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Christopher M. Keirstead

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Verse Moves: Poetry, Revision, and Periodical Space in John Murray's European Handbooks for Travellers, 1836–1901

CHRISTOPHER M. KEIRSTEAD

The past decade has witnessed a wealth of new attention to poetry in the Victorian periodical press, including newspapers, magazines, and literary annuals and other gift-books.¹ Dwelling more at the border of periodical and book production, the travel guidebook pioneered by the firm of John Murray III (1808–92) has been largely overlooked in this effort, and yet these handbooks included numerous poetic extracts. While literary critics and book historians have studied the Murray guidebooks and the ways they incorporated literary references, they have not fully considered how Murray's unique kind of literary travel anthology, generally reissued on a biennial basis, functioned within a periodical space of production and consumption.² Previous critical attention has likewise stressed the damage this extraction performed on the meaning and significance of the poems themselves: guidebook Byron, for instance, served mostly to provide a ready source of cultural capital that distinguished more literary-minded travelers from mere "tourists."³ By refocusing our attention on the evolving periodical contexts and spaces in which the poetic content of the handbooks was presented and consumed, I aim to construct a different critical narrative that, following Caley Ehnes in her recent study of poetry and Victorian periodicals, questions "the divide between popular, mass-produced literature and the reified poetry of small-run poetry volumes."⁴ Rather than removing poetry from a more authentic private sphere of volume publication, the Murray handbooks readapted an already mobile, periodical genre to the unique social, textual, and geographical spaces that coemerged with new technologies, texts, and social patterns of travel in the early Victorian

period. With poetic extracts from a wide variety of authors often appearing in the midst of more practical descriptions of travel routes and means, Murray's handbooks reveal the prominent role of poetry in mapping not just the Romantic spaces of nature, history, and art for travelers but also the new geotemporal spaces and rhythms of modern travel. In turn, the regular revision and reissue of the volumes in response to such changes, and the subsequent changes undergone by poetry in these contexts, provide an important if largely overlooked critical framework for understanding the evolving cultural authority of poetry in the Victorian period.

By classifying these extracts as a form of periodical verse, I have attempted to follow the guidelines set by editors of the online Victorian Periodical Poetry Index as outlined in their recent database update published in *Victorian Periodicals Review*. As Lindsay Lawrence writes, "The periodical page is a different type of organizing form, providing multiple structural details that are fundamentally distinctive from encountering a poem in a volume structured by the author or edited, annotated, and presented in a polished contemporary anthology. In nineteenth-century magazines, poems are necessarily subjected to the larger organizing codes of the periodical."⁵ A guidebook, of course, is not the same as a magazine publishing original poetry with each new issue, but the dynamic Lawrence describes in many ways captures the fluid and contingent space poetry occupies on the pages of Murray's handbooks. With few exceptions, the poetry reproduced in these travel guides consists of extracts of longer works, serving as a kind of traveling verse that moves beyond its original source and adapts to new contexts. In this respect, Murray's guides remind us that poetry was a highly portable, reproducible form of language, in some ways meant to be extracted and carried with the reader in the form of memory (recalling as well the importance of memorized verse at the time). The guides offer a mobile anthology of travel-oriented verse extracts that evolves with successive editions and dwells in complex relation to its prose contexts.

The first section of this essay offers a kind of distant reading that outlines the wider poetic footprint in Murray's guidebooks, addressing such questions as how much and what kinds of poetry appear in different volumes and how these numbers evolve over the course of the series. This data can serve as a starting point for re-examining the periodical nature of the Murray handbooks and offer fresh insight into what Natalie Houston describes as "the cultural history of Victorian texts and their interrelated bibliographic, visual, and linguistic codes."⁶ Such data can also be valuable simply for raising new kinds of questions or establishing previously hidden relationships between texts. The next section looks more closely at

poetry's periodical function on the page in Murray's guidebooks by examining how the traveling reader would have used poetry on the ground. This closer reading also traces the lifespan of several quotations over the course of the series. Here I am just as interested in how the context or framing of passages changes over different editions as in the quotation itself, revealing how the cultural and rhetorical function of poetry as a travel discourse evolves with respect to new technologies and modes of travel. Poetry bears a particularly telling relationship to the railway, signaling an urge to develop more rooted and environmentally conscious forms of travel even as the modern travel industry was just beginning to develop.

Poetry by the Numbers: Measuring Poetic Content and Revision in Murray's Handbooks

Murray was not the first to quote extracts of poetry in a book aimed at travelers, but he was the first to quote it to such a high extent and for such a variety of purposes and contexts. His closest and most influential predecessor, Mariana Starke's *Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent* (1820), also published by the Murray firm, cites poetry sparingly and tends to place it in more easily overlooked footnotes.⁷ A comparison of the first six Murray guides focusing on Western Europe provides a more accurate sense of just how much poetry prevails in the Murray guides and in which countries. These titles are listed in table 1 along with the names of editors, although they should be recognized more as authors who composed the source text from which later editors worked. I have chosen to measure poetic content by number of lines rather than number of extracts because, as seen in the examples reproduced in this essay, the length of extracts varies so widely. In keeping with the bibliographic practice of the time, Murray blocks off passages of verse in a slightly smaller typeface from the surrounding prose, creating additional white space around the text (something with important implications for how the traveler consumes poetry). I have also counted passages from drama when quoted in verse form, as with Shakespeare or Byron's *Manfred*, although dramatic passages overall are rare in Murray.

Table 1. Amount of poetry in selected first editions of Murray's European handbooks

Title	Editor	Date of Publication	Total Lines of Poetry
<i>Handbook for Travellers on the Continent</i>	John Murray	1836	395
<i>Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany</i>	John Murray	1837	50
<i>Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland</i>	John Murray	1838	337
<i>Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy</i>	Francis Palgrave	1842	785
<i>Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy</i>	Octavian Blewitt	1843	859
<i>Handbook for Travellers in France</i>	John Murray	1843	80
<i>Handbook for Travellers in Spain</i>	Richard Ford	1845	190

This data reveals that poetry predominated in four specific guidebooks forming the heart of the lingering cultural tradition of the grand tour: the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1836–89, twenty-one editions), which covered the Netherlands, Belgium, and the Rhine valley and parts of northern present-day Germany; the *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1838–1904, nineteen editions); the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842–91, sixteen editions); and the *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* (1843–1908, seventeen editions).⁸ This data also reveals a good deal about the ways different European countries and regions were poeticized in the Victorian literary and geographic imagination (as channeled through Murray), establishing patterns that would endure through much of the series' run, even if overall totals would fluctuate as titles were revised and updated.

As one might expect, Italy predominates, offering a wide range of classical, medieval, and early modern authors from which to draw, along with English poets such as Byron and Samuel Rogers, whose 1822 poetic trav-

elogue, *Italy*, rivaled Byron in popularity. Switzerland stands out as well, with its centrality to the Romantic idea of the sublime. The chart also offers some surprises, however, including the fact that Holland and Belgium figure more prominently in Murray's literary geography than France, a country much more influential in the development of British literature and, historically, more widely traversed by English poets and artists. A closer examination of the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* reveals why: the surge of recent British interest in the Waterloo battlefield, which invited a number of long extracts from Byron and Robert Southey. France, on the other hand, while still a subject of deep concern for the Romantic poets whom Murray features, figures less for its cultural or topographical appeal—factors that typically invite poetic illustration in the series—than for its recent impact on European history and politics. Thus Byron chooses not to visit France in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* but reflects from the recently contested fields of Waterloo on the legacy of Napoleon and revolutionary France.⁹ The *Handbook for Travellers in France* singles out Provence and Languedoc as “the cradle of Poetry and Romance, the paradise of the Troubadours,” but otherwise offers only a scattering of short poetic extracts—and none, incidentally, from the troubadours, perhaps due to lack of first-hand knowledge on Murray's part.¹⁰ In the case of Spain, Richard Ford had lived and traveled extensively in the country, and his book immediately became the cultural authority on a country that still held an air of mystery for Britons.¹¹ The volume also offers 190 lines of poetry—modest by comparison to other Murray European guides, but still double the poetic footprint of its neighbor to the north.

Breaking a volume down by author offers another important window into poetic content and the sorts of ideological and cultural assumptions that shaped the Murray guidebooks. Tables 2 and 3 convey, respectively, poets quoted for more than ten lines in the first editions of Murray's popular handbooks for Northern Italy and Central Italy. Edited by Francis Palgrave, grandfather to the future anthologist of *The Golden Treasury* (1861), the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* functions as its own treasury of modern and classical poetry with some twenty-seven different authors, not counting anonymous contributions. Dante assumes highest prominence: Palgrave calls him “the greatest Poet of the modern world” and advises readers in the preface to make him their “constant companion.”¹² This authority invested in Dante alongside such a wide range of classical and Italian voices reinforces Barbara Schaff's claim that Murray's Italian guides endeavored to craft a sense of “a shared European cultural heritage.”¹³ At the same time, this shared culture was still bound by other historical and cultural limits. Contemporary Italian poets are absent from both of these volumes with the exception of the anonymous “pasqui-

nades,” short satirical verses on subjects of the day traditionally attached to the bases of statues in the Piazza del Pasquino in Rome, which Octavian Blewitt includes in the guide to Central Italy.¹⁴ For Murray and his audience, modern Italian literary culture still largely resided in the age of Dante and Ariosto, under the cultural custodianship of succeeding generations of British authors.

Table 2. Major poets quoted in the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, first edition (1842)

Poet	Total Number of Lines
Dante (1265–1321 CE)	286
Samuel Rogers (1763–1855 CE)	104
Ariosto (1474–1533 CE)	57
Petrarch (1304–74 CE)	42
Alessandro Tassoni (1565–1635 CE)	40
Tasso (1544–95 CE)	32
Virgil (70–19 BCE)	30
Lucan (39–65 CE)	24
Francesco Redi (1626–97 CE)	18
Francesco Berni (1497–1535 CE)	16
Giovanni Francesco Biondi (1572–1644 CE)	16
Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803 CE)	14
Martial (1st century CE)	13
Alexander Pope (1688–1744 CE)	12
Ausonius (310–95 CE)	11

Table 3. Major poets quoted in the *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy*, first edition (1843)

Poet	Total Number of Lines
Lord Byron (1788–1824 CE)	420
Dante	85
Virgil	78
Horace (65–8 BCE)	68
Tasso	37
William Shakespeare (1564–1616 CE)	24
Samuel Rogers	14
Ariosto	14
“Pasquin”	13
Ovid (43 BCE–18 CE)	12

From an editorial perspective, tables 2 and 3 underscore the startling difference between Murray volumes even when devoted to the same country, cautioning us against making broad generalizations about the literary content of the series or assuming that they offered the kind of static, tightly controlled editorial apparatus we might associate with a guidebook series today. There appear to have been few guidelines for authors and subsequent editors on how to incorporate poetic references. As John Murray recalled of his own first efforts, the guides reflect “the results of my private reading, which stamp a special character” on them.¹⁵ Guides by other authors are equally idiosyncratic and testify to a remarkable degree of inconsistency from one title to the next even for basic issues of style, such as whether translations were provided for passages from Dante or the classics (yes for the guide to Northern Italy, but no for Central Italy). The vastly different treatment of Byron in these two volumes is even more astounding given his centrality to much of the critical work on Murray’s literary content. Palgrave quotes none of Byron’s poetry, instead confining himself to some passing references to the poet’s personal associations with

Figure 1. Total lines of poetry from first to later editions of the Murray guides for Northern Italy, Central Italy, the Continent, and Switzerland.

Venice, including the Lido, “the spot where he used to take his rides, and where he designed to have been buried.”¹⁶ As if in compensation, Byron contributes almost half of the total verse to Blewitt’s volume, looming over Rogers, Dante, and all else. This disparity would have significantly altered the cultural landscape of the two regions for travelers, and it reminds us of the larger periodical nature of the series: varied and unstable to begin with, the handbooks’ reproduction of Byron would continue to change as passages were cut, given new prose framing, and shifted from one volume to another. Byron thus moves and evolves in tandem with the travel spaces associated with him.

Figure 1 testifies to some of the larger-scale revision of poetry in the series. As with guidebooks today, the need to publish regular revisions was driven by the changing nature of the transportation and hospitality infrastructure. The handbooks were reissued every two to three years on average, with a fair amount of variation in schedule depending upon the speed or inclination of editors assigned to them.¹⁷ Unlike guidebook editors today, Murray and his successors did not seem particularly con-

cerned with keeping length to a minimum as new information was added or updated—one of several factors that may have helped to keep the poetic content largely intact until very late in the series' run, even as the prose framing changed more dramatically around it. As the guides grew, they were divided into separate volumes rather than edited down, as when the Rome section of the *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* was split off in 1853. For each title in figure 1, I have chosen one edition from approximately each decade, featuring those revisions that Murray bibliographer W. B. C. Lister indicates underwent the greatest change, usually when a new editor was brought on board (I have omitted editions for the Italian guides in the 1880s since no editions with new editors were published in that decade). My aim is not to give an exact accounting of variation from one edition to the next but to get a broader sense of change from first editions until the end of the firm's control over them in 1901, when Murray sold the copyright to Thomas Cook, who ended their publication shortly after. When I detected a major variation in line totals, I then traced back through earlier editions to pinpoint the specific edition where the change occurred.

Where one might expect to see a steady decline over the course of the nineteenth century, instead the amount of poetry remains relatively stable until a more dramatic drop-off late in the century. Still, there are some notable exceptions to this stability earlier in the series' run, especially in the case of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*. Palgrave's edition had begun to attract criticism soon after publication, most notably in the *Quarterly Review*, for various inaccuracies.¹⁸ John Ruskin had also provided Murray a detailed list of corrections after receiving a copy for the tour that culminated in the second part of his *Modern Painters* (1846). Beyond Palgrave's carelessness with details, Ruskin and others criticized what Elsa Damien describes as "a relatively benevolent view of Renaissance artists, a marked subjectivity and a peculiar exuberance."¹⁹ If the amount of poetry in itself was not a concern, the handbook's new editor, G. B. Maule, appears to have felt that Palgrave made Dante too much the reader's "constant companion."²⁰ The poet suffers a loss of 179 lines, although he remained the most quoted author in the volume at 107 lines. Rogers endured the next greatest loss (-60 lines), with the remaining cuts spread among a range of classical and Italian poets. The new edition, reduced by thirty pages overall, still boasted close to four hundred lines of poetry, even if it was now a distant second to the *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* by total.

Some of the smaller changes in line totals can be explained by the addition of new sections or the transfer of sections between different titles. Moving Ferrara and Ravenna from the *Handbook for Travellers in Central*

Italy to the Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy in 1866 boosted the latter's overall poetic content and meant that the formerly Byron-less volume now included some fifty lines of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. New sections on Liege and Spa in the third edition of the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* in 1840 brought with them excerpts from William Wordsworth comparing the river Meuse to the Wye and a thirty-four-line short poem from Walter Scott on "The Towers of Franchimont."²¹ Overall, new poetry was only sparingly added to the Murray guides. If editors showed little interest in substantially reducing poetic content, neither did they update that content to reflect the cultural contributions of a new generation of British poets in the Victorian era. Those works that did make it in experienced bursts of popularity in their day but are now largely forgotten, such as Henry Taylor's *Philip Van Artevelde* (1834), a long poem dealing in part with the William Tell legend added to the third edition of the guide to Switzerland.²² Two passages from Thomas Babington Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842), one of the bestselling poems of the century, were included with some late revisions to the Italian guides in the 1890s.²³ Yet the two Victorian poets who had become most associated with Italy by midcentury, Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, are recognized for their celebrity only: the handbooks refer readers to Elizabeth's grave in Florence and the house occupied by Robert when he died in Venice in 1889, but they do not quote any of their poetry.²⁴

Pressure to reduce the size of the guides finally led to the major cuts of poetry evident toward the end of the century. As Gráinne Goodwin and Gordon Johnston discuss in their recent analysis of the marketing and business side of Murray's guides, by the 1860s the series was steadily losing market share to Baedeker and gaining a reputation for excessive bulk, poor maps, and slow and inadequate revisions.²⁵ In a sign of changes to come, the guide to Switzerland, one of Murray's longest at around 550 pages, shed several long extracts from Byron for its sixteenth edition in 1879. The biggest poetic purge would come at the hands of Henry W. Pullen, who was appointed to oversee the general revision of Murray's European guides in the 1880s. At one point, he proposed cutting the size of the guide to Northern Italy by half: "I could make it just about the size of one of your old *Knapsack Guides* without leaving out a single thing of importance," he wrote to John Murray's son and successor in 1890, "merely omitting what at school we used to call *jam*, and arranging everything in tabular form to capture the eye."²⁶ Pullen clearly thought much of the poetry dispensable, for a number of passages were caught up in the streamlining and editing he undertook to compete with Baedeker. Assuming personal editorship of the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* in 1886 (now divided into a handbook for Holland and Belgium and a separate guide for Northern

Germany), Pullen reduced the total verse in the volumes by more than half to 124 lines.

With more poetry to begin with, the Italian guides witnessed a substantial but, in some ways, less dramatic loss that testifies just as strongly to the endurance of that poetic content. The *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy*, if one includes the *Handbook of Rome* that had been split off in the 1850s, loses half of its poetic content but keeps over 350 lines. And the guide to Northern Italy, it turns out, did not undergo the dramatic purging Pullen foreboded, losing some of its bulk in 1891 but retaining 142 lines of poetry, including several long extracts from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Notably, as Goodwin and Johnston point out, the Italian guides were the only ones to consistently turn a profit late into the century.²⁷ Pullen, then, may have felt caught between the need to reduce the size of the guides and a wish to preserve Murray's brand identity vis-à-vis Baedeker as the more learned and cultured of the two options—an impression sustained in part by its poetic content. Thus, at the end of their run, the Murray Italian guides still boasted close to five hundred lines of poetry, much less than in its verse heyday but still more than enough for a contemporary reader to appreciate the difference between a Murray guide and a Baedeker.²⁸

This endurance of poetic content in the Murray series might seem to argue against the handbooks' status as a periodical venue for verse. But as I show in the next section, poetry offered grounding or stability on the page for mobile readers, just as it did in other periodicals of the time. And though the larger poetic content of the guides remained mostly stable, it was not completely static nor was its prose context: closer examination reveals subtle forms of revision over succeeding editions, often undertaken with updates to the travel networks or routes with which a particular passage was associated. These new and evolving contexts recharge the meaning and interpretation of these passages as poetry and place speak to each other in a manner that belies the common distinction between the practical and literary aspects of guidebook discourse.

Poetry on the Page in Murray's Handbooks: Travel, Revision, and Periodical Space

Poetry works with prose in Murray's handbooks to orient readers to particular sites but also to guide them through evolving networks of travel. In this sense, poetry also helps readers to negotiate processes of historical change along a trajectory of modern "periodical time," as Mark W. Turner describes: "The natural state of being for periodicals is change and movement, and newspapers and periodicals rely, to a greater or lesser degree,

on the 'new' and on the very modern concept of advancement, of moving forward, of futurity."²⁹ Poetry helped to register this forward temporal movement while also allowing travelers to reclaim space from a relentless forward push, to resist in some sense the economic engine of travel that reduces or homogenizes place (and that largely ignores tourism's environmental impact). For scholars of Victorian poetry and periodical studies, tracing revisions to poetry over the lifespan of the Murray series sheds new light on the complex ways travelers and the texts that supported them strove to carve out this kind of travel space and time.

The *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1836), the first title issued in the series and composed by John Murray himself, best exemplifies the diverse range of travel contexts in which poetry was deployed, even if it mostly features passages from just two authors, Byron and Southey. As Murray notes in the preface, "Whenever an author of celebrity, such as Scott, Byron, or Southey, has described a place, he [the editor] has made a point of extracting the passage, knowing how much the perusal of it on the spot, where the works themselves are not to be procured, will enhance the interest of seeing the objects described."³⁰ The guide's front matter alone includes poetic extracts from Andrew Marvell and Samuel Butler meant to orient the reader historically and culturally to Holland.³¹ Poetry could also reframe travelers' experience of specific historical sites and the folklore associated with them, as noted earlier with Scott's "The Towers of Franchimont" or, in the Hapsburg section of the guide to Switzerland, Felicia Hemans's "A Monarch's Death-Bed" (1826)—incidentally, the only passage by a woman poet included in the guides studied here.³² The most common way of enhancing a site with poetry, as one might expect, was along aesthetic and affective lines. The guidebooks did not typically introduce or comment on poetic extracts, but when they did, they included keywords such as beauty, feeling, passion, or sentiment. Palgrave, for instance, showing his characteristic exuberance, lauds Rogers for rendering the Doge's Palace in Venice "with so much feeling and true poetry."³³ Murray tends to let the poetry speak for itself, although he does note Byron's "beautiful lines" describing the arrival of British troops on the field of Waterloo to underscore the patriotic and commemorative function of this guide to the Continent.³⁴

But in many ways, Murray understates the more fluid and lively function of poetry in the guides by presenting it as a mere enhancement and a kind of convenience. Beyond the picturesque and historically famous, Murray deploys poetry for humor and more subtle reflection on the experience of travel. For example, Murray uses a passage from Samuel Taylor Coleridge marking the stench of Cologne at the time in a way that also mit-

**One of the peculiarities of Cologne,
its filthiness, will not long escape
the attention, or the nose of the stran-
ger; it occasioned the following
verses from the late Mr. Coleridge :**

**Ye nymphs, who reign o'er sewers and
sinks,
The river Rhine, it is well known,
Doth wash your city of Cologne:—
But tell me, nymphs, what power divine
Shall henceforth wash the river Rhine?**

Figure 2. *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (London: John Murray, 1836), 211. Image courtesy of Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

igates the reader's discomfort by satirizing the quasi-classical tone of travel poetry that ignored the realities of travel (figure 2). The reference to the "late" Mr. Coleridge, who had died just two years earlier in 1834, reminds us of the periodical context of the handbooks, which were written to the moment and within a network of other texts from which they occasionally drew.³⁵ Indeed, Coleridge's poem had first appeared in the *Friendship's Offering* gift annual of the same year under the title "An Expectoration, or Splenetic Extempore, on my Joyful Departure from the City of Cologne."³⁶ This short passage also serves as a case in point of my larger contention about the importance of tracing the lifespan of poetry across different editions. Coleridge's remarks would stay with the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* through each successive edition, gradually marking the improvement in the city's atmosphere. The 1871 edition acknowledges an odor, for instance, "though not to so great an extent as formerly, when it provoked the following verses of Coleridge."³⁷ The next edition in 1873 goes a step further: "Cologne is now a clean and well-drained city, and nearly free from the objection of foul smells which once provoked the following verses of Coleridge."³⁸ The passage retains this form until the end of the series' run, allowing readers to recover a part of the city's history otherwise lost to them.

Poetry could make a place resonate more fully in the traveler's imagination with humor or sentiment, but more surprising to modern readers, it also directs the reader in a more basic way, as Murray weaves verse

into the process and movements of travel. The practical, routing dimension of the Murray guides was a major reason for their initial success. Unlike today, when travelers in Europe can easily interchange travel by air, train, coach, or car, Victorian travelers faced greater uncertainty in moving from one destination to the next. The Murray handbooks were thus organized by routes rather than destinations, affording readers more assurance about different post times, the reliability of one diligence over another, and, increasingly, railway connections and schedules. Poetry, in turn, often becomes associated with routes as well as places—with getting there and orienting oneself upon arrival—and thus works in close dialogue with the means and modes of modern travel.

This routing feature of poetry helps explain the appeal of Murray's most-quoted single work in the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, Southey's *The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo* (1816). Southey had been appointed laureate three years earlier and thus felt called upon to commemorate Britain's recent victory, but his poem is as much about the process of travel as the significance of the destination in its title. Divided into two sections, "The Journey" and "The Vision," the poem, as Philip Shaw explains, offers a unique combination of the descriptive and the spiritual "as the transitory gaze of the tourist gives way to the eternal eye of God" toward the close.³⁹ The poem thus easily weaves itself into the complex negotiation of the ephemeral and eternal that defines periodical space in Murray's handbooks. Murray quotes Southey at almost regular intervals in the Belgium section, often at the beginnings of routes, as the poet works his way through Ostend and Bruges, for instance, before even arriving at Waterloo.⁴⁰ The guidebook's discussion of the route from Ghent to Brussels illustrates how Southey's poem works almost seamlessly with Murray's prose (figure 3). Weaved in among roads, gates, diligences, and canals, poetry becomes one with the experience of movement (the numbers before Quadrecht and Alost refer to the distances between one city and the next as measured by the posts or stops taken by the diligence en route). At the same time, the slight displacement of the guide's matter-of-fact prose by Southey's rhymes subtly redirects the reader's attention. The reader becomes "like the poet," who is lent some authority to negotiate the confusing, often frustrating means of evolving travel on the continent while providing space for wider reflection on the experience itself.⁴¹ In this way, the practical and the poetical mix and inform each other rather than mark out separate realms of travel discourse.

The arrival into Ghent affords another example of poetry in transit. I reproduce the entire page to give a sense of how a poetic passage imbeds itself in the reader's movement across the page and the space traveled (fig-

**The diligences, of which there are
several daily, take 7 hours on this road.**

**The gate by which we quit Ghent,
called the Porte de Bruxelles, or de
l'Empereur, dates from the year 1300.
A stone bridge, built in 1820, con-
nects it with the fine suburb of La
Pêcherie.**

**Between Ghent and Brussels the
canal is very circuitous, and not, on
any account, to be chosen. It is far
preferable now to become, like the
poet,**

**"Land-travellers along the well-paved way,
Where road-side trees still length'ning on the
view,
Before us and behind unvarying lay."**

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Quadrecht.

**2 Alost (or Aalst). — Inns: H.
d'Autriche — d'Espagne.**

Figure 3. *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (London: John Murray, 1836), 141. Image courtesy of Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

ure 4). Poetry again pauses the reader, literally offering room for reflection and calm, as Linda Hughes observes about the placement of verse on the page in nineteenth-century periodicals: "Far from serving as filler, poetry diversifies closely printed columns in dailies and weeklies and acts as a value-added visual and literary feature. A poem's surrounding white space literally lights up the page."⁴² The content of Southey's verse also seeks to lighten up readers, emphasizing the hospitality of this portion of the trip and reassuring the anxious traveler that the arduous journey also affords moments of ease. Indeed, the passage serves almost as an advertisement for travel as a means of personal but also social enrichment. Even in the bustle of travel and cacophony of different languages, a swan floats by to retrench the experience within a Romantic ideal of picturesque nature. By the end of this twenty-four-line passage, the passengers have settled into a congenial group sharing food and "light discourse," a synecdoche of sorts for a peaceful Europe now opening itself again to foreign travel.⁴³

For Murray's early Victorian readers, the continent was undergoing a different kind of upheaval than that brought on by Napoleon two decades

sistance we soon surpassed those of Flanders in excellence.

There are diligences from Bruges several times a day to Ostend and Ghent, besides canal boats. Coaches run, also, to Courtray.

Six canals concentrate, at Bruges, from Ghent, Sluys (Ecluse, the port of Bruges), Nieuport, Furnes, Ypres, and Ostend.

BRUGES TO GHENT CONTINUED.

By Land. — Diligences two or three times a day. The route is very circuitous, about one third longer than the canal, and, at the same time, monotonous. On quitting Bruges, it passes along an avenue of fine trees for some distance.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ Maldegheem.

$1\frac{3}{4}$ Eckloo. — The only large town on the route; 7000 inhabitants.

The road crosses the Bruges canal twice before it enters *Ghent*.

By Water. — The distance is 28 miles, a journey of 7 hours. Every morning at half-past nine a very handsomely fitted up barge or treckschuyt, surpassing in its appointment any other in Belgium or Holland, starts along the Great Canal for Ghent.

"Beside the busy wharf the treckschuit rides,
With painted plumes and tent-like awning gay;
Carts, barrows, coaches hurry from all sides,
And passengers and porters throng the way,
Contending all at once in clamorous speech,
French, Flemish, English, each confusing each.

All disregardant of the Babel sound,
A swan kept oaring near with upraised eye,—
A beauteous pensioner, who daily found
The bounty of such casual company;
Nor did she leave us till the bell was rung,
And slowly we our watery way begun.

"Europe can boast no richer, goodlier scene
Than that through which our pleasant passage lay,
By fertile fields and fruitful gardens green,
The journey of a short autumnal day;
Sleek well-fed steeds our steady vessel drew;
The heavens were fair, and Mirth was of our crew.

"Along the smooth canal's unbending line,
Regulating time with light discourse, we went,

Nor wanting savoury food nor generous wine.
Ashore, too, there was feast and merriment;
The jovial peasants, at some village fair,
Were dancing, drinking, smoking, gambling there."

The cabin is furnished with every accommodation, and an awning is spread over the deck. There is a very good cuisine on board, and the dinner provided at the table d'hôte costs, with the passage, only 5 fr. 50c., and a half bottle of wine $1\frac{1}{2}$ fr. more. The view from the vessel is limited, as the canal is bounded by high banks on each side, and for the greater part of the distance is lined with tall trees, enlivened by occasional villas and neat gardens. Altogether it forms an agreeable and novel mode of travelling; and no one will regret having tried it for this short distance, even though it be slow. Carriages can be embarked on board the boat.

Another barge sets out at 2 in the afternoon, and a third at 10 p. m., which travels all night. The cabins are provided with beds far more commodious and clean than those usually found in a steam-boat. If a traveller be pressed for time, this will be found an eligible mode of conveyance, especially if the boat be not crowded, so that he can have a cabin all to himself. If the gnats be not too troublesome, he may sleep as comfortably as in his own bed, and find himself next morning at the gates of Ghent or Bruges. The fare, bed included, is 4 fr.

GHENT (French, GAND). — *Inns*: Hôtel Royal, in the Place d'Armes, the best; H. des Pays-Bas. — Lion d'Or. — H. de Flandre: clean, quiet, and moderate charges; breakfast, 1 fr.; dinner, 2 fr.; half bottle of wine, 1 fr. 50 c.; tea, 1 fr. — H. de Vienne.

Ghent lies upon the rivers Scheldt and Lys, whose numerous branches, traversing the town, form canals in all directions: it has about 85,000 inhabitants. In the time of Charles V. this was, perhaps, the largest and most populous city of Europe. It contained

Figure 4. *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (London: John Murray, 1836), 106. Image courtesy of Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

before. The Murray guides began to appear at a crucial transition point in the history of travel and mobility in Europe: new train routes were opening rapidly alongside the improved roads and canals Southey describes, many of those still new themselves. One sees dramatic changes just four years later in the third edition of the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1840), a reminder again of the importance of rereading the Murray guides within a periodical context undergoing regular revision. By this edition, Murray had deleted his suggestion that readers should travel by land “like the poet” and truncated his reference to the canal route to simply advise against it.⁴⁴ A new rail line now allowed readers to bypass this difficult junction entirely: “The Railroad by Mechlin to Brussels, though longer, is a quicker way to Brussels than this high road.”⁴⁵ Yet the passage from Southey remains, albeit in diminished form, as a mark of nostalgia or the passing of time. Murray observes, “The journey by water used to be particularly agreeable,” following up with just two lines from the long passage included in the previous edition: “Europe can boast no richer, goodlier scene / Than that through which our pleasant passage lay.”⁴⁶ Murray continues, “One almost regrets the innovations of steam, which have rendered obsolete this novel but slow mode of traveling.”⁴⁷ Successive editions testify as well to the steady advance of the railroad. Where this section had once opened with information on land and water routes, by 1856 it begins simply, “Trains in 1 hr.”⁴⁸ By 1871, this time is reduced to forty minutes, and the 1873 edition informs readers that “ten trains operate daily from the spot.”⁴⁹

This dialogue of rail and verse repeats itself in other Murray volumes, gaining steam, so to speak, with successive revisions. As Houston writes of this confluence of technological and textual change in the Victorian period, “The newspaper, the railroad, and the telegraph made rapid communication . . . possible, shaping an increasingly industrial and commercial world in which poetry’s purpose and future were undecided and subject to debate.”⁵⁰ Gateways into cities or other sites emerge as textual contact zones where this debate unfolds. And perhaps it is no surprise that of all European locations, Venice forms the most revealing place where poetry and transportation technology meet. Even today, Venice remains a treasured but contested location defined, on the one hand, by the gondola and this longing to connect vividly to the past and, on the other, by the danger of being overwhelmed by a tourist industry that has now added cruise ships to the means of moving travelers into the city on a daily basis. In the first edition of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, Palgrave ominously signals this new era on the horizon by describing “the smoke and fire and squeak, and stink and rattle and shriek, of the locomotive” but adds, more pragmatically, that “the causeway upon which the railroad

is to run has made considerable progress.”⁵¹ While waterways still offer the only entry into the city, Palgrave commemorates them with a long passage from Rogers including the lines, “and from the land we went / As to a floating city, steering in, / And gliding up her streets, as in a dream / So smoothly, silently—.”⁵² By the third edition, Maule repurposes the extract—the only one from Rogers he chose not to cut—as a more direct commentary on the now completed railroad: “As a general description of Venice, Rogers is pleasing, and was correct, but the railroad has superseded the passage from the mainland in a gondola, and, though it may jar with the prejudices of some, presents a scene no less singular.”⁵³ With its subtle dig at the prejudices of his predecessor, this revision offers a good example of how Maule attempted to tone down the emotional excesses or subjectivity of Palgrave’s text. But he also brings poetry and train travel into a less antagonistic relationship, as he and other midcentury Victorian travelers were still processing the changes in perspective, along with the physical and emotional sensations, introduced by this new technology. Rogers’s pleasing description historicizes train travel for Murray’s guidebook readers, providing a space for critical reflection on the page even as readers experience this transformation on the ground. This was one of the few long passages, in fact, to survive Pullen’s purge of poetry from the volume, and through the end of the century it marked this change in the means of travel to Venice for readers.⁵⁴ In this way, poetry bridged the historical gap between the gondola and railway.

As this example demonstrates, poetry performs much the same kind of stabilizing function in Murray’s handbooks that Hughes sees in newspapers of the time. Talking specifically about the role of sentimental and affective poetry in the modern periodical space, Hughes writes, “To the degree that poetry generically signified imitations of the universal, the spiritual, and the permanent, poetry could mediate the miscellaneousness and ephemerality of the periodical itself.”⁵⁵ The guidebook presents a similar kind of textual space whose existence and profitability depend upon how closely it engages with that modernity—in this case, by keeping up to date with changes to the infrastructure of travel. At the same time, European travel was in many ways motivated by a wish to escape those same forces of modernity and ground oneself within a more historical sense of place. Poetry helps the Murray guides perform this kind of balancing act. The regular intervention of poetry on Murray’s pages, as with newspapers, would have “registered awareness of an unchanging zone beyond modernity, its predictable rhymes and sing-song rhythms serving as countercharms to unpredictability elsewhere and forming a spiritualized counterpart to the rhythmic waves of serial publication.”⁵⁶ Thus the Rogers extract, set off from the rest of the column in a space of its own, travels with the reader

along the new railroad, a verse guide that reframes one's entry into the city emotively and historically. If modernity's rapid changes justify the continued revision and reissue of guidebooks, poetry helps remind the reader why one travels in the first place, providing a kind of familiarity and refuge within the ever-evolving spaces and networks of travel.

For Victorian readers experiencing the birth of the modern travel industry as it happened, poetry thus facilitated what we would now term "slow travel," a concept that first emerged in travel studies in the early 2000s to describe resistance to the sorts of efficiencies meant to move tourists, and their capital, smoothly and predictably through networks of travel. The three elements that most characterize slow travel, according to one recent definition, include "avoiding flight and car use; low-carbon tourism; and absorption in place both at a destination and during the journey."⁵⁷ As this definition reveals, slow travel today is closely linked with the movement toward more environmentally sustainable forms of tourism, which—somewhat ironically given my subject here—largely embrace train travel as less harmful to the environment than other forms of mass transit. Murray's guidebooks, of course, came into being just as the modern travel industry was beginning to take shape and many readers could still recall a time when travel was, by definition, slow. To some extent, Murray tries to recover this sense of travel time by focusing less on consuming the space than on dwelling in it and imprinting the experience deeper in the memory. By midcentury his guides were already gaining cultural status as an alternative to mass-market kinds of travel, which funneled travelers onto more predictable itineraries.⁵⁸ Class, of course, is also an inevitable part of this dynamic. With the modern travel industry comes the sort of anti-tourism that seeks to deploy poetic or other literary capital as a mark of distinction from travelers of a lower socio-economic class. At the same time, we should be careful not to delimit poetry's purpose within guidebooks in this way. The function of poetry for these reader-travelers was more in line with the periodical uses Hughes describes when she reminds us that poetry was an "integral part of public discourse . . . rather than a privileged high-culture realm set apart" that would have attracted the anti-tourist.⁵⁹ Poetry served a variety of complex, sometimes contradictory needs for Victorian readers as they sought to negotiate the uncertain travel and textual spaces of modernity. As Lorraine J. Kooistra writes, we should always be attuned to "the paratextual apparatuses and social institutions that brought poets and readers together in historically specific ways."⁶⁰

Perhaps the best example of strategic paratextual design in Murray's guides on behalf of this poetic slow traveling is to be found where we might think it most odd: at the very opening of a route, right underneath the heading (figure 5). Whereas typically prose text would frame or introduce

Route 55.—*Lake of Geneva.*

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ROUTE 55.

THE LAKE OF GENEVA.

Lake Leman, in a Calm.

"Clear, placid Leman! thy contrasted lake,
 With the wild world I dwell in, is a thing
 Which warns me, with its stillness, to forsake
 Earth's troubled waters for a purer spring.
 This quiet sail is as a noiseless wing
 To waft me from destruction; once I loved
 Torn ocean's roar, but thy soft murmuring
 Sounds sweet as if a Sister's voice re-proved,
 That I with stern delights should e'er have been so moved.
 It is the hush of night, and all between
 Thy margin and the mountains, dusk,
 yet clear,
 Mellow'd and mingled, yet distinctly seen,
 Save darken'd Jura, whose cap't heights appear
 Precipitously steep; and drawing near,
 There breathes a living fragrance from the shore,
 Of flowers yet fresh with childhood; on the ear
 Drops the light drip of the suspended oar,
 Or chirps the grasshopper one good-night carol more.

At intervals, some bird from out the brakes
 Starts into voice a moment, then is still.
 There seems a floating whisper on the hill,
 But that is fancy,—for the starlight dews
 All silently their tears of love instil,
 Weeping themselves away."

Lake Leman, in a Storm.

"Thy sky is changed!—and such a change! Oh night,
 And storm, and darkness, ye are wondrous strong,
 Yet lovely in your strength, as is the light
 Of a dark eye in woman! Far along,
 From peak to peak, the rattling crags among
 Leaps the live thunder! Not from one lone cloud,
 But every mountain now hath found a tongue,
 And Jura answers, through her misty shroud,
 Back to the joyous Alps, who call to her aloud!

Now, where the swift Rhone cleaves his way between
 Heights which appear as lovers who have parted
 In hate, whose mining depths so inter-vene,
 That they can meet no more, though broken hearted!
 Though in their souls, which thus each other thwarted,
 Love was the very root of the fond rage
 Which blighted their life's bloom, and then departed:
 Itself expired, but leaving them an age
 Of years all winters,—war within themselves to wage.

Now, where the quick Rhone thus hath cleft his way,
 The mightiest of the storms hath ta'en his stand:
 For here, not one, but many, make their play,
 And fling their thunder-bolts from hand to hand,
 Flashing and cast around: of all the band,
 The brightest through these parted hills hath fork'd
 His lightnings,—as if he did understand,
 That in such gaps as desolation work'd,
 There the hot shaft should blast whatever therein lurk'd.

And this is in the night:—Most glorious night!
 Thou wert not sent for slumber! let me be
 A sharer in thy fierce and far delight,—
 A portion of the tempest and of thee!
 How the lit lake shines, a phosphoric sea,
 And the big rain comes dancing to the earth!
 And now again 'tis black,—and now, the glee
 Of the loud hills shakes with its mountain-mirth.
 As if they did rejoice o'er a 'young earthquake's birth.

Sky, mountains, river, winds, lake, lightnings! ye!
 With night, and clouds, and thunder, and a soul
 To make these felt and feelings, well may be
 Things that have made me watchful; the far roll
 Of your departing voices, is the knoll
 Of what in me is sleepless,—if I rest.
 But where of ye, oh tempests! is the goal?
 Are ye like those within the human breast?
 Or do ye find, at length, like eagles, some high nest?"

Byron.

The Lake of Geneva, called by the Romans Lacus Lemanus, has nearly

Figure 5. *A Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (London: John Murray, 1838), 141. Image courtesy of Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

the poetry, here the opposite occurs as poetry places the reader imaginatively alongside Byron on the waters of Lake Geneva. The length of the extract, perhaps, testifies to the young Murray's enthusiasm for Byron, but we should also observe that the passages are quite carefully selected and placed to decelerate the traveler, even in the italicized subheading that checks and slows the reader into a "calm."⁶¹ The passage orients travelers to appreciate silence as well as sounds, whether arising from the ecology of the space or the boat itself: "on the ear / Drops the light drip of the suspended oar, / Or chirps the grasshopper one good-night carol more."⁶² The next excerpt, "Lake Leman, in a Storm," is more patently Byronic with its emotional identification with the destructive power of nature, but it continues to drive home the impulse that the traveler's thoughts and imagination in this place should be closely attuned to the surrounding natural environment. And in this respect, Murray's aims are not far from the attention to sustainability that informs slow travel today. It is not until the last paragraph of this section, after the description of the lake and another passage from Byron, that Murray provides information on the steamboats available for conveyance across the lake.⁶³ If Murray's concern is not with carbon emissions, he does encourage travelers to deprioritize rapid consumption and convenience.

The revision history of the Byron passage testifies to this contest between the peaceful stasis that is one lure of travel and the need to be on the move, regardless of how long one wishes to linger. This history also indicates something of the struggle editors would have faced to create space for slow travel with poetry while also responding to readers' need for travel information that would guide them to and from a spot easily. Byron would continue to mediate this contest through the next fourteen editions, slowing readers down while the surrounding text reflected changes in the means of travel to and across the lake, which in turn altered the routes Murray advised and their organization within the guidebook. The 1856 edition merges the section on Lake Geneva with the following one and repositions Byron's verse after a paragraph with information on travel by post road and steamers to Geneva.⁶⁴ In 1858 the next revision removes the paragraph on diligences and notes, "The Rly. is now open to Bussigny and Lausanne."⁶⁵ In this middle stage of the handbook's existence, poetry and prose work together to place the reader, who is first directed through the maze of travel networks and schedules before being resituated by the poetry and its attention to atmosphere. Interestingly, the 1858 revision also advises "those who are not in a violent hurry" to take the "far more pleasant route" by steamer, the best approximation of Byron's original journey on the water.⁶⁶ Editor C. Marett thus again accentuates the close association of poetry with travel by water, going back to Southey's "novel but slow

mode” of travel on the Bruges-Ghent canal in the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* and Rogers’s silent arrival by boat into Venice.⁶⁷ Water and poetry figure prominently again in two other places not mentioned thus far: the Lake Lucerne section of the handbook for Switzerland opens with a sixteen-line passage from Rogers’s *Italy*, while a seventy-six-line extract from *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* guides readers down the Rhine from Cologne to Coblenz in the handbook for the Continent.⁶⁸ The nineteenth century, of course, offered numerous examples of railroad poetry if Murray and his editors had sought it out—one thinks especially of Aurora Leigh’s train journey through the Alps into Italy in Barrett Browning’s 1856 epic. But the Romantic poets who formed Murray’s mainstays, and for whom train travel was not an option, better served the guidebooks’ aim of providing at least occasional space outside the churning engines of modernity.

The 1879 edition of the *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* finally removes Byron’s Lake Geneva passage, as noted earlier, in the first major cut of poetry from the guides. Increasingly, Murray’s handbooks would leave readers to themselves to carve out that decelerated, quiet space of reflection from their itineraries. Guidebook and verse, which had traveled so well together for Victorian readers, would depart on separate journeys by the turn of the century. Indeed, to trace the textual history of this particular passage from Byron is in many ways to map the evolution of the guidebook form itself and its relation to poetry and transportation technology. The handbooks, like the face of Europe, were in a continuous state of revision and renegotiation in the nineteenth century. If much of the poetry in Murray’s guides paid tribute to what was in danger of becoming lost amid these changes, it still served a much more active, fluid, and authoritative role in taking stock of these changes than has hitherto been appreciated.

Auburn University

NOTES

I would like to thank David McClay and Kirsty McHugh for their assistance with my research at the National Library of Scotland, which has granted permission to quote material from their John Murray Archive. My thanks are due as well to John R. and Virginia Murray, who allowed access to handbook manuscripts in their possession.

1. See the introduction to Ehnes, *Victorian Poetry*, which offers a helpful summary of some of the most important work in this field. On the influence of gift-books as a venue for poetry, see Harris, *Forget Me Not*.

2. Buzard's ground-breaking *The Beaten Track* remains the most comprehensive investigation into Murray's impact on the nineteenth-century British literary marketplace. Schaff focuses on Murray's use of Byron in the Italian guides and how they "appropriated, familiarized and marketed Italy as a product of English Romanticism." "John Murray's *Handbooks to Italy*," 106. Goodwin and Johnston offer valuable insight into the business and publishing history of the guides and how the Murray brand came to be associated with a more comprehensive attention to history, literature, and the arts.
3. As Buzard writes, "Byron offered tourists a means of imagining and dramatizing their saving difference from the crowd of other tourists around them." *Beaten Track*, 121. Murray selected passages "so as to retain the pathos and passion without confronting what was seen as the irrelevant political grounds for much of the sentiment." *Ibid.*, 123.
4. Ehnes, *Victorian Poetry*, 2.
5. Lawrence, "Indexing Periodical Poetry," 611.
6. Houston, "Toward a Computational Analysis of Victorian Poetics," 498.
7. The sixth edition (1828) of Starke's guide contains 111 lines of poetry, most of it (sixty-four lines) from Alexander Pope's translation of *The Odyssey* placed in footnotes. I want to be careful, however, not to diminish Starke's overall contributions to the historical development of the guidebook. As Proteau points out, Starke's book "achieved significant success during her lifetime and both Murray and Baedeker later imitated many of its techniques." "'Not your ordinary guidebook,'" 123.
8. Lister's *Guide to the Microfiche Edition of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* is my primary bibliographical source for information on Murray, although Lister does not account for all revisions in the series, only those that "contain significant changes from previous editions." *Guide to the Microfiche Edition*, vi.
9. Specifically in canto 3, sec. 35-45, and canto 4, sec. 89-98. See Byron, *Oxford Authors*, 114-17, 172-76.
10. *Handbook for Travellers in France*, 435.
11. On Ford's impact, see Lister, *Guide to the Microfiche Edition*, xxi-xxiii.
12. *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842), xi, xxiii.
13. Schaff, "John Murray's *Handbooks to Italy*," 112.
14. *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* (1843), 333-34.
15. Murray, "Origin and History of Murray's Handbooks," 629.
16. *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842), 374. Palgrave does quote an extract from Byron's journal on paintings housed in the Manfrini Palace. *Ibid.*, 366. He also mentions Byron in reference to the Doge's Palace and the poet's study of languages at the convent at San Lazzaro in Venice. *Ibid.*, 336, 339-40.

17. Early Murray historian George Paston writes, "New editions were required every two or three seasons, as new routes were opened up, countries changed hands and monarchs rose or fell." *At John Murray's*, 50.
18. The *Quarterly* cut into Palgrave while praising other titles in the Murray series: Palgrave "should never have done a hand-book" and turned the form into a vehicle for "his own peculiar doctrines and speculations on a wide range of subjects." Review of *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, 138–39.
19. Damien, "Ruskin versus Murray," 20.
20. *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842), xxiii.
21. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1840), 168, 174.
22. *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1846), 259. The passage is misattributed to Wordsworth but was corrected in the next edition as coming from "the author of Philip van Artevelde." *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1851), 255.
23. Four lines of Macaulay's poem are excerpted in the *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* (1892), 133, and eight lines in the *Handbook of Rome* (1894), 133. The poem went into numerous editions and reached its sales height in 1862, according to Altick, *English Common Reader*, 387.
24. The *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* (1892) directs travelers to the Protestant Cemetery in Florence, making note of Barrett Browning's grave along with those of Arthur Hugh Clough and Walter Savage Landor (89). The *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1891) observes of the Palazzo Rezzonico in Venice: "The palace now belongs to R. Browning, whose father, the poet, died here in 1889." 321.
25. Goodwin and Johnston, "Guidebook Publishing in the Nineteenth Century," 59.
26. Henry W. Pullen to John Murray IV, October 4, 1890; emphasis in the original.
27. Goodwin and Johnston, "Guidebook Publishing in the Nineteenth Century," 47.
28. Given the limitations of space and focus, I have chosen not to offer a more fully developed comparison between the Baedeker and Murray guides. But for the sake of comparison, Baedeker's *Italy: Handbook for Travellers; Second Part, Central Italy and Rome* (1893) contains a total of twenty-four lines of verse, including the five-line "envoi" from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* ("Go, litel book . . .") included opposite the title page of all Baedeker travel guides. If diminished compared to Murray, the function of poetry and other literary content in Baedeker still deserves wider scholarly attention. His 1863 guide to Switzerland, to give one more example, cites passages from Goethe and Schiller along with Byron among its fifty-three lines, presenting British travelers with a more international if smaller poetic landscape.

29. Turner, "Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century," 184.
30. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1836), v.
31. *Ibid.*, 7–8.
32. *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1838), 16. The passage accompanies the Hapsburg section where the subject of the poem, Albert I (1250?–1308), ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, was assassinated. The passage survived until the 1879 edition. The poem may have initially caught Murray's attention as the lead work in another periodical, the *Friendship's Offering* for 1826.
33. *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842), 334.
34. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1836), 142. Demoor notes that excerpts of poetry on Waterloo from Byron and Southey were published widely in the periodical press of the time, as they joined other poets and writers in translating this spot of Belgium into a transhistorical "realm of memory" that quickly became "instrumental to British national identity." "Waterloo as a Small 'Realm of Memory,'" 453.
35. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1836), 211.
36. *Friendship's Offering* (1834), 360.
37. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1871), 258.
38. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1873), 258.
39. Shaw, "Re-placing Waterloo," 125. Shaw also notes that Southey, "a representative of the mobile bourgeoisie," himself embodied the traveling aspirations of middle-class readers—the same readers, of course, who would become the primary consumers of the Murray guides. *Ibid.*, 107.
40. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1836), 100, 101.
41. *Ibid.*, 141.
42. Hughes, "What the Wellesley Index Left Out," 103.
43. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1836), 106.
44. *Ibid.*, 141.
45. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1840), 158.
46. *Ibid.*, 120.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1856), 126.
49. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1873), 129.
50. Houston, "Newspaper Poems," 233.
51. *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842), 324.
52. *Ibid.*, 325.
53. *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1846), 314.
54. *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1891), 272.
55. Hughes, "What the Wellesley Index Left Out," 99.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Dickinson, Lumsdon, and Robbins, "Slow Travel," 283.

58. Barber, for instance, describes Murray and Baedeker as “comfort and culture” guides aimed at travelers of higher financial means and thus usually with more time to travel and dwell in different locations. “English-Language Guide Book,” 105.
59. Hughes, “Inventing Poetry and Pictorialism,” 47.
60. Kooistra, “From Blake to Beardsley,” 3.
61. *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1838), 141.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, 142.
64. *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1856), 157.
65. *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1858), 154.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1840), 120.
68. The Rogers passage appears in the first edition of the *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland*, 51, and would survive through the next two editions. Byron’s passage appears in the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1836), 213–14, and stayed through the seventeenth edition of 1873.

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