

Travel, Writing and the Media

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Chapter 3

The Media Logic of Victorian Periodicals

Affordances for Travel Writing

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3 The Media Logic of Victorian Periodicals

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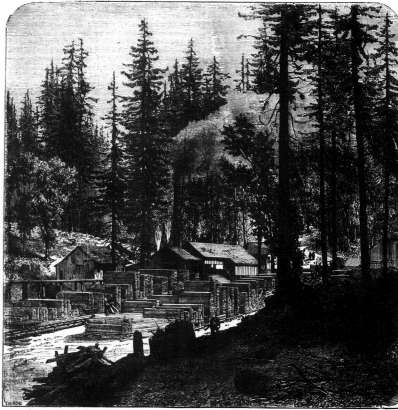
Barbara Korte

The Periodical Press and Travel/Writing: A Conjunction

“[A]nd here, as the gendarme presents the passport, and our carriage is set free from the Custom-house, let us part for the present” (Alford 1864, 314). This sentence concludes the second article in a series on travels in Italy published in the periodical *Good Words*.¹ Not only does the traveller leave one place to go to another, the writer also parts from his readers until they meet again in the next article. I use this article’s ending for my chapter’s beginning because it encapsulates what this chapter is about: the conjunction of travel, travel writing and the periodical press during the second half of the nineteenth century. My discussion focuses on Victorian Britain, a country in the van of modernity where the expansion of travel (for trade, the Empire and tourism) was as rapid as the growth of the periodical itself into a medium of mass communication.² Travel and periodical culture were coextensive; both were firmly situated in capitalist economy, and their success as commodities depended on prosperity and leisure time for a growing number of people. Periodicals fed the appetite for travel and travel-related literature; at the same time, they capitalised on this appetite because their profit depended on content their readers would find attractive. The popular *Leisure Hour* marketed its travel articles as offprints to take on a trip,³ and it invited Thomas Cook to contribute a three-part history of his business (Cook 1878), which mentions the commendations Cook’s organised tours had received during the 1860s in two other popular periodicals, *All the Year Round* (Yates 1864) and *Temple Bar* (Parkinson 1864).

By the 1860s, travel writing had become a staple of the periodical market. It reached readers who might never have travelled far themselves,⁴ and for whom buying a travel book or borrowing one from a commercial library would have been too expensive. In fact, quite a number of Victorian travel books were remediated from their earlier appearances in periodicals. A well-known example is Isabella Bird’s *A Lady’s Life in the Rocky Mountains*. Before it was published by John Murray in 1879, it had been serialised as “Letters from the Rocky Mountains” in *Leisure Hour* in 1878.⁵ Although there are few alterations to the text,

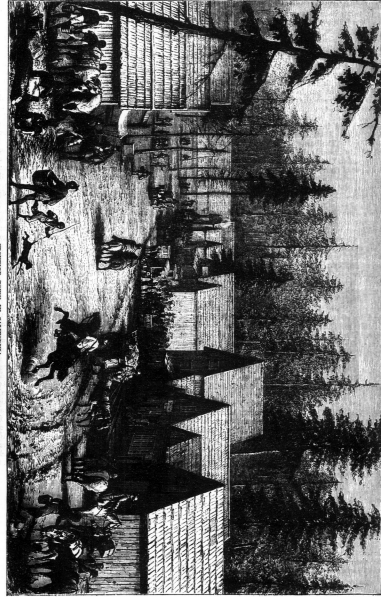
LETTERS FROM THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.
 BY ISABELLA BIRD, AUTHOR OF THE "SAVANNAH ADVENTURER," ETC.
 I.—THE REDDIA MOUNTAIN.*



SPRING-BELL AND RED-WOOD PINE.

SPT 2.—*Lake Tahoe.* I have found a dream of beauty at which one might look all one's life and sigh. Not lovely, like the Swedish Islands, but beautiful in its own way! A strictly North American beauty—snow-capped mountains, huge pines, red-woods, sugar pines, silver spruce; a crystalline di-
 vinity, waves of the richest colour; and a pine-
 country, where the water is all beauty on its sur-
 face. Lake Tahoe is before me, a sheet of water
 twenty-two miles long by ten broad, and in some
 places 1,700 feet deep. It lies at a height of 6,000
 feet, and the snow-crowded summits which wall it in
 are from 10,000 to 12,000 feet in altitude. The air
 is keen and elastic. There is no sound but the dis-
 tant and slightly musical ring of the lumberer's axe.
 It is a temptation to go back, even in thought, to
 the clang of San Francisco, which I left in its cold
 morning for early yesterday, diving to the Oakland
 ferry through streets with side-walks heaped with
 thousands of cantaloupes and water-melons, tomatoes,
 cucumbers, squashes, pears, grapes, peaches, apricots,
 —all of startling size as compared with any I ever
 saw before. Other streets were piled with sacks of

* The Reddian is the best great mountain race which the Ho-
 witer crosses on the way from the Pacific to the Atlantic seaboard.



FRONTIER TOWN IN CALIFORNIA.

Figure 3.1 Double spread from Isabella Bird, “Letters from the Rocky Mountains”, *The Leisure Hour*, vol. 27, no. 1359 (1878), pp. 24–25. © The British Library Board (Document Supply 5182.250000 / General Reference Collection Collins 226.).

its appearance and performance in the periodical was quite different to its later book publication. *Leisure Hour* printed it on a larger page, in two columns and with more pictures (15, of which only 7 reappear in the book). These pictures were not merely illustrative but fulfilled functions typical of the periodical press, such as drawing attention to the beginning of a new serial. The book version of Bird’s account begins with a plain page of printed text; the periodical version lures readers to the article with a large striking picture (“Lumber Mill and Red-Wood Pines”) mounted over the print of the first issue (Bird 1878, 24) and a full-page picture (“Frontier Town in California”) on the page opposite (Figure 3.1). Furthermore, in serial form and in a periodic publication, Bird’s account was read in intervals that approximated the temporality of extensive travel: its 17 parts engaged readers over a year, while perusing the book took a matter of days.

This chapter, then, assumes that periodicals have a media logic of their own, and that their specifics provide special affordances for travel writing. While both travel writing and the periodical press have been

extensively researched (generally, and for the nineteenth century⁶), their intersections have hardly been studied. Most investigations of travel writing focus on book publications, and “it is often forgotten that the largest circulation for travel writing up to the First World War was through the periodical press” (Bell 2020, 133–134). Travel pieces in periodicals, if considered at all, have been mined for types of travel and travellers, for the knowledge they transport or the experience and writing of individual authors (see Ledbetter 2017). They have not been considered for the medium in which they appeared and by whose properties they were configured. Precisely this, however, has been a demand of recent periodical studies, which emphasise that a periodical must not be approached as an “empty vessel, a neutral medium for content that can be extracted” but “as an object of enquiry in its own right, with its own distinctive dynamics, its own function and agency” (Philpotts 2015, 307).

I use the term “media logic” to refer to “the organizational, technological, and aesthetic determinants of media functioning, including the ways in which they allocate material and symbolic resources and work through formal and informal rules” (Mazzoleni and Splendore 2018). I understand “mediality” more narrowly: it is the way in which content is communicated via a material surface characterised by specific properties. Travel writing is usually defined as the autobiographical narrative of actual travel experience, but it is a “relatively open-ended and versatile form” (Hooper and Youngs 2004, 3). Travel narratives in nineteenth-century periodicals incorporate descriptive and informative material; some articles derived from travel are hardly narrative at all, but describe places and people or give advice, such as *Leisure Hour*’s “Practical Hints to Home Tourists” (Buckland 1861) or “Travelling in India” (anon. 1860j). What follows here is a first attempt to chart the mediation of travel in the Victorian periodical press. I suggest an integrative approach that combines distant and close reading, and I focus on general-interest illustrated magazines because these periodicals reflect the Victorian interest in travel in the broadest manner. Victorian magazines aimed to appeal to a wide range of readers, with a variety of content and form (fiction, poetry, informative articles), with differences in tone and point of view, and with combinations of word and image. My examples are taken from the 1860s and 1870s, the time when the magazine illustrated with wood engravings blossomed. My sample consists of three market leaders during these two decades: *Good Words*, *Leisure Hour* and *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*.⁷ All three featured a significant number of travel pieces, but with differences that are explained by their respective profiles and intended audiences. *Leisure Hour* and *Good Words* targeted a cross-gender and cross-generation readership; they had a religious orientation but aimed to entertain as well as educate and edify. What makes the two periodicals interesting to compare in the context of this article is the social scope of their intended readerships, in

one case including not only the middle but also the working classes. *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* was a pioneering publication for a middle-class female readership and fits in with my other two examples more than upmarket periodicals for “ladies”. Constituting a “feminised space” (Beetham 1996, 3) for its content, *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* reveals how periodicals adapted their presentation of travel for the life-worlds of specific audience segments. The producers of Victorian women's magazines were aware of the constraints that ideals of domestic femininity imposed on women's mobility, while at the same time presented and propagated female travel. The subsequent sections of this chapter focus on defining properties of the periodical – profiles and address, temporal logic, assemblage, text-image relations – and their special affordances for travel writing.

Periodical Profiles and Mode of Address

Victorian periodicals have been described as “the context within which people lived and worked and thought, and from which they derived their [...] sense of the outside world” (Shattock and Wolff 1982, xiv–xv). They aimed to guide the reader through life, society and culture, often presenting themselves as a friend and companion, as in Charles Dickens's famous “Preliminary Word” to *Household Words* (1850). Travel writing in these periodicals conveyed knowledge about Britain and foreign countries, shaped the reader's attitudes towards diverse “others” and nurtured national and imperial identities. Notwithstanding such general functions, periodicals were distinguished by individual profiles because, in a highly competitive market, each publication had to gain and maintain a regular segment of the reading audience. As James Mussell describes it, “publishers attempted to anticipate the demands of their readers by giving them more of what they had already demonstrated they wanted, and readers repeatedly spent their money on the understanding that they would not be disappointed” (2015, 348). In this light, the frequency with which travel writing appeared in Victorian periodicals indicates that travel was considered a type of content capable of keeping readers. Yet, as Margaret Beetham observes, the reader bound to a periodical was always also “positioned as a member of certain overlapping sets of social groups”, and this was “effected by all aspects of the periodical: price, content, form and tone” (1989, 99). The profile of an individual periodical reflects the social position, the interests, the political and religious persuasions and values of the targeted readership as well as the orientations of editors and publishers. And since the general profile of a periodical influenced what kind of travel writing it offered, and in what ways, we may also speak of a periodical's travel profile.

At first sight, the travel profiles of *Good Words* and *Leisure Hour* look similar. Both publications took their armchair travellers around the

world, with articles on journeys on the Continent, in the Near and Far East, North America and, of course, the British Empire. In both periodicals, the travel profile also reflects a firm Protestant orientation. And yet there are differences in the explicitness of the religious bias and in the social scope of the periodicals' address. *Good Words* was a monthly publication available for 6d. At half the price of similar illustrated monthlies launched in the 1860s, *Good Words* aimed to reach readers from the lower ranges of the middle classes upward. Its first editor, Norman Macleod, was a prominent minister of the Church of Scotland. A widely travelled man, he wrote many travel pieces for *Good Words* himself, and he was not the only clergyman who contributed travel writing to the magazine. It is not surprising, therefore, that *Good Words* published two travel series related to the Holy Land within its first five years: "A Journey by Sinai to Syria" (anon. 1860d) and "Eastward" (Macleod 1865). There were further articles, both single and serial, that were based on journeys with a professional interest in the spread of Christianity or in religious and philanthropic institutions. As the magazine's editor, Macleod was aware that religiousness might not be the main attraction for the readers of these articles. His own series "Peeps at the Far East" reports Macleod's travels in India on behalf of the Church of Scotland "to inquire into the true state and prospects of Christian missions there", but Macleod felt it necessary to emphasise that he gave "these sketches, not in the formal character of the deputy from a Church, but in the less dignified, although much more easy and untrammelled, character of the mere traveler" (1869, 23).

Leisure Hour: A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation was launched as a weekly periodical in 1852 by the evangelical Religious Tract Society. The authors of its travel writings were not recognisable as men of the Church (as most articles were unsigned), and there is less interest in the Christian mission here than there is in *Good Words*.⁸ However, *Leisure Hour*'s travel writing often professes an interest in the spiritual welfare of travellers and readers, as in "Down on the Devonshire Coast": "Our yearly summer excursion, amid the fresh and the fair of rural nature, ought not only to improve our bodily health, but to give vigour to our heavenly hopes and aspirations" (anon. 1861c, 581). Most fundamentally, the travel profile of *Leisure Hour* differs from that of *Good Words* in its class address. As its first "Word with Our Readers" declared, it was dedicated "to the thoughtful of every class" and aspired "to catch the attention of peer and peasant, of master and man" (H.D. 1852, 9). In line with this comprehensive address, the magazine was available in a double format: weekly numbers at the price of 1d that were affordable to members of the (aspiring) labouring classes, and a monthly issue for more affluent readers. In the 1860s, *Leisure Hour* adapted to the format of the prestigious illustrated monthlies, but remained available in weekly form until 1880.⁹

As there were labourers amongst its readers, *Leisure Hour* included a social segment for which Thomas Cook had organised his first modest excursions within Britain, and this is reflected in the magazine's presentation of travel writing – both in terms of geographical scope and form of mediation. A count of the articles in the 1860s volumes reveals that *Leisure Hour* published significantly more single-article travel pieces than *Good Words* (which ran more serials), and a high percentage of these single articles depicts travel within the British Isles (c. 40 percent vs. less than 15 percent in *Good Words*).¹⁰ *Leisure Hour* was more concerned with 'minor' travel – domestic excursions or city walks, which men and women could undertake on a small budget. Characteristically, one of its articles, "London in the Greenwood", described Londoners on an outing to the forest of Epping on an August public holiday:

This forest, as many of our readers know, lies eastward of London, and straggles over a vast extent of ground, comprising in its embrace many neat little villages and hamlets, associated in the memory of Londoners, and especially of East Londoners, with the charms of the greenwood and the frolic and fun of a forest holiday.

(anon. 1860e, 374)

The article is explicit about the humble class of the excursionists, who are noted to be dressed not in silk but "clean cotton dresses and well-brushed Sunday coats", and whose faces, "albeit they are some of them prematurely furrowed with the cares, anxieties, and sufferings of a struggling life, yet wear a genial smile, while all eyes are sparkling with present or anticipated enjoyment" (ibid.). As if to celebrate the common people's pleasure in travel, this is a richly illustrated article for *Leisure Hour* in 1860, with four sketches showing the excursionists around their coach, picnicking or enjoying "Cockney Recreations" (Figure 3.2).

Just as characteristically, travel writing in *Leisure Hour* displays a tendency to take the reader by the hand and offer practical advice to the unseasoned traveller, for instance for a visit to Blenheim Palace:

We trust, however, that some of our readers, when disposed for a pleasant country jaunt, may follow in our steps and observe for themselves. First making sure that Blenheim is open to view – for at certain seasons it is closed – they may travel from Euston Square to Handborough station by rail, and thence a walk of half an hour will bring them to Woodstock.

(anon. 1861e, 192)

Readers with little or no travel experience are thus encouraged to venture beyond the borders of their everyday world. For more ambitious travel, *Leisure Hour* suggested how money could be saved. For instance,

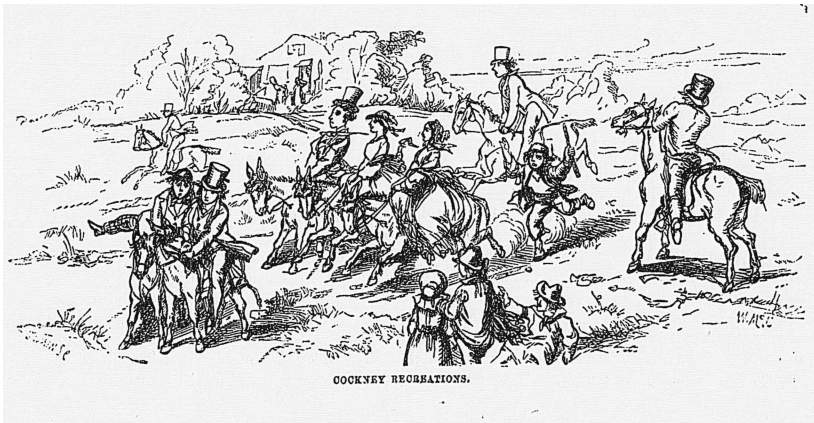


Figure 3.2 “Cockney Recreations”, from “London in the Greenwood”, *The Leisure Hour*, vol. 9, no. 442 (1860), p. 277. © The British Library Board (Document Supply 5182.250000 / General Reference Collection Collins 226.).

an article on “The Channel Islands” told its readers that “the longer voyage from London Bridge offers the attraction of very low fares” (anon. 1860c, 427).

A periodical’s profile and address influence what kinds of travel are depicted and how they are presented. As periodicals aimed to create and maintain a spirit of communality with and amongst their readers, there was a frequent use of the inclusive personal pronoun “we”. Whilst this pronoun could be an editorial or polite “we”, or refer to the writer having travelled in a group,¹¹ it could also be read as including the reader. This is even more pronounced when a piece of travel writing uses the second person, as in the article in *Good Words* “From Norway”: “Do you wish your lungs to expand, your eyes to dilate, your muscles to spring, and your spirits to leap? – then come to Norway” (Ballantyne 1863, 801). Being included – if only virtually – in a travel experience described in a medium of daily life may have helped to accommodate Victorian readers to the idea of travel and to spread the practice of travel. Such habituation was, after all, one of the motives behind Thomas Cook’s excursions for the working classes. As he wrote about his organised trips for Northern factory workers to the Great Exhibition in London in 1851: “The people of Yorkshire were thus *educated to travel*” (Cook 1858, 394, my emphasis). Phrased in analogy to Benedict Anderson’s concept of the imagined community, one might claim that travel writing in periodicals helped readers to see themselves as part of an imagined travel community – or at least the kind of community that was suggested by the profile of a periodical.

This is of special significance for the portrayal of travel in periodicals for women, which typically oscillated between ideals of female domesticity and desires of female mobility. *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* was a monthly launched in 1852, when it cost only 2d; a new series was begun in 1860, and the price went up to 6d, but the main readership was still middle-class women. Like other women's periodicals for the middle class, it "defined women in terms of a series of demanding activities", such as the practical, economic and moral duties of "home-making" (Ballaster et al. 1991, 88). Articles on domestic management, cooking, gardening and fashion were compatible within this framework, but articles which took women out of the home and educated them to travel, explicitly or implicitly, had a transgressive element. At first glance, *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine's* travel profile seems to reveal the contemporary constraints for middle-class female mobility: its number of narrative travel articles during the 1860s and 1870s is much lower than in *Leisure Hour* and *Good Words*, and in some of the articles the traveller is clearly identified as male;¹² in others, the gender is unspecified, as in the account of a visit to Dickens country ("Another Gossip about Dickens", anon. 1872a). "A Sketch of Spa" (anon. 1872b) is a rare example where a traveller-narrator is clearly identifiable as female. A closer look at *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* reveals, however, that its readers were certainly not discouraged to travel. An article on "The Seasons: Their Duties and Pleasures" notes almost matter-of-factly: "Autumn is the wanderer's time of the year. Nobody is at home in autumn. Englishmen and Englishwomen are enjoying the delights of travel, the Yorkshire moors and Scotch mountains, French watering-places and German spas" (Humming Bird 1876, 44). In another article, a woman reveals how she coaxed her husband to agree to a holiday on the coast ("By the Sad Sea Waves", anon. 1869). More usually, though, *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* used other types of content to communicate with its readers about travel: advertisements for travel books (including how-to books),¹³ or reviews of travel books by female authors.¹⁴ It also offered useful hints for the female traveller in its advice columns, specifying what a journey might cost, how it could be organised, and especially what articles of fashion, hygiene or remedies she should take with her.¹⁵ Readers also actively asked for advice,¹⁶ and they contributed their own travel impressions in the magazine's correspondence section. In 1872, for example, the "Conversazione" column printed "Impressions of Berlin" by the pseudonymous Little Jane, which include a slighting remark on Cook's excursionists "who took every berth" on the boat across the Channel (238). Even if such items are short and do not classify as travel writing in the established sense, they taught women how to travel and suggested that travelling was *en vogue*, which brings us to the temporal logic of the periodical press and its significance for travel writing.

Presentness, Periodicity, Seriality

“Every periodical marks and is marked by time”, Margaret Beetham notes in her discussion of the complex temporality of periodical publications:

Coming out at regular intervals, however long or short, each number carries a date which means it claims to be of the moment: it is ‘new’ or ‘news’ or ‘now’. However, it is simultaneously part of a series, pointing back to a past expressed by the volume number [...] and forward to a future whose length may be uncertain, though its existence is maintained by the promise of what will appear ‘in our next’. The production of periodicals at every stage, from the writer’s deadline to the timetables of distribution and reception, is tightly structured by time. The publication date or ‘magazine day’ which exerts its time-discipline on the producer is also significant for the purchaser/reader, but its meaning is different.

(2015, 324)

A piece of travel writing participates in the presentness of the issue that comes fresh from the press on magazine day. Norman Macleod, as editor of *Good Words* and author of many of its articles, thus felt obliged to explain why his “Peeps at the Far East”, although “written in the summer”, was published much later than planned: “as the articles could not all appear in the volume for 1868, it was thought better, in accordance with our rule that all series should be completed within the volume, to delay the publication of the papers till 1869” (1869, 22).

Due to their special relationship with the now and the new, Victorian periodicals established tight links between travel writing and other topical themes. In both *Leisure Hour* and *Good Words*, travel writing about Italy printed during the 1860s invariably included references to the Risorgimento and its hero Garibaldi,¹⁷ thus connecting it to other articles on these topics. Similarly, travel in the Balkans was associated with contemporary political turbulences in the region. The account of “A Visit to Montenegro” in *Leisure Hour* opened with a comment on “the troubled state of Europe, and the complications arising out of secret treaties, foreign protectorates, and so forth” (anon. 1860m, 429). An article in *Good Words* with the same title noted that “[i]f war has its drawbacks, and revolutionary movements have their dangers, they at least have the advantage of instructing great masses of spectators in geography” (Oliphant 1863, 48). The repercussions of a recent war are also reflected in an accumulation of articles on travels in Russia and Turkey in the wake of the Crimean War (see Korte 2015). Closer to home, travel writing in Victorian women’s periodicals related to the contemporary “Woman Question”. This is very obvious in openly feminist publications such as

the *English Woman's Journal* (see Korte 2012), but a more mutedly progressive publication like *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* also kept its readers informed about the on-going debate around women's roles and rights. A look at the distribution of travel writing within a single issue of the magazine reveals how travel pieces were surrounded by content that often addressed the situation of women directly – with a mix of progressive and conservative positions, but always with present relevance. In the February 1872 issue, a reader's eye would have encountered the travel feature “Another Gossip about Dickens” right after a new instalment of the novel “Greville's Wife”, and before the poem “The Lily-Bud”; a few pages later, the reader's eye would have reached the regular column on “Women's Rights”, and from there travelled, via “New Books”, to substantial depictions of “The February Fashions”, new ideas for needlework, the monthly column on gardening and information on “New Treatment for the Health”. On these domestic matters followed a part of the travel serial “Continental Wanderings” and a “Description of Our Coloured Needlework Patterns”. The two travel pieces in this issue seem to be hemmed in by conventionally feminine content, but the wider co-text permits the reader to link travel to information on women's legal situations that was as up-to-date as the fashion of the month.

With its regular monthly columns, and its multi-part fiction and articles, *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* also exemplifies the two other temporal aspects noted by Beetham: seriality and periodicity. Much of the content of a periodical is organised in serial arrangements that emphasise continuity: article series or serialised fiction. Periodicity, the regular appearance of a title once a week or once a month, is “[t]he essence of the periodical” and the most fundamental reason why it is “not a book *manqué*” (Wald 2009, 422). Each issue of a periodical is linked to the next and to those that have come before, and such connections are emphasised “through running a series of articles, through constant reference to past and future issues, through advertising, through readers' letters and through serialization” (Beetham, 1989, 97). Embedded in a larger structure marked by repetition (of content as well as formal features) and by continuation, travel writing and the practice it represented could be perceived as “regular” content.

It was not unusual for serial travel writing in Victorian periodicals to stretch over the course of an entire year, and articles frequently emphasised periodicity and seriality by referring to earlier or coming parts. Macleod's series “Eastward”, for example, has a note in its second part mentioning information obtained through a reader's letter in response to the first part (1865, 123). An article on Gibraltar in *Leisure Hour* includes a note directing the reader to earlier issues of the periodical: “For other papers on Gibraltar, with views, see Nos. 153, 308, 309” (anon. 1860g, 58). The regular publication of travel pieces, individual or serial, bound readers to the periodical, and also anchored travel in the

reader's mind and contributed to the aforementioned habituation effect. At the same time, travel writing (and pictures related to travel) formed multiple "lateral connections" (see Anderman 2019, 28) with the other textual and visual content of each issue and volume. A periodical can therefore be characterised as an assemblage of texts and images whose reception is not necessarily linear, but which can be read and consumed in a variety of orders.

The Periodical as Assemblage

Travel writing as part of an assemblage always stands in multiple relationships: not only to other travel pieces but also to other content and themes. Readers of a Victorian magazine could encounter very different travel pieces within a single volume or even issue, and were thus made aware of the many ways and motives to travel. The first volume of *Good Words* (1860) took readers to Syria, India and Mont Blanc. The tenth volume of *Leisure Hour* (1861) featured the aforementioned visit to Blenheim Palace, as well as "Ascent of Fusi-Yama" (anon. 1861a) and "A Breakfast in an African Village" (anon. 1861b). Connections to other content opened up possible dialogues between themes. While Isabella Bird's "Letters from the Rocky Mountains" were serialised in *Leisure Hour* in 1878, they were read alongside Thomas Cook's history of organised tourism (as opposed to Bird's highly individual endeavour), as well as articles on "The Regalia of Scotland" (26 January), "Post-Office Statistics" (2 March), "The Serpent Legends of Yorkshire" (4 May) and "Bicycling" as a new form of mobility (14 December). While this exemplifies the colourful mix typical of a family magazine, there was also a more consistent co-text of Bird's "Letters" – namely, articles related to the situation of the British working classes: "Taxation and the Working Classes" (12 January), "Warning to British Workmen" (16 February), "Origin of the Teetotal Movement" (2 March) or "Utopias, or Schemes of Social Improvement" (2 November and 14 December). Such co-text is characteristic of *Leisure Hour's* address, but it also embeds a woman's unconventional travel and her encounters with a new egalitarian society in America into a discourse about class relations and class strife in Britain.

The relationship between travel writing and other content is particularly suggestive in women's periodicals, where travel writing and articles on topical issues of female education, work and legal situations intersect with each other. *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* suggested the emancipatory potential of travel predominantly through the co-presence, in an issue or volume, of travel writing and information relating to the expansion of women's rights (see above). But the proximity of travel and fashion in the magazine's pages, often an immediate one, was also significant in this respect: it made travel appear as fashionable and

desirable as a beautiful new dress. A reader who saw the colour plate with a voguish travel costume in the issue of August 1865 might have wished to wear it herself. Even the provision of a needlework pattern – a nod to middle-class domesticity – might foster the wish to travel when the pattern was for a “Railway Travelling Bag” (anon. 1864) and featured a train locomotive. Not least, since they carried many advertisements and recommendations for new consumer goods, Victorian women’s magazines established particularly close links between travel and the commodity culture of their day. In August 1877, for example, *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* described new travel products in its regular column “The Shop-Windows”, including a portable travelling bath, a fastener for securing bedroom doors in hotels as well as a “Continental Bathing Costume”, and told women how and where they might be bought (De Tour 1877, 36).

Text and Image

The pictorial was a special “lure” for readers of Victorian periodicals (Brake and Demoor 2009b), and it played an important role in articles related to travel. In general, vision has been described (and critiqued) as “the master-sense of the nineteenth century” (Teukolsky 2018, 937), just as travel has been noted to have a special affinity with vision. Although travel is an “embodied experience” that involves all senses, “accounts of travel tend to isolate vision from the other senses” (Topping 2016, 79).¹⁸ Travellers have always kept visual records of their journeys and included them in their accounts, and there is a long tradition of images in the printed travel book (see Leitch 2019). Not all Victorian periodicals were illustrated, and the ratio between images and text – or, in typographical terms, letterpress – was variable even within individual issues. Nevertheless, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the Victorian magazine was in principle a multimodal media format (see Bucher 2016) or, as Simon Cooke puts it more conventionally, a “dual text” with a significant interplay of word and image (2010, 121). Many periodicals were “branded through and constructed by their visual content” (Maidment 2016, 102), and wood engravings that “could take any shape on the printed page” (ibid.) were the defining element of this content before it became possible to reproduce photographs in the 1880s. Pictures incited visual pleasure and commanded attention; in particular, they “performed the traditional function of explaining, extending, reinterpreting, or reiterating the verbal content they accompanied” (112). The periodical page also carried ornamental graphics – decorative frames, pictorial initials, vertical and horizontal lines – that helped to organise the periodical’s *mise-en-page* (see Kooistra 2016, 2018),¹⁹ guiding the reader’s eye over the single page and the double spread, i.e. the ensemble of opposite pages that forms the central unit of the periodical layout. As Kirsten Belgium

(2019) shows for French and German nineteenth-century periodicals exclusively dedicated to travel and expeditions, the meaning and effect of their striking pictures also depends on their placement in relation to the printed text: whether they are adjacent to the text, how much space they take up compared to the text, and whether they are constrained by the regular lines of the page design.²⁰

All periodicals investigated for this chapter are illustrated, but there are differences in the degree to which travel writing was accompanied by images. *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* dedicated most of its visual content to fashion and needlework; if its readers were tempted to travel, this was not due to alluring pictures (apart from designated travel fashion and accessories) – quite in contrast to *Good Words*, whose ambitious artwork was in the hands of the Dalziel Brothers, “the foremost wood-engravers of the time”, who commissioned the best illustrators (Cooke, “Good Words”). Many travel illustrations in *Good Words* show places and were specially made for the respective article; some were taken from other sources (and not always with acknowledgements). Overall, the travel pieces in *Good Words* are more lavishly and frequently illustrated than those in *Leisure Hour*: the average of illustrated travel pieces in *Good Words* during the 1860s is roughly 50 percent, of which many include more than one picture; the average in *Leisure Hour* is between 20 and 30 percent, and there is often only one illustrated page per article. *Good Words* generally attempted to achieve a close fit between travel text and image on its pages; smaller pictures, plans or diagrams were integrated into the text columns, while larger images are often found opposite their corresponding text; when text and image are further apart, a note explains how they are related to each other.

A few examples for the multiple and variable text-image relations in illustrated travel articles must suffice here. *Good Words* begins some of its travel pieces with initials that serve as teasers for the reader. The first part of Macleod’s “Eastward” (1865, 33) opens with a small “Street View of Malta”, where a flight of steps seems to lead the reader into the article (Figure 3.3). Macleod’s series “Peeps at the Far East” (1869, 22) starts with an image of a dark-skinned child who seems to welcome the reader with a friendly smile (Figure 3.4); for readers today, this initial is, arguably, more problematic than for the original audience because its friendly invitation also represents a colonised subject whom the clergyman traveller would have liked to see converted to Christianity.

Maps are an obvious form of illustration in travel writing and frequently used in *Good Words*. Just as obvious is the choice of images depicting the places visited. The fourth part of “Eastward” describes Jaffa and includes a double spread featuring two illustrations (Macleod 1865, 292–293). The one on the left page shows the “Fountain of Abraham”, the one on the right the “Church of St George”, and this corresponds to the order in which the two sights are visited and described in the text.



Figure 3.3 From Norman Macleod, "Eastward", *Good Words*, vol. 6 (1865), no. 1, p. 33. © The British Library Board (Document Supply 4201.370000/ General Reference Collection P.P.6214.d.).

Figure 3.4 From Norman Macleod, "Peeps at the Far East", *Good Words*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1869), p. 22. © The British Library Board (Document Supply 4201.370000/ General Reference Collection P.P.6214.d.).

Thus, in both the letterpress and the illustrations, the reader's eye follows the author's journey. An example from *Leisure Hour* demonstrates another way in which text and illustration can be related: its long article on "Venice" features only one page of illustrations, but this page (anon. 1860k, 777), on the right side of a double spread, is crammed with Venice's major sights (Figure 3.5), neatly numbered and explained in a note on the opposite page. Images and text perform the same functions here: making Venice as concrete as possible for the reader.

Some pictures were not only illustrative, but also aimed to elicit an affective response. *Good Words*' "Ascent of Mont Blanc" (anon. 1860a, 521) uses a large image of the mountain as an eye-catcher for the article but, by directing the reader's eye to the summit of Mont Blanc, also suggests an element of the sublime. Sometimes, presumably due to

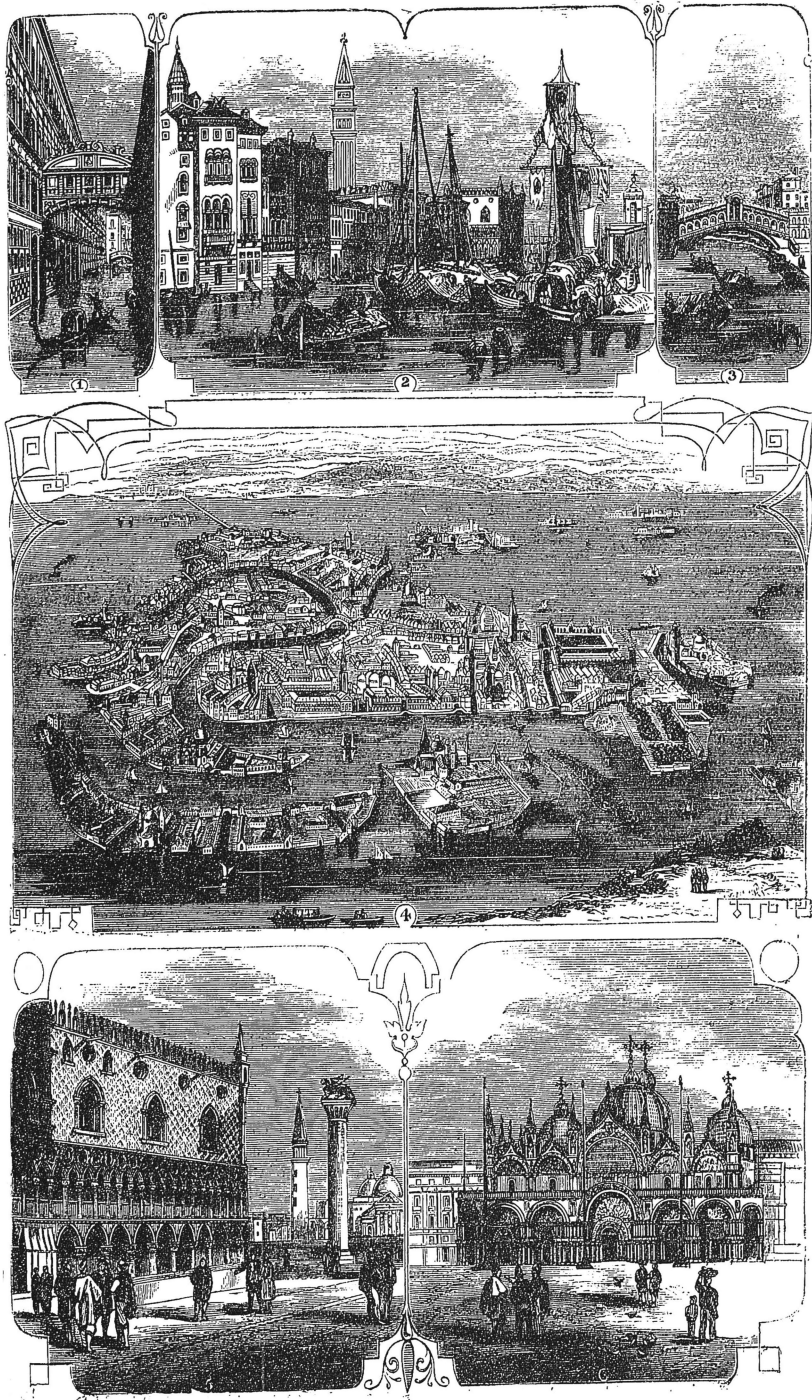


Figure 3.5 Full-page illustration from "Venice", *Leisure Hour*, vol. 9, no. 467 (1860), p. 777. © The British Library Board (Document Supply 5182.250000 / General Reference Collection Collins 226.).

104 GOOD WORDS. [Illustrated]

A PEEP AT RUSSIA AND THE SHORES OF THE BALTIC.

NO. II.

At the beginning of the last century, the site on which the capital is now built, was a dreary moor, shaded by the primitive forest, and like a huge black swamp, was charged with moisture from above, since creation, the waters of the Neva that flowed through it, and over it as they pleased. The Czar Peter, a giant man, with a giant will, hoarse and walking stick, and with a genius which bordered on insanity, determined, as all the world knows, that here should be built the capital of the Empire. And so after having learned shipbuilding, and other useful handicrafts, which he lived in that small wooden house in Holland—which I have noted with all tourists to that wet, that bad of climate, canal, and windmill—the said Peter built a similar but among the mansion of "the Islands" of the Neva, and began to drive piles, build quays, and accumulate stones, by year after year.

For determined to have ships, to beat the Swedes, and thus gain the command of the Northern Sea, and open a grand gate to the East, he had a grand project—how much greater to his day—would also to have

always open a back-door to Europe. He began by ordering every strange ship to bring drift-wood stones as a part of her cargo, and every boat too, and every land carriage stone, and the stones accumulated, and the city was built. All his plans succeeded. When he lost Charles at Poltava in 1709, he exclaimed that "the foundation of St. Petersburg as high stood firm." He thought many enemies, but the Neva was his greatest, and yet yet more one of the most invincible if provoked by any opposition of the Baltic. Twenty-five feet of ice, such as has occurred, will probably decide the battle against the capital of the Czar. But for more than a century, Peter's plans have stood firm. Upwards of 100,000 people live on the surface of the frozen 150,000,000, and private conveyance drive over it, 11,000 shops and stables serve it, and half a million of people live upon it. But what! the ocean has no ice! If a pit is dug in any part of the town, three feet deep, the water comes from the river and bottom. This probably affects the

Norman Macleod, D.D.] A PEEP AT RUSSIA AND THE SHORES OF THE BALTIC. 105

health of the population, as the deaths every year exceed the births by 8000.

Knowing the admiration which most travellers have expressed for St. Petersburg, I am almost afraid to acknowledge my great disappointment with it. To try so many miles to go to what I expected from the description I had read, or the "Illustrations" I had seen. In the first view, I think, is from the centre of the Admiralty "in that grand open space where 100,000 men may be manoeuvred. It fronts the Nevskoi Prospect, one of the widest streets in Europe, and stretching in a straight line for three miles. To the left is the noble Alexander column, flanked on one side by the Winter and Hermitage Palaces, and on the other by the handsome quadrangle of public offices, opening by a large arch into streets beyond, having on the summit a cup of victory. The left-hand angle of the view, and of the plan, is bounded by the buildings of the Holy Synod, and the baroque style edifice by St. Isaac's Cathedral. The open space on the opposite side to St. Isaac's, and next the Neva, is marked by the statue of the Czar Peter; which beyond the broad, noble river itself appear the long buildings on the quay of the Islands. There is a double a waterway in the middle of this Place d'Armes, which is imposing. There are, moreover, details in this great whole which stand minute examina-

St. Isaac's Church—which by the way cost about, as some say, £10,000,000—a stately and solid building without, but too hazy within, and too over-loaded with gilding, and too fresh with colour, to produce the solemn effects of York Westminster as a place of worship. It is, however, admirably adapted for those spectacles in which the Greek Church delights. The Hermitage Palace, with its noble staircase, and magnificent collection of paintings, is worthy in every respect of a great capital; nor is there any monarch in Europe to be compared with the Alexander Column, the shaft alone being eighty feet of unbroken polished granite. In a pile of all this, and much more which might be said in favour of other views, and of particular objects, the general impression which the whole made upon me irresistibly was that of a rapidly got-up city, with a singularly wide and unfinch'd look about it, barbaric vastness and oriental display, without real, enduring, unmistakable grandeur. The platform or base-line is ugly from which the buildings spring, being a desert of uneven stones, full of mud or chank-stone, open water ways, and niches, excavating to the miserable travellers in a drabky. This sadly mars the general aspect. The vast majority of the palaces are more brick and stone, while the immense space seems to desert every building into paltry dimensions, and themselves to appear empty of people, who are best seen in their array of uniforms. The Nevskoi Prospect has nothing very striking in it, except its length and length. The shop-windows are small, owing,

• The open space, as seen in the plan, and from which the streets radiate.

Figure 3.6 Double spread from Norman Macleod, "A Peep at Russia and the Shores of the Baltic", *Good Words*, vol. 2, no. 11 (1861), pp. 104–105. © The British Library Board (Document Supply 4201.370000/General Reference Collection P.P.6214.d.).

lack of space on the appropriate page, the illustrations and text in *Good Words* are less clearly connected, and there are a few instances where illustrations were obviously mixed up, as apologies can be found in later issues.²¹ However, a mismatch between illustration and text might also have been a deliberate strategy, as I would like to suggest for Macleod's "A Peep at Russia and the Shores of the Baltic" (1861), assuming that, as editor of *Good Words*, Macleod had a say in the placement of images. The part of the series released in the February issue is dedicated to the author's experience of Saint Petersburg and Moscow, but apart from a small street plan, the article does not contain a single illustration of Saint Petersburg. Rather, the two illustrations inserted in the text on pages 104 and 105 (Figure 3.6) show the sights of Moscow.

The first illustration is of St Basil's Cathedral, which is also used as an initial for the article, and the text in the column opposite expresses the traveller's disappointment that his experience of Saint Petersburg did not match the positive descriptions he had read before his travels. The opposite page shows a panoramic view of the Kremlin, even though the text still describes Saint Petersburg. This mismatch is not explained until page 108, where a note reveals that "[T]he woodcut on p. 105 gives some

idea, though a very imperfect one, of the imposing view of the Kremlin from one of the bridges over the Moskwa". It is as if the pictures of Moscow inserted in the text for Saint Petersburg function as a visual expression of the traveller's disappointment with the sights of Saint Petersburg; or, rather, the expectation he had formed of these sights based on their previous mediation.

Some Conclusions

"More than any other print form", writes Linda Hughes, periodicals "made Victoria's reign the first mass-media era" (2014, 2). As this chapter has pointed out, the rise of the periodical in the second half of the nineteenth century went hand in hand with the development of travel into a popular practice. Indeed, it can be argued that the special agency of the periodical as a media format played an important role in the popularisation of travel and its widening social range. Not only did periodicals create attention for travel; embedded in their readers' daily life, they also helped to spread the habit of travel, simply by presenting it with the frequency and regularity of periodic publication.

Periodicals played this role in the expansion of travel during the nineteenth century because of the affordances provided by their media logic and mediality, including aspects of address, temporality, assemblage of content, opportunities for lateral reading, and the multiple ways in which text and image can be arranged within in an issue and on the page. The periodical type of the magazine in particular placed travel writing in a wide range of content relationships, interweaving it with many other cultural themes. Investigating nineteenth-century periodicals makes an important contribution to the media history of travel, but it also helps to put present-day travel formats in perspective. The print market of the twenty-first century still offers a range of periodicals specialised in travel, and travel reportage is a regular component of general-interest magazines. Today's travel journalism resembles its Victorian predecessors, not least in the way magazines exhibit travel as a part of contemporary consumer culture (see Rice Lamb 2015). At the same time, features of travel writing in Victorian periodicals have been adopted and adapted in more recent media formats. Radio and television – embedded in their audiences' daily lives, just like Victorian periodicals – present travel in periodic and serial form: in regular programmes such as the BBC's "Travel Show", or in special shows that invite viewers to accompany an individual traveller on a home tour or a journey abroad. The broadcast media also present travel in connection with multiple other themes. In online media, linking travel pieces to each other, as well as to other themes, far exceeds the possibilities of print, radio and television. This includes the many ways in which websites and applications merge travel representation and advertisements – for travel-related consumer goods,

as well as for booking platforms. Today's travel blogs, vlogs and social media platforms perpetuate the ways in which Victorian periodicals created imagined travel communities and communicated with their readers about travel, engaging with their desires and showing them how their travel dreams could become true.

Notes

- 1 The periodicals cited in this chapter are included in the ProQuest British Periodicals database and the Gale 19th Century UK Periodicals database. In many cases, digitised volumes are also accessible without paywalls, for example via Google Books or the Hathi Trust Digital Library.
- 2 According to Linda Hughes, "we are still unsure exactly how many Victorian periodicals there were, though John North has documented 50,000 titles in the *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900*" (2014, 2). The popularity of the periodical press was noted in Victorian periodicals themselves; see for example Dallas (1859).
- 3 See, for example, an advertisement in the issue for 27 June 1863 addressed at "Tourists and Excursionists": "The following DESCRIPTIVE PAPERS [...] many of them ILLUSTRATED by Engravings, are still on Sale, and may be ordered through any Bookseller or News Agent" (418).
- 4 As Charles Kingsley noted in one of his articles, "the readers of GOOD WORDS are not all tourists; most of them will never see the Pyrenees or the Mediterranean" (1866, 494).
- 5 For a discussion of these "Letters" in the context of the *Leisure Hour* see Stover (2020).
- 6 For current trends in travel writing research see, for example, Thompson (2016) and Das and Youngs (2019). For (nineteenth-century) periodicals see King, Easley and Morton (2016), Shattock (2019) and Frank, Podewski and Scherer (2009).
- 7 For circulation figures see entries in Brake and Demoor (2009a).
- 8 But see "Missionary Itineration in India" (anon. 1860f); more articles about missionary travel are found in another periodical published by the Religious Tract Society: *A Sunday at Home: A Family Magazine for Sabbath Reading* (launched 1854).
- 9 For this and further information on *Leisure Hour* see Lechner (2016, 51–70).
- 10 There were also serials about travels in Britain; for example "The Tourist in Scotland" (anon. 1860i) and "The Black Country" (anon. 1860b).
- 11 The semantics of "we" is contemplated in the fourth part of Macleod's "Eastward": "When I say we, I do not at present use the editorial, or the modest 'we', instead of the too personal and obtrusive 'I'. It is intended to express the party which embarked at Alexandria to visit Palestine together" (1865, 286).
- 12 "Twelve Days on the Roads" (anon. 1870b) and "Over the Snowy Mountains: In Two Days" (anon. 1870a) both deal with travel in Australia; see also "Continental Wanderings" (anon. 1871/72).
- 13 See, for example, advertisement pages in December 1875: 12, and October 1877: 1.
- 14 In October 1863 the "Book of the Month" was Marguerite A. Power's *Arabian Days and Nights* (282); Mrs Murray Mitchell's *In India: Sketches of Indian Life and Travel* was recommended in April 1876 (224).
- 15 For example, "Hints for the Overland Journey to India" (Alexandra 1869).

- 16 See a reader's question concerning the "Overland Route to Melbourne" in June 1876, 330.
- 17 For example, "A Ramble in the Calabrias" (anon. 1860h), "Venice" (anon. 1860k), "Garibaldi's House at Caprera" (anon. 1861d), "Letters from Abroad" (Alford 1864, part 1).
- 18 For a more encompassing discussion of travel writing and the visual see Alù and Hill (2018).
- 19 Organising the reading process by page design was conditioned not only by the large page format of many periodicals, but also by the practice of reading periodicals selectively (see Bucher 2016, 47). On page design in the pictorial press see also Beck et al. (2019).
- 20 See also Kirsten Belgum's chapter in the present volume.
- 21 For example, the sixth part of "A Journey by Sinai to Syria" carries the following "note to map": "The Publishers regret that, owing to a mistake, this map was printed previously with an article with which it had no connexion" (anon. 1860d, 456).

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