even, in a socially unsanctioned form, in wealthier households.

In related projects to DeJean's, historians John Crowley and Jon Stobart trace the history of the word "comfort" in northwestern European scholarship, science, social reform, and, ultimately, the global marketing of goods between the Middle Ages and the twentieth century. They similarly posit the "invention" of comfort, as the title of Crowley's book signals. Certainly the term, in its original French form, was first used for (spiritual) solace and moral support and only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries came to refer more usually to bodily ease (warmth, softness) and related material blessings. Crowley and Stobart also rightly warn historians against anachronistic assumptions about the universality of comfort norms.[4] Again, however, what was so new in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may also have been the fact that the word "comfort" provided a new, coherent means to talk about needs that already existed before, and, more specifically, to talk in

positive terms about physical needs at a time that indulgence was morally suspect.[5] The power to *fulfill* them would certainly have been frequently frustrated by a lack of money, space, or time, by moral opprobrium, or by status anxiety, thus inspiring people to furnish their house for survival, decorum, or splendor rather than comfort. Still, as the current chapter will argue, such power was not necessarily lacking before this conceptual change took place, because it may also reside in such decisions as to lie down, indecorously but comfortably and cheaply, on some straw.

Indeed, there is every possibility that comfort, not as a word carrying this meaning but possibly as a concept and certainly as a loose range of spatial desires, has a much longer history. This is supported, for one, by the existence of ascesis, a global practice of abstention from sensual pleasures with a long-standing European tradition. It is discomfort that helps ascetics achieve a desired state of detachment from worldly concerns or overcome sins such as, in the Christian tradition, gluttony, greed, and lust ("luxuria"!). Ascetics may practice their self-denial precisely by employing the low temperatures or hard beds that this chapter examines. What defines ascesis, however, is that it is practiced by exceptional individuals or for restricted periods of time (for instance during fasting), rather than across entire cultures. The various examples of asceticism that we find strewn across European history, therefore, show people responding to the fact that the desirability of comfort was taken for granted by those around them—taken for granted by the majority. Ascesis does not evidence a society that disregards comfort but, on the contrary, one in which a desire for comfort is a given.[6]

Even if the search for comfort was not new, it may still have been on the rise in the nineteenth century, as has been argued in several shorter (parts of) studies by, among others, Johan Huizinga, Eric Hobsbawm, Phoebe Kropp-Young, Anton Schuurman, and Britt Denis.[7] More specifically, such long-term shifts have been described with respect to temperature. Olivier Jandot writes that between the eighteenth and twentieth or twenty-first centuries, Europeans stopped being tolerant of varying temperatures and now expect their indoor environment always to be 20 °C.[8] In her nuanced studies of comfort and convenience in the United States of America, Elizabeth Shove further details this story. Shove suggests that people are in the process, first, of losing their tolerance to natural variation in environmental conditions, leading to complaints about heat, cold, wetness, and landscape features such as mountain slopes that require an effort to navigate. Second, they are supposed no longer to respect their own bodies' sweat, shivers, fatigue, or other natural responses to these conditions. Third, they no longer adapt their practices to imperfect natural conditions, but expect these latter to be overcome by technologies. Technologies shape these processes. As a case in point, Shove tells the history of air-conditioning. As soon as mud, brick, stone, and concrete were replaced by wood in the building of American homes (that is, Shove speaks of "lightweight" building), and as soon as their design no longer took their location into account ("standardized"), mechanical cooling became

"presumed and then required". And as soon as an air-conditioned environment of 22 °C had become the norm, people started wearing the same light clothes summer and winter alike, despite the mostly temperate climate of the United States.[9] Yankel Fijalkow, too, argues that in twentieth-century France and the United States, comfort has come to be sought from objects rather than humans: technologies that fix the environment for you.[10] Indeed, the World Health Organization in Europe has elevated these preferences to a health norm, recommending that interior temperatures stay between 18 and 22 °C.[11] My findings on temperature preferences in this chapter partly overlap with this series of investigations, but I will argue that we need to conceptualize comfort technologies differently, which will also compel us to interpret these findings differently.

The way in which historical observations so far have been framed is understandable, however, because this framing goes back centuries in Europe and European America.[12] I will give a few examples from the nineteenth century. A social satire about a barber from around 1840 by the widely read Dutch author Nicolaas Beets suggests that the idea that people's bodies were becoming more sensitive because of the availability of safer and less painful technologies (for shaving, in this story) was already a well-known cliché at that moment, also among and about those with a different education than a university degree. Beets makes his barber exclaim, "O Tempores! o Mora!" to emphasize the barber's routinized cultural critique of his peers, that is, his customers who do not like the old, more risky method of shaving. The barber quotes the often-repeated complaint by Roman orator Cicero that modern times have softened people's habits or weakened their principles. University graduate Beets maliciously twists Latin grammar on his character's differently educated tongue, but thereby this example only suggests more strongly that the idea of corruption was a widespread one, and that a narrative existed about the increased sensitivity not just of the elite, but of others, too. Next, in the 1850s, world traveler Ivan Goncharov wrote about the English, the paradigmatic modern nation, in a more serious tone in his diary-turned-book. He asserted that they were busier designing gadgets to increase their comfort and ease than to improve themselves. This suggests Goncharov harbored a similar sentiment to Beets's barber. Finally, toward the end of the century, North American psychiatrist George Beard diagnosed modern civilization as leading to a decreased tolerance of cold, heat, and wetness.[13] Note that all of these are third-person, rather than first-person, observations: a point to which I will return.

This master narrative also returns in the historiography on travel, specifically. Multiple historians have claimed that the introduction of the railways, as well as all-round changes to vehicles and buildings such as in the ways they were heated or cooled, the construction of their axles, or their upholstery, had by the later nineteenth century created a pampered generation that expected travel to be comfortable.[14] Others, diagnosing the same problem but sympathizing with the patient rather than chastising them, have called

the modern traveler detached from their environment and "disembodied".[15] The definition of "disembodiment" remains a little unclear in this literature, but it seems to mean either that travelers chose to travel in a supposedly "disembodied" manner because they wanted to avoid discomfort at all cost, and found a method of doing so in modern technology; or that their modern condition was inevitably disembodied and *as a result* they no longer noticed whether their environment was comfortable or not.

Taken together, these primary sources and academic studies raise three basic hypotheses about structural change in the nineteenth century with respect to needs, experiences, and technologies: (1) travelers had always wanted to be comfortable (however defined), but they only succeeded once the railways and other emblematically "modern" technologies and structures were put in place; (2) these "modern" technologies really created this intensified need for comfort, and travelers ceased to accept variations in the atmospheric and material environment and their own bodies' responses to these: the ubiquitous presence of comfort technologies thus increased sensitivity to unusual circumstances; or (3) new technologies ensured that the difference between comfort and discomfort no longer mattered in the first place, because travelers were no longer attuned to their own bodies: comfort technologies *de*creased their sensitivity. Although mutually exclusive, these hypotheses also have important features in common. In most texts, they have a technologically determinist flavor. And even those texts that posit more subtle relations between technologies, desires, and experiences of comfort, still share this: they suggest a large-scale, long-term change in individuals' use of technology and in their satisfaction levels (except if, considering hypothesis 2, we assume that needs and solutions kept perfect pace with each other, but in that case we should still see a shift in technologies used).

A corollary of these hypotheses, moreover, is that, if it was the access to greater material comforts that induced these changes, less well-off travelers must have been affected by them later than the more comfortably off. Having limited access to the shop-bought conveniences and hired services on which the literature focuses, they must have remained in any of those earlier conditions, whether of less comfort, less sensitivity, or greater embodiment, until the entire economy grew sufficiently for them to become bigger consumers. In a manner parallel to the literature about domesticity, privacy, and cleanliness, the expectation is therefore once more that workers followed the bourgeois' lead.

Any of these changes, I suggest, should be noticeable in travel writing. After all, as detailed in Chapter 5, travel writing was one eminent forum and repository for spatial observations and, especially, spatial complaints. In this chapter, we shall therefore be on the lookout for historical changes in comfort practices, as well as for a clear decrease (hypotheses 1 and 3) or increase (2) in the number of complaints uttered in such writing from across different social groups. Complaints or, more generally, observations in travel writing, show which experiences travelers deemed pertinent to their text and are

therefore only a subset of those physical sensations they were conscious of—although a particularly important subset. Which experiences were these? In the first place, a traveler may have become conscious of a place being hot, cold, cramped, or wet because they were surprised at it being the way it was. In particular, this occurred where conditions were different from home. But equally, some of the experiences discussed in this chapter came about when a location did not conform to a traveler's expectations of stereotypical *difference*. Second, apart from these mental forms of surprise, more physically focused incongruities also created experiences of comfort and discomfort. I am here referring to circumstances that pressed themselves upon the traveler's body in a way that the traveler could not ignore. Frostbite, for instance, however frequent at home or however much anticipated on an Alpine hike, still hurts in a way that cannot be overlooked. Whenever an experience came about in this more physically focused manner, chances were higher that this would prompt the author to see their preconceived ideas about a region or culture confirmed, as we will see. In sum, travelers report both experiences that confirmed their habits or expectations and experiences that subverted these. Any systematic biases in reporting therefore run in several different directions.

But why should we reexamine such compelling narratives of change in the first place? We might notice that they have strong resonances in present-day European popular culture. More specifically, Mathieu Flonneau has argued that stories about the impact of "high-tech mobility solutions" influence present-day political decisions. They must therefore be carefully investigated empirically in order to help find an honest answer to the question what such high-tech solutions offer over and above "low-tech modes of travel".[16]

I will attempt to contribute to this project and suggest that none of the three hypotheses above remains plausible in the light of the first-person travel writing investigated here. Instead, travelers across the long nineteenth century noticed and minded the spaces their bodies encountered. Moreover, they continued to be satisfied with these spaces at times, and dissatisfied at other times. Finally, and contrary to what we found in the previous chapter about cleanliness, travelers also actively and creatively intervened when problems arose. They did so by a variety of technologies, both those that would probably be considered "low tech" in the theories outlined above, such as dressing more warmly, and "high-tech" ones, such as boosting the heating of a room. I observe no shift in the frequency of either type of tactic. This suggests that "high-tech" technologies did neither create new levels of demand, nor systematically cause greater satisfaction levels or disembody travelers. All this is not to say that what people consider comfortable is universal across human history. The historical record suggests plenty of variation in desires *and* tactics, both across time and between cultures, as this chapter will also show. Yet within the period under investigation, northwestern Europeans demonstrated little change.

An important cause for the story in this book panning out differently is the alternative conception of technology applied here. Earlier stories are not

entirely convincing, I argue, because they distinguish between technology and adaptive behavior, between high tech and low tech, or between modern and traditional technology in an arbitrary way. In order to avoid this, we need a transhistorical conception of comfort technologies. What do I mean by an arbitrary distinction? Let us take the case of air-conditioning. The modern or high-tech character of air-conditioning may be obvious. But considering other potential responses to the heat we might well ask: what is the fundamental distinction between an air-conditioning system and, for instance, a siesta? Why does only the former count as technology? After all, both are human adaptations to the heat. Is the reason that we have to buy the former in a shop, whereas we can simply do the latter by ourselves? Elizabeth Shove's 2012 chapter on comfort indeed suggests, albeit only very implicitly, that the defining characteristic of the technologies that some Americans have come to expect their comfort from is that they are installed and configured for them: they only need to buy them. (In her 2003 book, however, Shove *does* integrate users' agency into her model, stressing the importance of how people operate the machines they buy.)[17] But then what about the difference between an electrical patio heater and a woolen jersey? Both are commodities that can be bought, both come ready-made, usually from factories. Both can be conceptualized as technologies that people expect to solve the problem of feeling cold for them. Both, however, might also be conceptualized as their own active adaptations to unpleasant natural conditions.

The theoretical distinction between adaptive behavior and technologies, in other words, is not made very clear by Shove or most other writers on comfort practices. From a user's perspective, the fundamental difference in this case may simply come down to the first point Shove raises: adapting the atmosphere versus adapting, for instance, one's clothing. Reworded in this form, Shove's message becomes about modern people growing impatient with solutions to discomforts that require them to change anything but their spaces. Yet even technologies that change atmospheric conditions are nothing new: roofs and walls, doors and blinds, but also insulation and central heating go back millennia. In what follows, therefore, I will not distinguish between (modern) technology and (older) adaptive behavior. Instead, I will call them all technologies, tactics, methods, interventions, or simply practices. I will, however, break them down into more specific, transhistorical types of comfort technologies—body covering, room design, and so on—and see how each develops across the century.

An additional reason why this is important is because if we do not, it will be hard to distinguish between desires and technologies. After all, Shove's analysis suggests that interiors of 22 °C during both summer and winter are desired because of changing construction practices, and that lighter clothing has become more desirable because of continuous air-conditioning. We could conceptualize these as changing desires, but it might be more fruitful to conceptualize them as changing technological adaptations to a potentially stable (this remains to be decided!) desire for a certain skin temperature. This

chapter will show that this necessary reconceptualization of comfort technology does indeed lead to a new assessment of long-term historical change.

Apart from the material- and cultural-historical and sociological work cited above there is one more strand of scholarship that we need to keep in mind when scouring the historical record for experiences of comfort and discomfort, a strand that has analyzed the material ideals expressed in nineteenth-century (literary) texts. This has found anti-industrial, anti-capitalist, and primitivist yearnings for simplicity expressed by several now-famous British authors, as well as a romantic craving for intense experiences, including discomfort and pain.[18] The question to what extent these desires played out in the *practice* of travel will be addressed in the central sections of this chapter, but they are also part and parcel of the travel *text*. That is to say, quite a few canonized authors from the first half of the nineteenth century professed to prefer a degree of discomfort on their journeys. Now, as Carl Thompson has shown, these protestations were largely motivated by the desire to affirm a superior class and gender identity and construct a writerly authority based on having gained special transcendental knowledge by having lived through suffering. In other words, much of this positive attitude toward discomfort was rhetorical rather than "real."[19]

Interestingly, however, such storylines romanticizing physical experience and suffering are scarce in the texts investigated in this book. More frequently, we come across travelers who deliberately opted for unconventional means of transport (walking, for instance) or accommodation (in the open air, for instance), but they were neither ascetics nor pain-embracing romantics, whether rhetorically or practically. They aimed at simplicity, but a *comfortable* simplicity, as we will see.[20] True, their efforts are remarkable in the light of their contemporaries' assumption that comfort was achieved the more easily by making greater material investments, and travel by carriage, for instance, but they nevertheless agreed quite openly on the point that comfortable travel was the ideal. Among the very few travelers posing as tough, experienced guys is Johannes van Oostendorp, with his "hardened" body. And yet he, too, is really quite representative of what I suggest was the average northwestern European, whose self-narrative emphasized sensitivity to the discomforts of travel.

I already mentioned briefly that Van Oostendorp's body hardening as the result of living a soldier's life is not simply macho rhetoric. But why not? First, he uses the Dutch verb "verharden" which denotes not a desirable change (harden like steel) but an undesirable one: to calcify or become insensitive. This is not the story of a boy turned man, but of a boy who becomes, for the duration of the war, a little too heartless to his own later liking. Second, Van Oostendorp does not simply write that he overcame these hardships, thereby fashioning a tough image of himself. Instead, this story of overcoming serves to underline his suffering, considering that he stresses this suffering a lot across the entire narrative—albeit interlaced with passages ironizing his younger self—and considering that the narrator who suggests

the boy's toughness is so clearly a different person, that is, the older Van Oostendorp. That is, the older Van Oostendorp writes not with admiration for these boy soldiers but with empathy and irony. The mature Van Oostendorp furthermore creates an overarching narrative of divine intervention which suggests that their endurance did not follow from strength or courage, but from the luck of having God on their side. In the passage that follows, Van Oostendorp also shows himself to be skeptical about the reality of heroism: humans are a scared and vulnerable bunch, in peacetime and during war.[21] The story thus seems to aim not (just) at evoking the familiar traveler's master narrative of hegemonic manliness but to tell posterity about the suffering and the mysteries of life on earth under divine tutelage, in preparation for the afterlife. And so, apart from the occasional nod to the idea that boys will be boys, Van Oostendorp mainly betrays three quite different motivations for writing about these discomforts, motivations also encountered in Chapter 5: to verbalize and share with his readers some of his most surprising and painful memories in order to obtain a certain mental equilibrium; to demonstrate, whether to posterity or to God, that he has faced his past misdeeds and now belongs to the community of the faithful; and possibly also to warn a younger generation about the realities of war. Another reason that may again have motivated travelers to write about their spatial experiences, though in diaries and letters sooner than in memoirs such as Van Oostendorp's, was the hope that it would help change their environment in practical ways, too.

As to the Amsterdam boy himself, I suggest that the very real discomforts of his journey so impressed him that when he wrote his memoir, spurred by these motivations, this was one of the events that he remembered and selected to mold into this short scene. If true, this refutes the idea that physical sensitivity only hit travelers, and especially traveling workers, later in the nineteenth century: workers were not automatically "hardened" against atmospheric and other spatial fluctuations. Van Oostendorp's memoir forms plausible evidence that workers were sensitive enough at the *start* of the century already to experience vividly the drenched discomforts of a September field in Flanders.

Van Oostendorp's story thus serves as the vignette to this chapter because it belies the three assumptions we might be tempted to make based on current understandings of nineteenth-century travel comforts, the first being the basic stories of change and technological impact outlined above, the second the corollary about class differences, and the third that travel writers pretended they did not care about hardships because this was part of the genre they were working in. And Van Oostendorp is not the only nineteenth-century writer who may surprise us. In all three aspects, he typifies the travelers examined in this book.

Too cold, too hot

What will not surprise the reader is that the weather formed a daily preoccupation for travelers from around the North Sea. We can surmise that this

preoccupation was even stronger abroad than at home, as the weather introduced new surprises and was uncomfortable in ways to which they had not yet found a solution. What we know for sure, anyhow, is that travelers remarked on spaces as being (too) cold[22] or hot[23] in abundance, both in and out of doors.

Statements that enable a direct comparison with Shove's and Jandot's findings and so help us track long-term changes are scarce. Travelers did not usually specify air temperature, nor do we have such temperature information from other sources—usually we do not even know what location and time of day a traveler was writing about, precisely. These things are unsurprising. Nowadays, too, holiday postcards and social-media posts tend to communicate heat and cold through judgments (nice weather) and affordances (been at the swimming pool all day) rather than through numbers. True, in the present day, some social-media applications contain specific functionality to include temperatures. This is indicative of a wider shift: thermometers are more prevalent now than they were in the nineteenth century. In Europe, thermometers and standard methods for measuring air temperature were developed in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, scientists started collecting data on a large scale, also with an eye to weather prediction.[24] By the nineteenth century, thermometers were standard equipment aboard ships, where also some passengers had access to them,[25] some even taking the temperature daily.[26] Ships were probably an exception, however: it is difficult to find references to other locations with thermometers intended for the use of either professionals or travelers in a private capacity. Occasionally, temperature information formed part of the stories told by tourist guides. Dutch lawyer Jan Willem Evers duly notes in his central European travel account that the Postojna Cave had a steady temperature of 7–9 °Réaumur. He remains silent, however, about what this meant to him.[27] Temperature here functions as spectacle—it is what makes a site special—and as an area in which travelers can show off their connoisseurship. But it is no description or explanation of comfort experiences. Alternatively, travelers might access past temperatures in the newspapers that could be read in hotels, coffee houses, and shop windows, or bought from shops. Yet temperature observations were no standard component of all papers.[28] Weather *forecasting*, through central agencies that gathered data via the telegraph and also distributed their predictions through telegraph and newspapers, formed yet another, later step in the history of writing about temperature.[29] Neither reports nor forecasts were mentioned with any frequency in nineteenth-century travelers' accounts.

As a result, it seems plausible that travelers did not primarily conceptualize heat and cold experiences in terms of atmospheric temperature. As a collateral, historians have access to few calibrated judgments of heat and cold. Some, however, do exist. In 1824, Marie Cornélie countess of Wassenaer Obdam wrote in her diary how pleasantly warm her apartment in the Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg always was. Exceptionally, as she notes, almost

each (guest?) room in the Winter Palace had its own thermometer, and there was another one outside each window. In her own apartment, those pleasant temperatures usually remained between 15 and 19 °C. The 28 °C that she found in the pineapple hothouse, on the contrary, was not pleasant at all: it made it "impossible to breathe".[30] In 1858, Dutch aristocrat Otheline Agathe van Wickevoort Crommelin similarly reported temperatures in her diary of between 30 and 31 °C around Lake Geneva and found this exceptionally hot.[31] Here, we have two aristocratic ladies whose atmospheric temperature preferences seem to have lain below the present-day standard of 20 or 22 °C discussed earlier. Yet it does not necessarily follow that their skins or bodies were equally desirous of such low temperatures. The fashion of the 1820s, especially female fashion, and in particular at court such as in Saint Petersburg, prescribed many layers of clothing, taking up much space especially around the legs, as well as hats and gloves in as well as out of doors. By the 1850s when Crommelin was traveling, skirts had grown even more voluminous. Their dress may thus have made these women more cold-resistant than present-day Europeans. To a lesser extent this also applies to their male counterparts, who wore suits, often made of wool. However, women's dress may also have made them more cold-resistant than nineteenth-century men. By the same token, warm weather would the sooner have been unbearable for women, as Crommelin's diary suggests. This is confirmed by the unequal proportions of men and women in the sample who mention temperature discomforts.[32] Incidentally, another factor may have played a role as well in observations of high temperatures. The so-called Little Ice Age, a period of relative cold, had been on its return since around 1600, with temperatures rising over the long term. Middle-aged or older travelers such as Crommelin would therefore have noticed the change, and particularly high temperatures would have attracted their attention.

Calibrated judgments also indicate cultural differences. At 7 to 10 °C, Austrian travel writer Ida Pfeiffer, sailing down the Donau in April 1842, considered further measures to be necessary on board her ship than travel clothes alone, and was happy therefore with its stove that spread a "soothing warmth".[33] We can compare these temperatures and tactics to information we have about different European regions. Earlier investigations have shown, for example, that normal French indoor winter temperatures would range from freezing to 15 °C, and that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French were so adapted to this fact that they considered temperatures of between 14 and 20 °C (too) warm.[34] This is related to the fact that in western Europe, the usual method of heating was the open fireplace. This needs a supply of oxygen—through an open door, for instance—and a smoke exhaust and therefore leads not only to colder rooms but also to a less even distribution of heat across a room. For various reasons to do with existing health conceptions and visual aesthetics, people were nevertheless attached to the fireplace. Britt Denis cites evidence, for instance, of nineteenth-century Belgians finding the more energy-efficient stoves too warm for heating

rooms.[35] In central and eastern Europe, in contrast, closed stoves were normal. Pfeiffer, who herself was from central Europe, enjoyed her ship's cabin. Wassenaer, who hailed from western Europe, also enjoyed her Saint Petersburg apartment with stove, which suggests that travelers could be flexible in the comfort technologies they accepted. Most western Europeans, nevertheless, seem to have been convinced that the open fire was the superior heating system, and also that letting an abundance of outside air into a room was necessary for health reasons anyhow. They had access to various alternative methods of protecting themselves from their habitually colder rooms, however, as this chapter will show: for instance in how they dressed. A key point to take away is that temperatures which a present-day European might consider cold were not simply considered normal or pleasant, but these estimates hinged on the application of compensatory protection mechanisms. This is also suggested by Pfeiffer's text. She notes that cattle along the Donau in what is now Romania or Serbia already slept outside in spring when the air was still around freezing point. She judged this to be (too) cold because they had no shelter to protect them,[36] nor a blanket. These two key ideas—that people had a range of technologies to choose from and that cultures differed in their inclinations to these technologies, rather than in their hardiness—will be at the core of this chapter's argument.

Preferred methods could also change over time, which leads us to our final quantitative example. The Amsterdammer Abraham Mossel hiked across Austria in 1911–1912, in a small group, the "Worldwalkers," and a few years later published an account of part of their journey. He considered winter temperatures of –16 °C during the day and –20 °C overnight exceptionally cold. Nevertheless, he could easily stand them, but not by using clothes or heating. He solved the issue in a different way: I will also come back to this.

For these reasons, I will propose to explain these variations in desirable atmospheric temperatures not in the first instance by assuming varying levels of tolerance to temperature fluctuations, but by adopting a different conception of technology that ranges much wider that atmospheric temperature control only. We should moreover recognize that each period, region, and (sub)culture had its own set of preferred technologies, and that these preferences formed communicating vessels: in a location where certain technologies to keep warm or cool were preferred or habitual, others became unnecessary and even counterproductive. Next to these different technological cultures, temperature *preferences* differed between regions, cultures, and individuals as well, but nineteenth-century European travel writing gives little cause to see any change in these through *time*.

Cold places, hot places

To begin with, in what circumstances did experiences of the cold, hot, pleasant warmth, or refreshing coolness occur?[37] Circumstances in which travelers from around the North Sea felt cold, unsurprisingly, were up on the higher

mountains of Europe (the Pyrenees, the Alps), under clouds, wind, rain, at night, and during wintertime. In his memoir, seasonal worker Imke Klaver describes a long, cold winter at the turn of the twentieth century, spent in an attic room in Düsseldorf, as reflecting the fact that it was also a very lonely winter. He had only his books for company after his cotraveler left him to return to Friesland.[38] Complaints were made about exterior as well as interior spaces. The Worldwalkers, too, went through a number of torturous days as they crossed the Alps in autumn and winter a decade later. These three young workers had set out from Amsterdam on foot for an idealistic journey around the globe. We will encounter both Klaver and the Worldwalkers several times in this chapter, showing, with Johannes van Oostendorp, how travel discomforts became exacerbated by poverty (Figure 6.1). Yet even well-to-do travelers—the company of the British Prime Minister Gladstone—could be cold in winter, even at a location as far south from Britain as Florence.[39] Often, experiences of the cold out-of-doors are communicated in travel writing by narrating the contrasting experience of the well-heated interiors where people sought shelter. Sometimes, it was already considered informative that such a place had any heating at all.[40] This suggests that, although not unusual, interior heating was not as self-evident as it later became. Travelers' activities mattered as well: when sitting or standing still or trying to sleep, they were cold more easily than when they were walking or cycling.[41]

Conversely, travelers felt hot in the sunshine. This happened most often in the Mediterranean, but Abraham Mossel equally referred to the Hungarian puszta as Purgatory. Carriages, especially, collected much heat, being even less well insulated than buildings. Then again, in cold weather they were the first to become chilly. Indoors, the heat hit visitors most frequently in rooms which according to them contained too many people (see also Chapter 3). Once more, it was often inverse situations that were used to signal the importance of this effect: Oxford man Charles Lutwidge Dodgson wrote in his diary, enthusiastically, that the theater in Nizhny Novgorod was "remarkably cool & comfortable" because it was large and mostly empty.[42] The

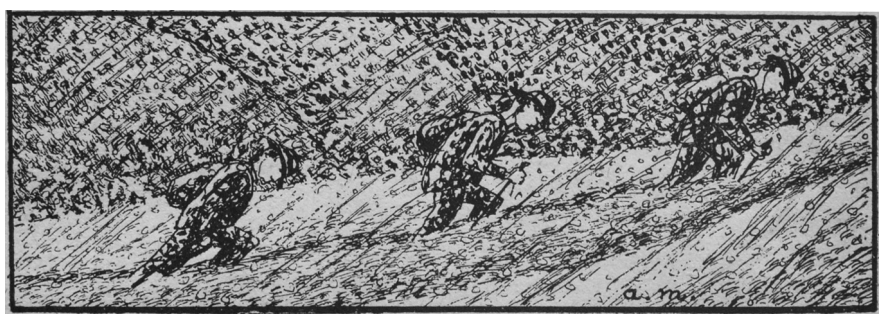

Figure 6.1 Access to comfort was largely class-determined. Abraham Mossel, "Reisweeën," illustration in his own book, 134.

majority of recorded journeys in the nineteenth century took place in the warmer half of the year.[43] This might skew the picture we get, for it increased the chances of weather and climate turning out on the hot side for travelers from the North Sea region. Indeed, it is a little easier to find them complain about the heat than the cold. Yet temperatures in Europe never rose above travelers' approximate optimum (whether this was closer to 15 or to 20 °C) as much as they sunk below it; that is, while temperatures of –10 or –15 °C were common in Europe, temperatures of 45 or 50 °C were not. In other words, this group of travelers seems to have been more sensitive to temperatures a few degrees above their preferred temperature than to temperatures (substantially) below it. I will return to this interplay of regional preferences and realities in an instance. Still, the severe cold was considered highly unpleasant, too, and this despite its frequency. Growing accustomed was no sufficient solution.

This series of locations and moments of heat or cold reveals little historical change within the (long) nineteenth century. It does suggest that a major shift in preferences took place in the twentieth century. In the first place, there is the nineteenth-century lack of appreciation for the heat of the sun on the skin. The absence of sunshine was perceived as uncomfortable if it caused the *atmosphere* to cool down, but a love of direct sun radiation was not a usual feature of travel writing before the First World War. It confirms the existing image of the 1920s as the decade of sun worship as an elite fashion, but it also suggests that only at that point, an enjoyment of direct sunlight onto the skin became thinkable at all for Europeans, northwestern Europeans, or at the very least northwestern Europeans of the wealthier classes. What is more, we can extend this hypothesis to other forms of haptic pleasure, too. Nineteenth-century travelers do not comment much on the joys of snow as a haptic experience (the visual beauties of winter landscapes are a different matter). Nor do they write about the pleasures of, for instance, the sensation of hot sand on the beach. It raises an interesting question for further research: did travel *writing* not allow sufficient moral space for these sensual pleasures, which may have been too physical and voluptuous to comply to the taste of nineteenth-century diarists and letter writers? After all, it took decades for the literary style of naturalism, which broached similar themes, to become embraced by European readers. Or are we looking at a shift in haptic experience itself? This would be an important historical shift, a possibility largely ignored to date, perhaps because the behavioral rules used by elites to keep racial and class hierarchies in place (for instance, the imperative to wear shoes or to look as "white" as one can) brought with them a genuine disinterest of the privileged for these sensual pleasures, as they may have existed in any social group.

A clear set of structural differences also surfaces between regional cultures. Most travelers were less at ease under conditions that differed from the ones they were used to at home. Dutch aristocrat Henrica Françoise Rees van Tets and preacher Marie Adrien Perk remarked specifically that they preferred

cold weather to a suffocatingly hot atmosphere. This leaning toward the familiar—a moderately cool atmosphere, in the case of travelers from the Netherlands—can be seen both with those who traveled south and who traveled north.[44] Some travelers showed a greater flexibility, which often also came with an awareness of the existence of different cultural norms. After a lengthy, stormy voyage rounding the European peninsula, Ivan Goncharov, who harked from Simbirsk, east of Moscow, was delighted when his ship moored in Madeira. Not only did he finally have steady soil under his feet again; it was also a sun-flooded soil that brought him "an unexpected, happy, holiday moment that instilled a drop of humanity into our long, uniform path." It was, however, January. The locals called the season winter and the weather cold, but for Goncharov it was "hot like an oven". He had been advised by the local consul to wear an overcoat, but he even needed to take off his jacket.[45] Later on, the reverse happened. After traversing Siberia, Goncharov notes that the cold had different meanings depending on where in the Russian Empire you were. While the locals were fine, he was cold in their yurt at night. Humorously—and here we clearly enter the territory of travel rhetoric again—he adds that if you did this in Saint Petersburg, you would certainly catch a deadly cold. Twice, he describes the Petersburgers as overly concerned about the cold, not just, I suspect, because their city has a more moderate climate than Siberia, but also because it was the city of the Russian elites—and Goncharov's own new home.[46]

Seven ways of staying warm or keeping cool

Again, an explanation both for such conservatism and for the possibility of mental adaptation may be sought not (just) in desensitization theory, whereby travelers quite literally lose sensitivity for the circumstances they are most used to, but instead in technological adaptation. Rather than habituation decreasing sensitivity, it may increase effective responsiveness. This is a known phenomenon in historical demography. Peter Ekamper and his colleagues explain:

> in countries with harsh climatic conditions during winter, winter excess mortality is lower than in countries with relatively warm or moderate climates, and the same mechanism applies to the excess mortality during summer. This "seasonality paradox" […] result[s] from the fact that the population is not accustomed to protecting itself adequately from uncommon temperatures[.][47]

People learn to master a range of tactics to cope with those weather conditions that occur most often where they live, tactics that also use the means available there. Abroad, they are impaired in both respects. One of Goncharov's yurt-mates, for example, performed an elaborate night-dressing ritual with

specific accoutrements to protect different parts of his body from the cold. Two others—both men, Goncharov notes—slept with their faces touching. New in Siberia, Goncharov neither knew the best way of wrapping his body against the cold nor had the materials to do so. In a different location in Siberia, he received detailed advice on how to dress while traveling. He was told that a complex array of items made from different animal furs was absolutely necessary. The initially skeptical but, later on, very cold Goncharov found out that this was indeed the case. It was a shame that these items could only be bought in summer. Fortunately, the hospitality of the local Sakha helped him procure them after all. We also find further instances of cultural and technological flexibility in Goncharov's account. Goncharov moves from emphasizing the dangers and efforts of traveling across a desolate, freezing Siberia to writing how much he enjoyed the region and its cultures. In one humorous scene, lying in bed, wrapped in his new furs, Goncharov feels himself metamorphosed into a long-haired animal in what might be described as a perfectly adapted hibernation-like state. These scenes suggest that travelers could adapt to local circumstances in a matter of weeks or months, creating new compatibilities.[48] No long-term or intergenerational mentality shifts were needed to make this possible. Rather, it depended on individual personality. Nor was this about getting used to new temperatures; it was about getting used to new technologies to deal with these temperatures.

These methods that European travelers used to stay warm or cool can be divided into seven groups.[49] The simplest is often overlooked: to move to a location where temperatures were more congenial. Many travelers chose to stay away from the hotter regions of Europe in summer.[50] For centuries, northern Europeans had also avoided the Alps in winter. First, this had been because they were simply impassable. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, winter no longer deterred travelers altogether,[51] but the Alps still formed a hurdle or at least a region that could be unpleasant. In 1911, the Worldwalkers hastened through Switzerland to get to southern Italy before the winter really set in. Moreover, when a relatively warm alternative route suggested itself, they decided to take it even though it meant a detour.[52] On a smaller scale, travelers moved to cool indoor spaces or took cover under trees when it was hot. In cold weather, they moved inside or slept under a protective canopy of trees. A small sacrifice was also made by preacher Perk in 1861. On a hot train journey through Switzerland, he opted for a third-class carriage. It seems to have needed some justification that he indeed did this "[b]y choice". As if to protect his reputation, the Dutch-reading audiences of his published account had to know that the Swiss third-class carriages were "considerable, well-aired, spacious and clean".[53] Similarly, Perk and his friends moved to the box seats on the outside of a public coach—primarily meant for the humbler driver—because these were cooler than the shaded space within.

Second, travelers across the century modulated their physical exertion levels to suit the temperature. In the summer heat, they lessened their efforts.

Elite travelers had their luggage carried, for example; or they stopped walking and got into a covered carriage where they could sit still. After all, both modes of transport, walking and going by carriage (of the larger types), moved at similar speeds, so that the choice did not matter for one's schedule and it was even possible to alternate them on a single journey. Less wealthy travelers employed the same basic tactic. In Romania, the Worldwalkers rested in the day-time and walked during the night. More ambiguously, the aristocrat Otheline Crommelin accused herself and her sister of "faire (trop) chaud", making themselves (too) warm, perhaps by exerting themselves physically, but perhaps also by being angry and winding themselves up for no good purpose. In her diary, Crommelin therefore reminded herself to stay cool. Still, travelers did not necessarily succeed in such tactics. As Perk writes:

> I am sorry to have been caught by the terrible warmth in such a way on that ride, that I did not feel like looking up to contemplate the majestic road, and that I soon dozed off. Here, I once more experienced that on a journey one should not demand too much of one's body in order to remain capable of enjoyment and in order not to become imperceptive and insensitive to the beauties of nature, upon which one would otherwise have fastened the eye with rapture. Later on, one will easily regret this![54]

Was it just the heat which travelers tried to assuage by relaxing their exertions, or did they also try to avoid sweatiness, for instance because this felt uncomfortable or was considered medically or socially undesirable? Or was sweat seen, contrariwise, as a useful physical response to the heat? Was it normal, healthy, even heroic? Interestingly, sweat hardly features in this sample of travel writing. Most existing literature, meanwhile, focuses on medical conceptions of the fluid.[55] Still, a clue about Dutch everyday attitudes is offered by Kitty de Leeuw's research of conduct literature. In 1931, a Catholic source advised women farmers that sweat resulting from "honest work" or "work for God" was good. Sweat was only bad when produced by women who dressed too scantily.[56] This advice in itself is unsurprising, since conduct literature, usually written by the leisured classes, would hardly tell working women to lessen their exertion levels. Yet the reassurance does suggest that working women in the early twentieth century were already concerned about their own sweat. It remains to be seen how this was in the nineteenth century. It also suggests that an obvious solution that presented itself to these women was to dress less warmly (and thereby flaunt Catholic proscriptions), which was definitely a habit carried over from the nineteenth century: one to which we will come in a moment.

Conversely, when it was cold inside their carriage, wealthy travelers got out and walked themselves warm. This forms a significant contrast to today's situation, when most vehicles used by wealthy travelers have on-board heating and speed differences have increased because of denser networks of paved

roads and faster forms of public transport. These developments started taking effect from the second half of the nineteenth century, so that by now, few would consider stepping out of their automobile or tramcar to get warm. Meanwhile, poorer travelers, who were already on their own feet, denied themselves their breaks because those might cool them down even further. Their plight continued into the twentieth century. On the brighter side, Abraham Mossel and his friends enjoyed their sandal-clad walks across the comfortably elastic snow in a wintry Austria, even at –16 °C. Their movement did not only protect them from the cold, but the cold also enabled them to walk faster. This text by Mossel, and also the autobiography of the equally hard-up Imke Klaver and the diary of the much more well-to-do boy Carel Fredrik Gülcher, suggest not only that movement could be a dire necessity to stay warm; in the early twentieth century, hiking and cycling were also increasingly celebrated as means of transport. They no longer formed a final resort, but became a superior way of relating to the body and the process of traveling, offering the pleasures of springy snow under one's feet, the opportunity to wear lighter clothes, and experiencing the sufficiency of one's own voluntary movement to stay warm.

Third, the consumption of hot or cold foods and drinks helped as well, as did keeping hot or cool objects close to the body. I mentioned the lack of integrated on-board heating in many nineteenth-century vehicles earlier in this chapter. For a long time, the most substantial form of heating most passengers could get, whether on the road or the railways, was a clay or copper hot-water bottle that could be hired from the transport company with which one was traveling and, for example, placed under one's feet.[57] Ladies could also carry their own hot-water bottle in their muff (Figure 6.2).[58] The same solutions were used in travel accommodation. Lady's maid Auguste Schlüter, for instance, noted in her diary how in Florence a 76-year-old housemaid warmed the Gladstone company's beds each night, presumably using bedpans.[59] The reverse tactic is commented upon in the secondary literature less often. As explored in Chapter 4, travelers regularly refreshed themselves by bathing in cool water. Or they ate an ice cream. As to cool drinks, Dutch professor John Bake was delighted with the amount of ice used in northern Italy, where it was added to every cold drink he ordered. "Nothing is consumed here without ice." Interestingly, Bake's letter home suggests that the Italians whom he met were even more sensitive to the heat than he was. Whereas Bake was simply pleased with the ice in his drinks, he noted how the Italians themselves were completely dependent on it, in this subtropical region of Europe. Although the heat must have been quite ordinary to them and desensitization theory predicts they would therefore no longer notice it, or certainly not as much as Bake, Bake's observations, even if exaggerated, suggest the opposite.[60] Instead of focusing on habitual *experiences*, this reaffirms the need to interpret such passages as evidence of the importance for people of habitual *solutions*: tested ways of coping with circumstances that would otherwise remain unpleasant, no matter how ordinary.

Figure 6.2 Nineteenth-century British earthenware muff warmer of the brand The Dainty Muff Warmer, Auckland Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira 1965. 78.698.

Fourth, as mentioned, clothes were used to insulate the body. Usually, the aim was to stay warm.[61] Materials that were available and that particularly lent themselves to this purpose included silk, wool, and furs. Travelers carried extra coats or cloaks with them that they could put on or take off, as the atmospheric temperature required. Occasionally, they even kept these on indoors, as we saw Goncharov do, for instance. They might also take an extra blanket on their bed. In hot weather, insulation can also keep the body cool, but this is not something I have come across in this European sample. What I did encounter was travelers screening themselves from the sun by means of a hat or umbrella. This collection of tactics was used by travelers of all classes and genders. Of course, it came with limitations and biases. Particularly effective fabrics such as furs were more easily obtained by rich travelers. In addition, rich travelers may on average have had more body fat to protect them from the cold. Also, women usually wore more fabric than men when on the road. This was the case from at least the 1820s until the 1910s, when female fashion started to cover less of the body and contain fewer layers.[62] Furthermore, the rules of fashion and propriety meant that before the 1910s, the possibilities of peeling off more layers when the weather was hot (more than the coats and cloaks mentioned) were more drastically circumscribed. As investigated in Chapter 3, to publicly display or be confronted with naked limbs was unusual for most northern Netherlandish travelers, and condoned only in special circumstances such as swimming.

Fifth, where possible, travelers manually altered the temperature of a space, for instance by closing or opening a window or a curtain, and so making use of simple radiation reflection, absorption, convection, and greenhouse effects. Sixth, this atmosphere could also be changed by chemical and mechanical heating, cooling, or fanning, most obviously through the use of open fires or stoves or, in order to cool a space, transporting blocks of ice from cold to hot climes. This is the method that has attracted most scholarly attention. Nineteenth-century forms of heating and cooling are usually, when compared to for instance air-conditioning, considered to be "low-tech" solutions, but much skilled work went into them and they saw constant changes in design and improvements in thermal efficiency over the centuries, with fireplaces, for instance, reflecting an increasing proportion of heat into the room while drawing less cold air. What they also have in common with present-day air-conditioning and central-heating systems is that they change the atmosphere through a continuous input of external energy, rather than being accomplished by an individual's actions as when someone puts on a coat. This has consequences for their environmental impact and, with regard to air-pollution and global warming, classifies them very differently from the solutions mentioned so far. It also matters for the experience of travel: most travelers did not have much say in whether a room was heated, or cooled. At most, they could ask for a fire to be lit if their room had a fireplace, but even this does not happen much in travel writing. And it is not so strange that it should be the proprietors who scheduled when a hotel room, apartment, or carriage would be heated. Yet this also means that travelers were little involved in the material developments that took place over the decades. Substantial changes were about to happen in what were considered normal room temperatures and how these were achieved, but these had to wait until the twentieth century was well underway.

Shifts also took place in the seventh and final technology I found in travel writing. Spaces could be constructed in such a way that they offered shade, shelter from the rain, or thermal insulation. Thicker walls, smaller windows, fewer gaps or layered walls and roofs mean greater insulation, though also less sunlight to heat up a room. The bigger spaces in which the wealthy dwelled—palaces, high-ceilinged apartments—were more difficult to heat, but so were the churches and some of the work-spaces where the poor spent much of their time. On the whole, thermal comfort by construction increased over the centuries, but the insulating effects of material choice and wall and roof construction also fluctuated with changing and regionally inflected tastes and fashions, and with economic class. In 1824 already, Cornélie of Wassenaer was happy with the double-paned windows she found in Saint Petersburg.[63] And art critic Johanna Schopenhauer gladly found that a "giant" sunscreen had been suspended on the deck of her Flemish barge; there for the use of first-class passengers only.[64] They are two examples of effective technologies that for many social groups would have seemed modern even in the twentieth century. But even more than with the active heating or cooling of spaces,

here, we move onto territory that is increasingly unlikely to have been influenced by passing strangers: these are no comfort technologies actively used by travelers. Travelers could only apply the very first method described, and choose whether to be in the affected space, or leave.

Warming and cooling tactics over time

The techniques used by travelers to achieve desirable temperatures differed by place but also by time, this much remains clear. But what was the character of this shift? The more teleological literature in the history of technology tends to sketch a story of triumph: older efforts to combat the cold or heat were insufficient but were fortunately replaced by more capital- and resource-intensive technologies. Francesc X. Barca Salom writes that in nineteenth-century Spain, theaters and universities closed down during the summer heat: a good example of a "low-tech" solution that may be described as perfectly acceptable. However, Barca Salom calls this solution "inauspicious", without any further explanation.[65] In his view of history, the decision not to be in theater or lecture halls is not a legitimate tactic for dealing with the heat, and the capital-intensive air-cooling systems of the twenty-first century are used to measure older solutions by. In contrast, once we meet different ways of dealing with the heat with an open mind, we find that less capital-intensive solutions could be very effective.

For this chapter so far has shown that there were many different ways for travelers to stay warm or cool down, with many of the six methods to which they had access requiring only moderate financial or energy investments. Moreover, all of these methods remained in use, from the cheapest and most "old-fashioned" method—going elsewhere—to more expensive methods that relied on much human skill and logistics—such as wearing furs or hiring a hot-water bottle. One change is noticeable, however. From the nineteenth to the late twentieth century, indoor and even outdoor spaces were kept at an increasingly stable temperature through artificial heating and cooling, and in much of Europe these spaces were kept warmer on average, too. Meanwhile, people started dressing in fewer layers, covering less skin and using cooler fabrics, predominantly cotton. This double development does not necessarily signal a shift in preferred skin temperature, however, but is in the first place a shift in preferred technologies. The desired temperature close to the body may have remained the same (this remains an open question), but a different sociotechnical assemblage came to be applied to achieve it, with room-temperature regulation partly replacing clothes. Moreover, this shift only took place from the mid-twentieth century onward.

This line of thinking opens the way for a view on the history of technology in which people are not waiting for a technology to solve a (conjectured) comfort problem, but in which they are familiar with a repertoire of already accessible technologies. Although many *in*direct heat problems such as food spoilage and malaria remained unresolved in Europe until new developments took place in, for instance, refrigeration and water management,[66] people

were capable of making many of the more directly uncomfortable situations more bearable already before air-conditioning trumped earlier solutions.

And yet, neither air-conditioning nor earlier solutions were always at hand. Occasionally, an escape from the heat or cold seemed impossible and travelers "did not know what to do", as Marie Adrien Perk writes. One night, a job-searching Imke Klaver moved from the train station to a bench in town, and from there to a farm shed and to the frame of a house under construction, but the cold followed him everywhere until at last, exhausted, he returned to his first bench and fell asleep.[67] Extreme experiences such as these may have grown less usual in twentieth-century Europe when compared to one or two centuries before, when counted in proportion to the European population. This, however, has little to do with travelers changing tactics, and all the more with economic restructurings that would give a greater number of unemployed migrants like Klaver a roof above their heads. The above already suggested that the change from warmly clothed bodies to bodies kept warm by a well-heated space depended on new opportunities to obtain a continuous input of energy. This became possible in western Europe only when real wages increased, and the cost of energy sank even more than living costs generally, which started happening in the second half of the nineteenth century but which full effects on travelers we are only noticing in the twentieth century. This shift toward the heating or cooling of the air in a room, but also the more general shift toward a greater proportion of people being thermally comfortable through whatever means, was therefore caused first and foremost by a redistribution of wealth. This redistribution involved a growing equality of wealth within Europe itself, but also a continued flow of resources from the global South to the global North. Many of the solutions mentioned cost money and cheap materials, after all; the ones considered most "modern" often even a lot of them.

Wet

In an earlier piece of research, I traced a significant nineteenth-century development in northwestern European attitudes toward rainfall. At first, travelers who could afford to stay inside would stay inside when it rained or snowed. They were dependent on dry weather to go out and undertake activities. It seems that they were afraid the damp air would make them ill. As the twentieth century approached, however, they became a little less careful. Travelers went out increasingly, eventually even under heavy rainfall.[68] It forms another strong counter-argument against the idea of a weakening modern human frame. These findings on rain might suggest that perceptions of comfort changed, too, with respect to humidity. However, the fact that travelers no longer worried so much about humidity by the twentieth century does not mean that they liked getting wet.

Abraham Mossel's account does a good job at detailing the miseries of a wet night following a wet day, forced upon him by a lack of lodgings. He felt more pleasant when finally "deliciously dry" after a long day's ramble

through the rain. Around the same time, teacher Jan Ligthart in Sweden took an hour's ride in an open carriage through rain, snow, and wind. Even though he and his friends wore raincoats and held several umbrellas to one side of the carriage, "the ride was more like a voyage by storm, than a pleasant day's sailing through a beautiful landscape", as he wrote in his published account. There were holes in the roads that made it difficult to stay seated and that, together with the sounds of the rain perhaps, and the necessity of holding on to their umbrellas, prevented any talking. A less phlegmatic traveler, fellow teacher Ernst van Hille wrote in a Dutch magazine about his Greek sailing: "All is wet! It's a disgrace!" Morning dew had left its marks on the fisher's boat he was renting, as well as on its unwilling guest.

These twentieth-century sentiments, which center around the sensation of a wet and often also cold skin, are no different from those we find in the early nineteenth century. Dryness was praised, wetness decried: in vehicles, at stops such as staging posts, and when about on foot (Figure 6.3).[69] These examples show that dryness, next to warmth and coolness, was another prime comfort. They also show that not much changed in this desire from one century to the next. This is also true for the role that religion played in travelers' conceptions of the weather. Explaining and giving meaning to the

Figure 6.3 Stagecoaches could be large and intricate vehicles, with various compartments for luggage and for passengers who could afford different levels of comfort and privacy. This nineteenth-century Swiss carriage used on the stretch Grimsel-Gletsch-Furka is now preserved in the Stockalper Palace in Brig. Photo (2020) by Whgler on Wikimedia Commons.

often unpleasant whims of the weather was an activity in which we know religion to have played an important, though also complex, role.[70] However, direct causal connections between God and precipitation were not often made in Dutch travel writing, that is to say: God was not usually considered to decide on the spot whether it should rain or not, or to be swayable by prayer. Only Reformed lay catechizer and fisherman Maarten Baak connected the two when a "rainy sky" made him fear storm at sea, although, as he writes in his autobiography, he was afraid of physical danger, not of getting wet.[71] Yet this single case is not enough to trace a long-term change in the relation between travelers' faith and the weather across the century.

It was only in exceptional cases that precipitation did not bother travelers much, and that they wrote unmindingly or even positively about it. In most of these cases, however, they seem to have been under some kind of cover. It was not the sensation of rain on their bodies that delighted these travelers but, for instance, the freshening up of the atmosphere, or the sensation of snugness that came with sharing a cover.[72] Seeking cover was also the primary solution in that majority of cases when they were wholly negative about precipitation. Apart from the roofs of vehicles and buildings, umbrellas and waterproof fabrics, too, offered shelter. They were no novelty but formed an integrated part of nineteenth-century life.[73] When these failed, travelers dried themselves and their clothes near a fire. Occasionally they also borrowed dry clothes from local people, as Mossel still did in 1911. Hay was another time-honored solution: after a bout of rain, Marie Adrien Perk and his companions dried their donkeys' saddles and covered them with hay to absorb the moistness that would come seeping upward from the leather when they would resume their positions. Hay was also used to keep the floor of stagecoaches dry.[74] As with temperature technologies, there was little change in the types of methods travelers applied to stay or get dry in this period. We know that the material landscape changed: from open fires to stoves, from leather to oilcloth. Yet travelers do not usually specify what kind of materials their shelters and waterproofs were made of, what construction they had, or how they were operated. This suggests that what mattered in these cases was their capacity for dryness. Within the period under consideration, changes in the way these technologies were used by travelers appear to have been small enough to escape being recorded in this body of writing.

By arguing against theories of desensitization, I do not want to claim that people did not get used to (uncomfortable) circumstances. Yet these shifts took place on an individual, short-term level rather than between generations. In the autumn of 1911, the Worldwalkers made an adventurous trek over the Klausen Pass in central Switzerland. They met with a closed hotel, suffered hunger and cold, and stumbled through snow and over loose rock debris while the night was falling fast. It was only when they reached the main road again and could walk much easier and faster that they realized that rain had been pouring down on them all those hours and that they were drenched to the bone. Their wetness had not even been perceptible to them, however, as long as they were still being plagued by more serious concerns.

The Worldwalkers had become desensitized to one of their many discomforts but only temporarily, and only because the other discomforts were graver, not because wetness was normal to them.

Hard or cramped

A final two complaints that were frequently made by travelers concerned places that were too narrow to their taste, or uncomfortably hard. In most cases, it concerned either beds and other spaces designated for sleeping, in which travelers typically lay down through the night and rose either well-rested or painful and stiff: these will be discussed mostly at the beginning of these three sections about hard and cramped spaces; or it concerned the seats and standing places in vehicles that travelers occupied during the daytime and for shorter durations, though often still too long: these will be discussed mostly toward the end.

We have good evidence that cultures differ from each other in their preferences for softness and space, and differ more, I propose, than in their preferences for particular temperatures or a dry environment. Across the centuries and between regions, preferences have varied as to how wide and long people want their beds to be, of what material their bedding should be composed, with how many people they would comfortably share them, and how upholstered or firm, spacious or cozy a seat should ideally be.[75] Joan DeJean, in her study about the invention of comfort, writes that the desire for and habit to use soft seats were created among late-seventeenth-century Parisian aristocrats—with a special role for aristocratic ladies—and propagated from there, with a more general adoption across Europe at the end of the twentieth century.[76] In fact, the desire for soft seats and also for soft beds runs across Dutch accounts from the start of the nineteenth century already, up to and including the start of the twentieth. So does the desire to be able to stretch out during the night and have ample space for the body when standing or sitting in public transport. For the Dutch nineteenth century, therefore, we are dealing with continuity. There was also much social agreement: richer and poorer travelers, men and women complained about similar things. Even if these wishes originated with the (female) aristocracy, as DeJean writes, they had come to be firmly embedded across different Dutch class and gender cultures by the nineteenth century already.

This is not the whole story, however. First, as said, we should take into account regional and individual variation. Remarkably, we find two deviating examples among French travelers themselves: around 1800, diplomat Michel Ange Mangourit and writer Marie-Henri Beyle, or Stendhal, complained of beds in Germany that were too soft—not too hard.[77] As with cultures of cleanliness (Chapter 5) and as with different methods of staying warm, perhaps we should therefore think in terms of a plurality of regions with differing habits and norms, habits and norms that could also move back and forth over time, rather than of one modern comfort norm spreading

from center to periphery across the centuries. Moreover, the "innovative designs and technologies" described by DeJean were perhaps not always necessary to turn the desire for soft and ample space for the body into reality.[78] In fact, change into a rather different direction may have been afoot toward the end of the nineteenth century. I will now further elucidate these three points—cultural variation and changeability, technological continuity, and unexpected change—by looking at what travelers found uncomfortable and what may have caused this.

Hard or cramped spaces: Causes of discomfort

As Hester Dibbits and Eveline Doelman show, "beds," the soft objects stuffed with straw, feathers, kapok, cotton wool, or seagrass on which seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Netherlanders rested at night, formed an important possession not just in wealthy homes but for almost everyone.[79] Not surprisingly, many travelers—both Dutch and from other regions—found their sleeping accommodation lacking at times. Again, though poorer travelers were less luxuriously accommodated at home and were used also on their journeys to more hardness and crowding (in third-class railway carriages, for instance; the earliest British railway excursions even accommodated workers in stone or sheep wagons), they were just as fiercely critical.[80] Some of these lacks will have been caused by (insufficient) investment choices made by inns and hotels, but others by differing European habits. Accounts of journeys in either direction suggest that Dutch beds tended to be wide and soft but short, relative to other European beds: for centuries, the Dutch slept in a half-sitting position. And while our French travelers in too-soft Germany sought their recourse in straw, German Heinrich Heine complained of an inn that asked its guests to sleep, uncomfortably, on straw.[81] Such differences were usually not presented as cultural distinctions, however, but as deviations from a self-evident norm (the cultural and financial norm of the traveler) and as deficiencies in a self-evident movement of human or national progress.[82] It shows how scholarly narratives of one-directional change in comfort are rooted in un-self-reflective nineteenth-century writing.

A third cause of perceived lacks was formed by the circumstances of travel itself. Obvious cases are the mass movements of pilgrims to religious celebrations or of soldiers to the front. These made space scarce and forced people to sleep in improvised beds or even on the ground or the bare floor. In the barracks of Antwerp, shipyard worker and foot soldier Van Oostendorp slept on the wooden floor or, as he ironically called it, "a soft bed made of planks". After waking up among the wet potato leaves with which this chapter opened, "everything was as wet as it was stiff[/sore]" and it was with difficulty that he set out on his march.[83] The hardness of an improvised bed or no bed at all often occurred together with low temperatures and wetness, which only exacerbated the experience.

Another way in which travel itself frequently interfered with comfort was located in the act of movement. Journeys often took place overnight, which meant that travelers in road or rail carriages, on boats, barges, or ships, had to make do with a narrow or hard chair, bench, or berth for their night's rest. In most cases, this was uncomfortable at the very least, with the unsteady movement, presence of strangers, cold and sometimes wetness, and unfamiliar environment adding to the discomfort. In worse cases, sleep became near impossible.[84] Such things happened at either end of our period. Near the start of the nineteenth century, Dutch patriotic organizer Anna Maria Kruseman-Ross wrote in her diary, which she later published, how she and her family had to sit in a stagecoach for three days and three nights on end, with very little opportunity to alight. There seemed to be no finish to the third night, especially. Fortunately, their three fellow passengers left the vehicle at some point, "so that we then had some elbow room".[85] At the start of the twentieth century, teacher Van Hille had a terrible night on board the fisher's boat on the Ionian sea: "We can just lie in the hold [probably meaning the hull], if we make ourselves nice and small."[86] The cold or a sense of danger could exacerbate the discomfort, as they did for Van Hille (together with dirt), and also for Thomas Holcroft, a stable boy-turned-journalist-and-playwright who traveled across northern Germany around 1800:

> We had travelled two days and a night without rest: the rain had been heavy, the wind cold, and even I, who, from often suffering was become patient under hardship, had feelings that were very comfortless […] Here we are, so bewearied that sleep overcomes us. Yet sleep we must not: for the seats are narrow, the sides of the *Stuhlwagen* without guard, or barrier, and, should we venture but to doze, the first rutt may throw us headlong into a river.[87]

Daytime travel was less dramatic, but on long journeys, which were the rule rather than the exception, this was another moment when a significant amount of unrest, discomfort, and stiffness could build up. These were usually blamed on crowded conditions and occasionally on badly designed seats (Figure 6.4).[88] Preacher Perk described several such scenes, in one of which his friend Willem was sitting "squeezed between a pair of enormous crinolines, hampered in his movements by innumerable [little] packages and sacks, bags and railway baskets."[89] For a worker such as Van Oostendorp an additional factor may have played a role. Van Oostendorp and his fellow infantrymen were not used to riding, even on carts. On the one hand, their cart journey therefore made them feel "like gentlemen in coaches". On the other hand, he nevertheless maintained a critical attitude. Each cart contained ten men plus bags, which was too much, according to Van Oostendorp. As they arrived in Antwerp to start their march, they were "still nice and stiff from the ride": because of these crowded conditions, but possibly also because they were not used to sitting

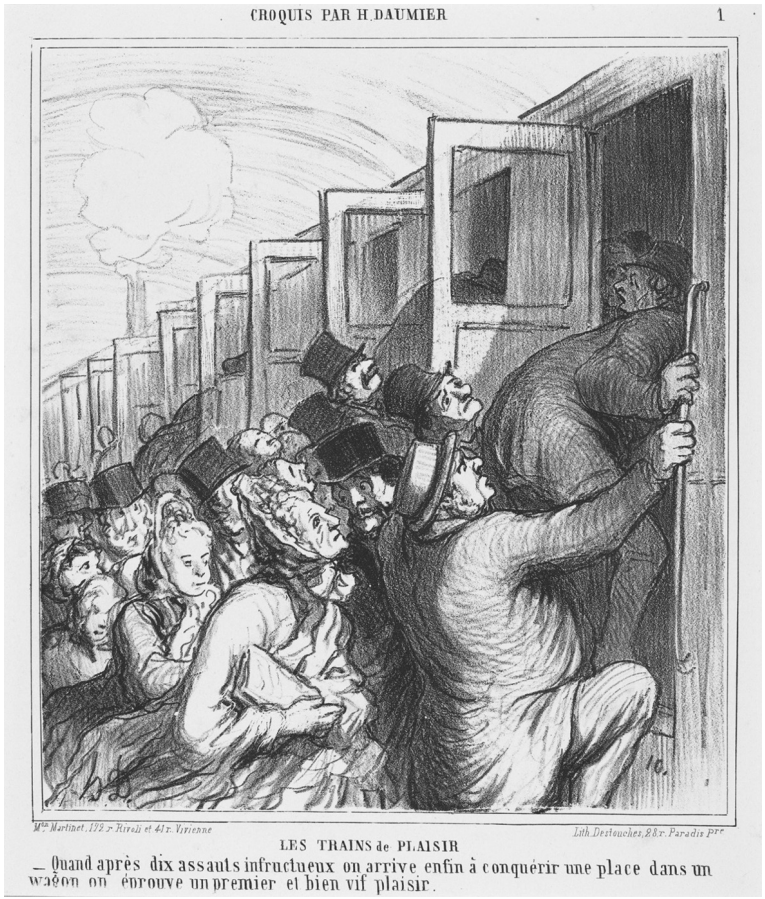

Figure 6.4 The cheaper railway carriages could be uncomfortably busy, such as on this French weekend seaside train as drawn by Honoré Daumier. The print is entitled "Pleasure Trains" and ironically explains their meaning: "When after ten unsuccessful attempts one finally manages to conquer a place in a carriage, one experiences a first-class and very lively pleasure." "Les trains de plaisir," part of the series *Croquis, par Daumier* in *Le Charivari* of 6 Aug. 1864, courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection 1964.8.577.

for so long at a time.[90] Then again, standing on public transport was not desirable either. Near-penniless Worldwalker Frans van der Hoorn was condemned to the crowded standing area of a train (his journey was shorter than Van Oostendorp's). He could not move, let alone sit down, so packed was the carriage.[91] Unsurprisingly, richer travelers than Van der Hoorn also complained when they had to stand because of a lack of chairs or benches; and they could probably deal very well with sitting for long periods of time.[92]

Travelers' responses to the hard or cramped

How did travelers deal with such adversity? Apart from the discretion they exercised when choosing their accommodation, means of transport, and moment of traveling, we see three more ways of turning a negative into a (partially) positive experience. First, the sample contains one rare case of romanticizing discomfort. I already mentioned the need to sleep on the floor or on improvised beds in circumstances of mass travel. Van Oostendorp describes how this led to competition among soldiers for space and sleeping equipment. Analephis, a Dutch Catholic priest, painted a rather sweeter picture in his published account of his visit to the 1908 Lourdes jubilee, an event that drew throngs of believers to this French town. He interpreted the believers' acceptance of uncomfortable sleeping conditions as egalitarian, self-sacrificing, and of a noble simplicity. The trouble with this description, however, is that it comes from someone who does not seem to have taken part in these conditions himself—although there is a chance he did to a small extent, during the daytime. It looks like Analephis did not practice ascesis or romantic abnegation on this trip but romanticized the discomfort of others.[93]

Second, travelers found mostly simple, technologically unadvanced solutions. Special traveling pillows were already in use in the early nineteenth century, to complement local bedding and soften carriage seats.[94] But solutions did not need to be expensive, either. Where they found no seat, travelers used a suitcase or some boulders.[95] Straw was regularly used by travelers to sleep on. Uncovered straw always had a hint of the controversial about it, but was used with relief and even pleasure. The French travelers mentioned earlier explained that their improvised straw bed offered more space, the right amount of firmness, was cleaner and less warm than the bed they found in their inn. Similarly, Van Oostendorp described how in his battalion, when they spent the night in a large shed, everyone found himself some straw. "[O]ne can imagine every one of us fell down here, more comfortable (although always with girded weapons) than many a great lord on his down bed."[96] This chimes with other unconventional—in the published literature—celebrations of hay, straw, and harvested grain as a bed. Similarly, Worldwalker Abraham Mossel argued how pleasant it is to sleep in the woods. Although there was a degree of conscious controversiality about the way of life he advocated, his argument did probably resonate with many: "the body in need of rest can stretch out freely".[97]

With these solutions, we are getting to the third positive response travelers display: getting used to a situation by cultivating a flexible attitude. Several travelers in our sample from the mid-nineteenth century onward found ways of adapting to the circumstances of their journey. In two instances, they wrote that they were simply exhausted to such degree that they could not but fall asleep even on a hard bench. Nevertheless, when migrant worker Imke Klaver had to spend the night on a hard, but warm and safe bench at a police station, he was content and even felt properly rested the next morning.[98] In other cases, this more flexible mindset was created under less pressure and

had therefore perhaps even happier results. Professor Barthold Hendrik Lulofs (1826) and teacher Ernst van Hille (1901), both cited earlier, exemplify the less adaptable mindset. They felt uncomfortable and possibly even claustrophobic during their nights on board their boat. So did Ivan Goncharov in 1852, but he showed that travelers could also change their mind. He first likened his cabin to a coffin—unhomely, dark, narrow—but once he got used to it, he regarded the same place as snug.[99] As he did with adaptations against the cold, Goncharov managed to embrace a different comfort culture, in this case that of the seafaring life. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, 15 years later, also adapted. On his Russian journey, he did not only find his train bunk or "shelf" "very comfortable" but also slept happily on his seat when there was no bunk ("we did very well") and twice even on the floor: "with a carpet-bag & coat for a pillow, &, though not in great luxury, [he] was quite comfortable enough to sleep soundly all night".[100] Teacher Ligthart, in 1910, was even more open to travel's ways. He did elaborate on the narrowness of his berth: it measured only half the width of a normal one-person bed, was demarcated by a wooden plank on one side and, on the other, "a kind of jumping-sheet, which here fulfilled the role of the old-fashioned bed board and had to prevent you from tumbling onto the floor." He sounds happy about the practicality of these arrangements, however, rather than upset about his lack of space.[101] These are all examples from the second half of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth. Whereas stable-boy-turned-writer Holcroft had toyed with the tough self-image that "even I, who, from often suffering was become patient under hardship" but somewhat failed to deliver on this image, these latter passages suggest the possibility of a historical shift toward a greater adaptability to inauspicious circumstances and culturally different ways of doing things.

Conclusions

The historiography on comfort in Europe over the past few centuries stresses the introduction of completely new designs and technologies, and posits that these modernized the interactions between human bodies and spaces. Yet the travel writing examined here shows a different picture. Rather than travelers from the North Sea region growing more sensitive to temperature, wetness, or hard or narrow spaces over the course of the long nineteenth century—and rather than modern technologies solving all their problems in these respects and leaving room only for a *rhetoric* of hardship—softness and body space, the right temperature, and staying dry were and remained tremendously important as well as far from self-evident. This was the case for all economic groups and genders examined here, from a countess traveling to the court at Saint Petersburg in a parade of private coaches to a foot soldier moving to the front of the war on a confiscated farmer's cart. This chimes with the endurance of the other spatial preoccupations examined in this book. What is also similar, is that tactile comfort was especially vulnerable

precisely during the act of travel: when people had to move in rented spaces that were neither familiar nor self-furnished, in regions with different tactile cultures, and in special (mass-)travel circumstances that might, for instance, include nights spent on the road or in an improvised bed, and that forced travelers to throw overboard some of their basic comfort norms.

Equally contradictory to the focus on changing technologies in existing studies, travelers turned to a stable set of coping tactics that had been available for centuries: clothes, umbrellas, bedding, upholstery, straw, hot or cold objects, food, and drinks, adjustments to physical exertion levels, the sheltering, heating, ventilation, and insulation options provided by buildings and vehicles, and, finally, simply moving to a different space. Although each of these methods saw modifications over time, as new materials were introduced for example, they were not applied in a fundamentally new manner by travelers. Travelers also hardly commented on objects' properties at the level of detail that these changes took place: these finer changes were often irrelevant for their comfort. This makes it hard to define even these modifications as presenting a shift to the "modern" as a meaningful category of consumer technology. Across the centuries, the balance between different types of methods may and does certainly shift—witness the European(American)s who used to avoid hot rooms and now cool them artificially. But I found no evidence of such shifts in northwestern European travel culture between 1814 and 1915.

This continued use of existing types of solutions for discomfort has received various explanations: nostalgia; fear; the social status that comes with expensive, (servant's) labor-intensive, or heirloom technologies; and the aesthetic and symbolic values attached to older technologies such as the open fireplace. Such searches for explanations often stem from a teleological view of history. Britt Denis, for instance, frames the nineteenth-century Belgian preference for the fireplace as people "h[olding] on to 'archaic' heating technologies".[102] I want to give credit to a simpler explanation. Perhaps, many discomforts did not need any more complex solutions than the tried and tested ones. There is no reason to expect people to stop applying those methods that they already had at their immediate disposal and that had shown themselves to work well.

The possibility of people shifting their habits leads us to a third set of observations made in this chapter, observations that did show a degree of flexibility. Usually, both travelers' aspirations and their solutions were conservative. They were not just conservative across the decades, as mentioned, but also with respect to travelers' lives at home. That is, travelers brought their home knowledges, practices, and ideas with them. Experiences of discomfort came about either when spatial conditions were different from expected—because they were different from home or different from the image a traveler had formed of their destination—or when travelers were not prepared for dealing with those conditions in an effective manner, to such an extent that their body could not but signal distress—because they had not

brought the necessary clothes or other materials, or because they did not have the proper skills and know-how. Experiences thus happened in the interplay between the physical and mental habits that visitors brought along with them, and spatial conditions as they existed locally. Yet this did give room for change. Here, however, we are talking about change on an individual level, not on a cultural-historical level. A traveler who had walked in the rain for a long time ceased noticing this rain, for example. Similarly, Van Oostendorp survived his night in the potato field. And, those who had disliked their narrow berth at first, started to appreciate its snugness after a few days. Such changes could happen in a matter of minutes or hours, although some also took a little longer to be effected. Cultural variations, such as in the degree of cushioning a bed should offer, might also be taken up by visitors. This applied to cultural variation in preferences (wet, narrow, soft), but perhaps even more strongly to cultural variation in technologies. Some travelers embraced the solutions they encountered on their journeys: furs, or iced drinks, for example. Such creativity, and such success in solving spatial problems, was possible because, in contrast to some of the other themes discussed in this book, such as dirt, travelers intervened actively in their own tactile conditions, making use of the wide array of options outlined above. It must again be emphasized, however, that travelers put in place all these solutions (ones they knew already, and ones they learnt abroad) without trying to harden their constitution to the heat, the cold, the wet, or the hard and narrow. We are therefore dealing not with mental shifts across generations, norms freshly calibrated by the new material realities of a modernizing world, but with more agile adaptations that could move back and forth in several directions within a lifetime.

Nevertheless, two long-term developments can be discerned. The greatest amount of change in these travelers' powers with respect to tactile comforts must again be sought in their economic situation, with a greater proportion of people gaining financial access to more comfortable manners of traveling as they entered the twentieth century. This changing economic situation was partly caused by technological changes that affected the economic system as a whole, but this means that those technological changes were only indirectly and partially responsible for the growing comfort experienced by individuals. Modern technology did not do much to benefit travelers directly, in this respect. Second, it looks like travelers were increasingly enthusiastic about adapting to foreign spaces and discovering foreign comfort solutions. At the start of the twentieth century, travelers seem to have displayed such mental and practical flexibility more often than in the previous century. Travelers thus extended their comfort repertoires just like they became more adaptable in terms of other spatial qualities, such as homeliness. As related developments, sleeping outside and hiking were increasingly taken serious as desirable options rather than necessities, and cycling developed from an eccentricity to a sport and a means of transport. Gradually, large groups of people started considering walking and cycling as superior methods of travel, among other

reasons because they enabled self-sufficiency and a closer relation between mind, body, and landscape. While the twentieth century therefore brought a new preference for heating and cooling entire rooms in order to regulate temperatures, it also brought new arguments for people to do things different yet again. Finally, as a related change, we may also observe more attention to haptic pleasures, such as the pleasures of sunshine, rain, snow, and earth on the skin. These pleasures were described in travel writing not only by those who could afford the lifestyle and technologies that protected them from the uncongenial effects of these natural phenomena, but also, and sometimes even earlier, by those like the Worldwalkers who were intimately acquainted with the more unpleasant aspects of sunshine or snow. Yet whether embracing a more conventional mindset or a greater flexibility, nineteenth-century travelers were united in their veneration of comfort. Nowhere in our sample did they ascetically ignore discomforts or romantically embrace them—not for themselves, anyhow.

Notes

1 Johannes van Oostendorp, "kort verhaal van af de mars uit utrecht naar Brussel tot op de Citadel van antwerpen (ps) persoonlijke ondervindinge," published as *Een fuselier in de Belgische opstand. Aantekeningen van Johannes van Oostendorp over de jaren 1830–1832*, ed. H. van der Hoeven (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1980), 71. Primary sources, when referenced again, will be indicated simply by their author's name.
2 Words such as "comfort", "ease", "confort", "Bequemlichkeit", and "gemak" are also used in nineteenth-century travel writing. Such words had many meanings besides referring to haptic comforts, however. The Dutch morpheme "(ge) mak", for instance, occurred more often in the senses of feeling leisured or doing something with ease (which have to do with time instead of space), or in the sense of feeling safe. Exceptions where "(ge)mak," "comfort," or "bequem" *do* refer to tactile ease: for example, Ida Pfeiffer, *Reise einer Wienerin in das Heilige Land* (Wien: Dirnböck, 1846), vol. 1, 21. Marie Adrien Perk, *Uit Opper-Italië* (Schiedam: Roelants, 1864), 235. Gerard Jan Ligthart, *In Zweden* (Groningen: Wolters, 1924), 9. Yet the present chapter aims at charting the history of experiences and practices; not of words or concepts. I will use the term "comfort" simply as shorthand for certain sensations therefore. This is a pragmatic choice; in the nineteenth century itself, the term was complex and unstable.
3 Joan DeJean, *The Age of Comfort: When Paris Discovered Casual—and the Modern Home Began* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009).
4 John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2010), 142 and *passim*; see Elizabeth Shove, *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 24. Jon Stobart, Introduction, in *The Comforts of Home in Western Europe, 1700–1900*, ed. Stobart (New York: Bloomsbury, 2020), 3–6.
5 The evidence in Stobart, *Comforts of Home*, 4, suggests this.
6 Many of the Christian monastic orders offer examples, such as in Brian Heffernan, *Radicaal kloosterleven. Ongeschoeide karmelietessen in de Nederlandse katholieke kerk, 1872–2020* (Amsterdam: UP, 2021), 189–92. Europe also has a history of making children endure cold conditions, in the hope of hardening them. Karin Sennefelt has found, for instance, that seventeenth-century children in northern

Europe were trained to withstand the cold by being sent outside into the snow barefoot in only their shirt: "Frostbite and the Fall: Lutheran Bodies and the Weather in the Little Ice Age," seminar paper 4 November 2021, Sheffield Centre for Early Modern Studies (online, via Google Meet). Anecdotally, I know of similar evidence for the twentieth century, elsewhere in Europe. However, this is no evidence yet that such actions were successful in changing the hardiness or preferences of these individual children, nor that they drove any long-term change.

7 Johan Huizinga, *In de schaduwen van morgen. Een diagnose van het geestelijk lijden van onze tijd* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1963), 76–7, 156; Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 165–6; Phoebe Kropp, "Wilderness Wives and Dishwashing Husbands: Comfort and the Domestic Arts of Camping in America, 1880–1910," *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 1 (2009): 11; Anton J. Schuurman, "Is huiselijkheid typisch Nederlands?" BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review 107, no. 4 (1992): 746–7; Britt Denis, "The Spread of Comfort in Nineteenth-Century Belgian Homes," in Stobart, *Comforts of Home*, 106, 113.

8 Olivier Jandot, "The Invention of Thermal Comfort in Eighteenth-Century France," in Stobart, *Comforts of Home*, 73–92.

9 Shove, *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience*, 21–78. There, Shove also offers examples of present-day preference variation, however. More recently, also on the constructed naturalness of what counts as comfortable: Shove, "Comfort and Convenience: Temporality and Practice," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford: UP, 2012): 290–6.

10 Yankel Fijalkow, "Governing Comfort in France: From Hygienism to Sustainable Housing, XXth–XXIst Century," *Housing Studies* 34, no. 6 (2019): 1023, 1032. The discipline of engineering also produces an enormous body of research on thermal comfort.

11 *Housing, Energy and Thermal Comfort: A Review of 10 Countries within the WHO European Region* (Copenhagen: World Health Organization Europe, 2007), 9.

12 As also argued by Mathieu Flonneau, "Sketching Out the Indispensable Political Turn of Mobility History," *Mobility in History* 7, no. 1 (2016): 17–24.

13 Nicolaas Beets / Hildebrand, *Camera obscura* (Utrecht: Veen, 1982), 359; Ivan Aleksandrovich Goncharov, *The Frigate Pallada*, trans. Klaus Goetze (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 48; George Beard, *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York: Putnam, 1881), 52–5. Other examples in Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, 173; Harald Witthöft, "Norddeutsche Reiseliteratur des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Antoni Mączak and Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1982), 210.

14 The most famous of these histories is Daniel Boorstin, "From Traveler to Tourist: The Lost Art of Travel," *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1961), 77–117. A less censuring observer is Chris De Winter Hebron, *Dining at Speed: A Celebration of 125 Years of Railway Catering* (Kettering: Silver Link, 2004), 37. Many more exist: see James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 1–3; Tom Sintobin, "Traveller, Tourist and the 'Lost Art of Travelling': The Debate Continues," in *Routledge Handbook of the Tourist Experience*, ed. Richard Sharpley (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 215–34. For the technological changes that have prompted such theories, see the huge literature on European railway history, as well as the literature on (the supposed growth in) comfort in other means of transport and buildings, for example, Gijs Mom and Ruud Filarski, *De transportrevolutie, 1800–1900* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2008),

135, 250–2; Francesc X. Barca Salom, "The Introduction of the Theory of Heating and Ventilation in Barcelona during the Nineteenth Century," *Icon* 20, no. 2 (2014): 49–69.

15 A recent example: Charles Forsdick, "Travel and the Body: Corporeality, Speed and Technology," in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 68–77. More in Anna P.H. Geurts, "Trains, Bodies, Landscapes: Experiencing Distance in the Long Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Transport History* 40, no. 2 (2019): 165–88. Keith Thomas, in his classic *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500–1800*, has even suggested that "[g]reater comfort in ordinary life made occasional bouts of hardship positively attractive to the middle classes when they were on holiday": (London: Allen Lane, 1983), 263.

16 Flonneau, "Sketching Out."

17 Shove, "Comfort and Convenience," esp. 294–5. Also *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience*, 21–78; and T. Scitovsky's *The Joyless Economy*, cited in Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: UP, 2008), 21.

18 As set out in Anna P.H. Geurts, "Primitivism in Practice? Experiences of Materiality on the Swiss Tour, 1820–1830" (Oxford University MPhil dissertation, 2009).

19 Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: UP, 2007). Also Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 18–47, 102–3.

20 For the same conclusion about wealthy North Americans around 1900, see Kropp, "Wilderness Wives."

21 Van Oostendorp, 72 and 60–95 more generally.

22 For example, W.C. Dierkens, *Voyage en Italie en Sicile et à Malt, 1778, par quatre voyageurs hollandais*, ed. J.W. Niemeijer and J.Th de Booy (Gent: Martial, 1994), 72; Jan Ackersdijck, *Verslag van zijn Hongaarse reis in 1823*, ed. László Makkai and L.Z. Bujtás (Budapest: Helikon, 1987), 52; John Bake, *Reisbrieven*, ed. Willem van den Berg (Amsterdam: Querido, 1986), 63, 69, 71, 93, 98; Frederik Hendrik Cornelis Drieling, *Aanteekeningen op eene reize naar Zwitserland en Lombardijen, in 1829* (Utrecht: Van der Monde, 1833), 171; Pfeiffer, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12; Henrica Françoise Rees van Tets (born Gevaets), *Voyage d'une hollandaise en France en 1819*, ed. Maurice Garçon (Paris: Pauvert, 1966), 68, 82, 100; Marie Cornélie countess of Wassenaer Obdam's 1824–1825 diary, Huisarchief Twickel, Hof van Twente, inventory number 1820/2, 85 (with thanks to A. Graf Solms Sonnenwalde and archivist Aafke Brunt). Otheline Agathe van Wickevoort Crommelin (born Van der Staal van Piershil), 1858 diary, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Familiearchieven Van Bylandt-Halt en Van Bylandt-Rheydt, 1394–1970, inventory number 398, 13/5, 22/10; Jan Willem Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen in Italië en Midden Europa* (Arnhem: Van der Wiel, 1872), 20, 40; Perk, 22, 26–7, 63–4, 65, 69, 131; Carel Vosmaer's 1867 diary, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, collection 548 Vosmaer, 17e-20e eeuw, inventory number 278, 21/6. Gillis Ernst Willem van Hille, "Op en om Ithaka," *De Gids* 66, no. 1 (1902): 278, 281–2; Imke Klaver, *Herinneringen van een Friese landarbeider*, ed. Ger Harmsen and Johan Frieswijk (Nijmegen: SUN, 1999), 139, 143; Ligthart, 170; Abraham Mossel, *De wereldwandelaars. Een zwerftocht door Europa* (Amsterdam: Maatschappij voor Goede en Goedkoope Lectuur, 1917), 46–52, 69, 86, 89, 107, 111, 122, 136–49, 151, 154, 158, 160, 213.

23 For example, Bake, 44, 45, 50, 52, 60, 73, 80, 82, 96; Drieling, 389, 130, 143, 148, 193; Barthold Hendrik Lulofs, *Reistogtje met de stoomboot naar Hamburg, in den zomer van 1826* (Groningen: Oomkens, 1827), vol. 1, 28, vol. 2, 453; Rees van Tets, 14, 100, 137, 148, 152, 154, 158; Jacoba Roosendael's 1820 diary, Het

Utrechts Archief, inventory 814 Familiearchief Van Geuns, 1647–1976, inventory number 261, image 544, 571, 573, 579, 583, 599, 611, 626 (twice); Wassenaer, /2, 94; Cunera Cornelia Wilkens-Hubert's 1820 diary, Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, Den Haag, Familiearchief 00374, inventory number 95, 14/8, 15/8 (twice). Crommelin, 7/6; Evers, 20, 22; Anna Maria Ernestine Louise Huydecoper's 1869 letters in Het Utrechts Archief, inventory 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, inventory number 1080, 26/7; Perk, 5, 6, 23, 69, 93, 102, 106, 197–9, 223, 269, 323. Analephis (pseud.), *Reisherinneringen* (Amsterdam: Van der Vecht, 1909), 27; Van Hille, 293, 297, 302; Henriëtte Sophia Suzanna Kuyper, "Brieven uit Meran" and "Brieven uit Italië," *Timotheüs* 13, no. 26 (1908) – 14, no. 4 (1908): 262, 302, 383, 407, 7, 23, 31; Mossel, 49, 89–90, 93, 188, 204, 213.

24 John Henry, "Meteorology," in *The History of Science and Religion in the Western Tradition: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Gary B. Ferngren (New York: Garland, 2000), 426–7.

25 Arthur Delteil, *Un an de séjour en Cochinchine. Guide du voyageur à Saïgon* (Paris: Challamel, 1887), 20, 35, 40.

26 For example, in the 1859 USA trade agent's diary *Impressions of Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: The Travel Diary of Joseph J. Dimock*, ed. Louis A. Pérez (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 2–8. The late-eighteenth-century Englishman James Woodforde seems to have had a thermometer in his own house (Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, 141), though this may have been a portable one, too.

27 Evers, 135. So does Wassenaer, /2, 178, /3, 116.

28 Koninklijk Nederlands Meteorologisch Instituut, "Weerkaart historie," knmi.nl/kennis-en-datacentrum/uitleg/weerkaart-historie, acc. 5 June 2022. But examples can be found, such as in the *Rotterdamsche Courant* or the *Bote für Tirol*: Delpher.nl, searching for "graad"/"graden"; Europeana.eu, searching for "grad".

29 In the United Kingdom, for instance, which developed one of the first telegraph networks, forecasts began only halfway through the nineteenth century: Peter Moore, *The Weather Experiment: The Pioneers Who Sought to See the Future* (New York: Vintage, 2015).

30 Wassenaer, /2, 137, 138, /3, 115.

31 Crommelin, 7/6.

32 Mentioning the cold: only 3/12 women from the core sample; mentioning the heat: as many as 6/12 women. For men, these figures are 10/20 and 8/20, respectively. These figures may err on the low side, as I may not have noticed all instances of this common, but often casual, topic.

33 Pfeiffer, 21.

34 Jandot, "Invention," 75–6.

35 Denis, "Spread of Comfort," 109. Also Jandot, "Invention"; Schuurman, "Ontwikkeling van woning en huisraad," 168.

36 Pfeiffer, 15.

37 For references, see notes 22 and 23.

38 Klaver, 139.

39 Auguste Schlüter, *A Lady's Maid in Downing Street*, ed. Mabel Duncan (London: Fisher Unwin, 1922), 150. Also in the South: Worldwalker Mossel, 151.

40 Rees van Tets, 13; Anna Maria Kruseman (born Ross), *Mijn reisverhaal en dagboek* (Rotterdam: Jacob, 1834), 72, 89, 108; Wassenaer, /2, 137, 159, 176, 177, /3, 9. Goncharov, 568.

41 For example, Beets, 116; Bake, 63. Carel Fredrik Gülcher's 1902 diary, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, collection 371 Gülcher, 1762–1980, inventory number 17, 14/8; Klaver, 143; Mossel, 107, 111, 138, 139.

42 Charles Lutwidge Dodgson/Lewis Carroll, *The Russian Journal*, ed. John Francis McDermott (New York: Dover, 1977), 97.
43 Yet see Anna P.H. Geurts, "Reizen en schrijven door Noord-Nederlanders: een overzicht," *De negentiende eeuw* 37, no. 4 (2013): 285–6.
44 South, for example: Rees van Tets. Perk. North, for example: Lulofs, vol. 2, 453. Crommelin, 7/6.
45 Goncharov, 78, 80, 85, 86.
46 Goncharov, 589–90, 610.
47 Peter Ekamper, Frans van Poppel, Coen van Duin, and Kees Mandemakers, "Heat Waves and Cold Spells and their Effect on Mortality: An Analysis of Micro-data for the Netherlands in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Annales de démographie historique* 120, no. 2 (2010): 59–61.
48 Goncharov, 593–5, 598–609.
49 These groups and the examples below are based on: Bake, 29, 30, 44, 45, 50, 52, 55, 60, 71, 73, 80, 82, 83, 93, 96, 98; Drieling, 38–9, 85, 130, 143, 148, 171, 193; Kruseman-Ross, 34; Lulofs, vol. 1, 28, vol. 2, 453; Rees van Tets, 13, 14, 68, 82, 100, 137, 148, 152, 154, 158; Roosendael, 527, 544, 571, 573, 579, 583, 599, 611, 626 (twice); Wassenaer, /2, 85, 177, /3, 9, 126; Wilkens-Hubert, 14/8, 15/8. Elise van Calcar-Schiotling, *Wat Parijs mij te zien en te denken gaf* (Haarlem: Kruseman, 1859), 162; Crommelin, 7/6, 8/7; Evers, 20, 22, 40; Huydecoper, 26/7; Perk, 5, 6, 22, 23, 26–7, 63, 65, 69, 77, 93, 102, 106, 131, 146, 197–9, 212, 223, 269. Analephis, 27; Gülcher, 10/8, 11/8, 12/8, 17/8, 18/8, 21/8; Van Hille, 278, 281–2, 293, 297, 302; Klaver, 139, 143; Kuyper, 262, 302, 383, 407, 7, 23, 31; Ligthart, 10, 13, 31, 33, 170. Mossel, 46–52, 86, 88, 107, 122, 138, 139, 142, 143, 152, 154, 158, 188, 204, 213.
50 John Towner, "The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, no. 3 (1985): 320.
51 Towner, "Grand Tour," 317–8.
52 Mossel, 111, 116. Similarly, Perk, 223, escaped the heat; perhaps also Evers, 20, who journeyed from freezing Lyon to Marseille in January or February 1870.
53 Perk, 6. Also Ligthart, 62. Gülcher, on the other hand, traveled third class against his wishes: 9/8.
54 Perk, 323, also 16.
55 For example, Ruben E. Verwaal, *Bodily Fluids, Chemistry and Medicine in the Eighteenth-Century Boerhaave School* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).
56 Kitty de Leeuw, "'Schoon' zijn en gezond blijven. Nieuwe denkbeelden over hygiëne en gezondheid en hun invloed op kleding en lichaamsverzorging in Nederland (1880–1940)," *Sociale wetenschappen* 31 (1988): 168.
57 See also Bert Koene, *De diligences van Bouricius. Anderhalve eeuw bedrijvigheid langs 's heren wegen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2017), 168; Jandot, "Invention," 74; the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century foot warmers kept at the National Railway Museum, York, object numbers 1983–7124, 1986–7229, 1987–7038, 1987–7089, and 1987–7090.
58 Madelief Hohé and Ileen Montijn, *Romantische mode* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), 133.
59 Schlüter, 150.
60 Bake, 54. See Melissa Calaresu, "Making and Eating Ice Cream in Naples: Rethinking Consumption and Sociability in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 220, no. 1 (2013): 35–78.
61 See also Jandot, "Invention," 74.
62 De Leeuw, "'Schoon' zijn," 164.
63 Wassenaer, /2, 137.
64 Johanna Schopenhauer, *Ausflug an den Niederrhein und nach Belgien im Jahre 1828* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1831), 217, 246.

65 Barca Salom, "Introduction," 50. Jandot, on the other hand, quotes clearer evidence of solutions being deemed inadequate at the time itself. However, these are seventeenth- and eighteenth-century examples pertaining to older buildings and the homes of those too poor to afford decent housing. Moreover, Jandot also offers examples from eighteenth-century France of increased domestic heating being perceived as harmful. He concludes that it was fuel prices as much as a perceived lack of comfort that spurred an interest in changing domestic heating technologies: "Invention," 73, 83–87.
66 Ekamper et al., "Heat Waves," 82.
67 Perk, 69. Van Hille, 278; Klaver, 143.
68 Anna P.H. Geurts, "Makeshift Freedom Seekers" (University of Oxford doctoral thesis, 2013), 201–7. An article on travelers' physical capabilities is in the making that analyses this phenomenon, including a small number of exceptions.
69 About being wet and staying dry: Ackersdijck, 17; Bake, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 23, 26, 83, 91, 92, 102, 103; Charles Théodore Jean baron of Constant Rebecque's 1819 diary, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, collection 066 De Constant Rebecque, (1925–1966), 1802–1941, inventory number 61, 24/6; Drieling, 18, 23, 27, 113, 116–7, 188, 189, 197, 203, 207, 234, 244, 246, 249, 250, 266, 267, 268, 279, 285; Kruseman-Ross, 45; Van Oostendorp, 70, 71, 72; Rees van Tets, 68, 69, 77, 79, 100, 112, 178; Roosendael, 439, 498, 499, 455?, 501, 518, 522, 555; Wassenaer, /2, 41, 49, 99, 102, 103, 110, 157, 165, 173, 174, /3, 140. Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the elder's 1860 notes, Het Utrechts Archief, inventory 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, inventory number 566; Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the younger's 1871 diary, Het Utrechts Archief, inventory 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, inventory number 1090, fol. 3v; Van Calcar-Schiotling, 160, 309, 315, 366; Crommelin, 9/5, 11/5, 12/5, 16/5, 25/5, 26/5, 19/8, 20/8, 17/9, 23/9; Goncharov, 71, 613; Huydecoper, 30/8; Perk, 21, 36, 107, 126, 131, 146, 284. De Beaufort the younger [1911?], 13/9; Gülcher, 6/8, 10/8, 11/8, 12/8, 17/8, 25/8; Van Hille, 278, 284; to a lesser extent Kuyper, 222, 246; Ligthart, 267; Mossel, 9, 24, 88–9, 122, 130, 134–50, 151, (189).
70 Henry, "Meteorology," 427–8.
71 Maarten Baak's 1820 journey, Gemeentearchief, Den Haag, Hs 53, 140.
72 Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Grasmere and Alfoxden Journals*, ed. Pamela Woof (Oxford: UP, 2008), 120. Rees van Tets, 75; Roosendael, 501, 602. Evers, 127; Huydecoper, 26/7; Mensing, 6. Mossel, 88.
73 Bake, 15, 83, 90, 92; Drieling, 246, 269; Lulofs, vol. 1, 57; Schopenhauer, 40; Wassenaer, /2, 89. François HaverSchmidt, *Door Zwitserland tot Interlaken*, ed. René van Slooten (published by KB on DBNL.org), 14; Perk, 21. Ligthart, 267; Mossel, 135. Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie, "Waterdicht, bnw., bw. [waterproof, adjective, adverb]," *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, article from 1989, gtb.inl.nl. Umbrellas had only been introduced in the eighteenth century, in England at least: David Vincent, *I Hope I Don't Intrude: Privacy and its Dilemmas since 1800* (Oxford: UP, 2015), 60.
74 Koene, *Diligences*, 168.
75 Two examples: Hester Dibbits and Eveline Doelman, "Slapen op het platteland. Boedelbeschrijvingen uit Maassluis (1665–1900) en Maasland (1730–1900)," in *Mensen en dingen. Betekenissen van materiële cultuur*, ed. G. Rooijakkers (Amsterdam: Meertens-Instituut, 1993), 334; Sjaak van der Geest, "Sleeping in Kwahu, Ghana," *Medische Antropologie* 18, no. 1 (2006): 73–86.
76 DeJean, *Age of Comfort*, 4–6, 102–3.
77 Kees Boschma, *Reizen in Napoleons tijd* (Abcoude: Uniepers, 1992), 42–3.
78 DeJean, *Age of Comfort*, 15–16.
79 Dibbits and Doelman, "Slapen," 334.

80 For example, Ackersdijck, 70; see Susan Major, "'The Million Go Forth:' Early Railway Excursion Crowds, 1840–1860" (University of York doctoral thesis, 2012), 214–15. Dodgson, 97; Goncharov, 356; Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick* (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 23–4 (fictionalized). Stressing the importance of a good bed (both construction and bedding): Lulofs, vol. 2, 444; Rees van Tets, 69; Schopenhauer, 66. Dodgson, 106; Schlüter, 150. Herman Bavinck, "My Journey to America," trans. James Eglinton, *Dutch Crossing* 41, no. 2 (2017): 186.
81 Heinrich Heine, *Reisebilder* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1981), 56.
82 For example, John Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent* (London: Murray, 1867), 215.
83 Van Oostendorp, 65, 72, 79, 80, 81–2, also relevant being the amount of men in a single room: 69, 72. Analephis, 38–9.
84 Drieling, 2; Lulofs, vol. 1, 20; Schopenhauer, 67. Goncharov, 347–8, 572; Perk, 131; Pfeiffer, 7.
85 Kruseman-Ross, 38. See also the scene described in Chapter 1.
86 Van Hille, 277–8.
87 Thomas Holcroft, *Travels from Hamburg, through Westphalia, Holland, and the Netherlands, to Paris* (London: Phillips, 1804), vol 1, 33–4.
88 For example, Dorothy Wordsworth, *Grasmere and Alfoxden*, 130. Beets, 116; Therese Huber in Annegret Pelz, *Reisen durch die eigene Fremde. Reiseliteratur von Frauen als autogeographische Schriften* (Köln: Böhlau, 1993), 111. Pfeiffer, 7. Ligthart, 9. Appreciations of ample or comfortable travel space show the same interest: Schopenhauer, 157. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 307, 421; Pfeiffer, 21. Furniture outside vehicles could be uncomfortable as well and for various reasons, but this was usually employed for shorter periods of time: for example, Goncharov, 357, 374. Mossel, 51, 206.
89 Perk, 35, 102.
90 Van Oostendorp, 62–5. Also Ackersdijck, 28; Bake, 61.
91 Mossel, 160.
92 For example, Perk, 18, 29, 102, 137, 178, 313.
93 Analephis, 38–9.
94 Heinrich Reichard, *Der Passagier auf der Reise in Deutschland, in der Schweiz, zu Paris und Petersburg* (Berlin: Gädicke, 1811), 31.
95 Perk, 29, 142. Mossel, 58.
96 Van Oostendorp, 72. Also Klaver, 131–3, 141; Mossel, 9–14 (several instances), 24, 32, 55–8, (132).
97 Mossel, 13, 89.
98 Crommelin, 14/5. Klaver, 143–5 (twice).
99 Goncharov, 14–16.
100 Dodgson, 85, 92, 95, 114.
101 Ligthart, 16–17.
102 Denis, "Spread of Comfort," 108, 115.