A CANADIAN TRAVELLER'S TALE:

LILLIAN B. ALLEN AND DOCUMENTING TRAVEL, 1927-1979

by

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ABSTRACT

Although archives hold vast amounts of travel records, these records have been virtually ignored in the archival literature. Thus research is needed on contextualizing them for the various functions archivists perform with such contextual knowledge. Other academic fields have produced much work on the history of travel, but little as yet on the records of travel. Within archival literature, journal articles have been published on documents created as a consequence of travel, but they have seldom been studied within the context of the history of travel. This thesis demonstrates the importance of historical context in the examination of travel records through a case study analysis of the travel records created between 1927 and 1979 by Lillian Beatrice Allen, a University of Manitoba professor, a photographer, and a frequent traveller. This thesis argues that the full value of travel records cannot be obtained if they are studied outside the context of the history of travel and of the particular travellers who created them.

Allen's travel records will be contextualized within the tradition of travellers' records, and more specifically those of women travellers. By evaluating not just what she says in her travel records, but also how she records them, what types of travel records she keeps, what that says about her, and what that says about travel records and women travellers in general, I hope to demonstrate the value of applying the archival perspective to the history of travel and travel records. Archivists, as those responsible for the care and contextualization of such research tools, are well-placed to play a key role in illuminating the history of travel records and thus provide better archival representations of them and

thereby better service to researchers. Also, although archivists have traditionally aimed to be neutral gatekeepers of information, this study of Allen's travel records demonstrates the effect archivists can have (indeed must have) on the types and amounts of records kept to ensure that valuable sources of information are not lost to future generations.

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INTRODUCTION

Records of travel can be found throughout archives, in records of tour operators,[1] airlines, railways,[2] bus lines, shipping lines, and hotels, the advertising industry, and in government records[3] and countless personal records created by families and individuals.[4] There is a wide variety of travel records to be found in archives, if one knows where to look, as travel is probably one of the most heavily documented human activities. Only recently have people begun to explore travel records and the history of travel itself as a new and separate subject. As historian Sara Mills says, it was not until the 1970s that travel emerged as a legitimate academic topic, an odd oversight until then, given the vast amounts of archival records created by travelling.[5] John K. Walton notes that academics are only beginning to realize the important impact tourism has had on the

[1] The Thomas Cook Archives contain records from its first excursion in 1841 to the present day, including brochures, guidebooks, traveller's diaries and photographs of excursions. It can be found online at http://www.thomascook.com/thomas-cook-archives (last accessed 20 August 2014).
[2] The Canadian Pacific Archives contain records about CP's interests in ships, hotels and the promotion of tourism, located online at http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/GetMuseumProfile.do?lang=en&chinCode=guabqm (last accessed 20 August 2014).
[3] Examples of government travel records in Library and Archives Canada include over 17,000 photographs of Canadian scenery and events of special interest to tourists in the Canadian Government Office of Tourism, Marketing Branch records (1965-1972).
[4] Literary figure Madge MacBeth's fonds in Library and Archives Canada includes a travel diary recording a Mediterranean cruise and visit to Boston in 1933, and a collection of vintage postcards and snapshots depicting commercial tourism locales in Canada in the 1930s. Historian Irene Spry's fonds at Library and Archives Canada contains trip binders for most of her major trips between 1960 and the early 1990s, which hold detailed itineraries, maps, travel brochures, local souvenirs, research notes, photographs, correspondence, research, accommodations and travel arrangements.
[5] Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), 2.

world, and argues that more attention needs to be paid to the history of travel.[6] As research in this area increases, so too will the need for archival work. Archivists have yet to do much examination of travel records. They could make a pivotal contribution to our understanding of travel by highlighting the importance of travel records and focusing more attention on the study of the records' histories, variety, and whereabouts in archives.

Recent archival publications have called for an overall contextual approach to records. Archivists have proposed that records be examined within the context of the history of the records, societies, social class, gender, recordkeeping systems, record types, and their materiality. Also, archivist Catherine Hobbs argues for increased focus on personal records as opposed to administrative or government records and to look beyond the surface of the record and consider its creator as a person with a complex psychological make-up that shapes the record.[7] Archival educator Tom Nesmith argues for the importance of historical knowledge to the archival profession,[8] and, like Nesmith, archival educator Terry Cook believes there should be a closer relationship between the archivist and the historian. Indeed, archivists should be historians of records to help contextualize them more fully for archive users.[9] While looking at a type of travel record, postcards, archivist Sandra Ferguson cites a need to look beyond the picture on the postcard, and instead to consider postcards as a valuable type of record for various fields

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[6] John K. Walton, ed., *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 1.
[7] Catherine Hobbs, "The Character of Personal Archives: Reflections on the Value of Records of Individuals." *Archivaria* 52 (February 2001) : 126-135.
[8] Tom Nesmith, "What's History Got to Do With It?: Reconsidering the Place of Historical Knowledge in Archival Work," *Archivaria* 57 (Spring 2004) : 1-27
[9] Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape," *Canadian Historical Review* 90 no.3 (2009), 506-507.

of research.[10] Archivist Jennifer Rutkair has explored gender as a way of contextualizing records, illustrated with an analysis of archival photographs.[11] Finally, archival conservator Ala Rekrut stresses the importance of knowledge of the material features of records to their overall contextualization.[12]

This thesis will start to address the lack of analysis of travel records in the archival literature concerning travel records by studying the travel records of Lillian Beatrice Allen (1904-95), a professor in the Faculty of Agriculture and Home Economics at the University of Manitoba (1934-71). Throughout her life, she was an active record keeper, and much of what she kept was donated to the University of Manitoba Department of Archives & Special Collections (hereafter as the University of Manitoba Archives) over the course of seventeen years (from 1978 until her death in 1995). These donations include photographs from 1904 to 1990, personal correspondence, personal and travel books, as she called them, party books, invitations, Christmas cards she had designed, her diplomas, family historical material, published and unpublished articles, news clippings, newsletters, slideshows, CBC radio talks, and lectures. Allen also donated twenty-seven travel books that documented her travels. This thesis focuses on the travel books.

When Sara Mills published her book about women's travel writing in the early 1990s, trying to give it some critical framework, she noted that there was a lack of such work on women's travel writing, not only for women today but also for the time before

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[10] Sandra Ferguson. " 'A Murmur of Small Voices:' On the Picture Postcard in Academic Research," *Archivaria* 60 (Fall 2005) : 167-184.

[11] Jennifer Rutkair. "Adding Gender to the Archival Contextual Turn: The Rocky Mountain Photographic Records of Mary Schäffer Warren," M.A. Thesis. University of Manitoba, 2011.

[12] Ala Rekrut. "Material Literacy: Reading Records as Material Culture," *Archivaria* 60 (Fall 2005): 11-37.

the nineteenth century.[13] Women's travel writing has been published in some form since the fourteenth century, yet there is not much knowledge of these texts outside of the republications by Virago, a feminist press, which still mainly republishes nineteenth-century women's travel journals and publications. These efforts by Virago Press are part of a larger effort to dispel stereotypes about women in the Victorian period, stereotypes such as that middle class women mainly lived their lives in the private sphere. This is not to say that there has been no work done outside of the nineteenth century, and indeed since Mills wrote her book, more has been published and not just by feminist journals or presses. Still, the nineteenth-century woman traveller remains the most popular and so attention is often focussed on these women.

Women travellers are often stereotyped as exceptional, eccentric, spinsters and oddities. It would be all too easy to classify Allen as all of these and this will be further explored in chapter two. Women have indeed travelled a great deal, especially since the nineteenth century, and recorded and published their travels. The difference between men's and women's travel writing is that women's travel writing has tended to be ignored, not taken as seriously or been thought of as full of lies and exaggerations. Travel writing has always been a genre under close scrutiny. Earlier travel writing had many tales of the fantastic, some brought back by explorers, exaggerating what they had discovered. By the eighteenth century travellers had consciously developed strategies to counter claims of falsification and exaggeration. The main strategy was to create records to show that they had indeed travelled to and seen what they claimed to have. These types of records included maps, sketches, photographs and even testimonials.[14] The creation of travel

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[13] Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* , 33.
[14] Ibid., 112.

records became vital if the traveller hoped to be taken seriously and believed and this tradition carries on to the present day, with even more types of travel records being created for many of the same reasons.

Women too were involved in this records creation, but they more than men were apt to be accused of exaggeration and outright lying. Sara Mills believes this to be so for three reasons: i) travel writing in general was already going to be under close scrutiny and thus more likely to be accused of falsification; ii) the stereotype in western European culture was that women were more likely to lie; and (iii) for many years women were represented as passive and dependent on men and in women's travel writing they were active and thus did not fit within the traditional discourse.[15] A clear example of such distrust occurred as late as 1972 when Jeanne Denys published an entire book discrediting Alexandra David-Neel, who had written a book about her travels to Tibet in 1927. Admittedly David-Neel's book may have something of the fantastic in it -- a woman who travelled to Tibet and walked to Lhasa, a city forbidden to foreigners, disguised as a local peasant with only a local guide. One of the methods Denys used to try to discredit David Neel's book involved comparing David-Neel's travel writing to men's travel writing during the same time period. Even the types of records that were created over the course of her travels were questioned. Her maps were only sketch maps and not proper 'to scale' geographical maps as male explorers had created in the past and Denys listed several reasons why David-Neel's photographs must have been faked. Even with the traditional types of records used to prove that they had travelled, female travel writers have still been under much more scrutiny than their male counterparts. Lillian Allen's travel records certainly prove that she was not outright lying when she wrote her

[15] Ibid., 114.

travel journals. Yet there is some indication that she exaggerated her stories and thus perhaps there is something to be said for the idea that all travellers, whether male or female, may exaggerate a little about their travels, beyond what their records say.

Before an in-depth analysis of travel records can be conducted, two key terms associated with travel must be understood. The two terms, 'traveller' and 'tourist,' are used sometimes interchangeably and sometimes deliberately. It is important to understand not only how they are applied but what it means to be labelled as such in order to understand the distinctions within the history of travel and the records. In part, a study of the history of travelling is about the dichotomy between these two groups. In the literature, those who travelled before the nineteenth century have generally been referred to as travellers, not tourists. This is because the term tourist arose in the nineteenth century in reference to individuals who went on packaged tours, took shorter trips, and visited specific sites that many others also visited. The traveller was considered to be someone with more time and money than the standard tourist, and could have different purposes for their travels, such as merchants, rather than just leisure. Even before Thomas Cook started his package tours, the word tourist had developed a negative connotation, being seen as "...the dupe of fashion, following blindly where authentic travellers have gone with open eyes and free spirits."[16] In 1848 *Blackwoods Magazine* stated that "The merits of the railroad and the steamboat have been prodigiously vaunted, and we have no desire to depreciate the advantage of either .... But they have afflicted our generation with one desperate evil; they have covered Europe with the Tourist."[17] This disdain for tourists

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[16] Asta von Buch. "In the Image of the Grand Tour: Railway Station Embellishment and the Origins of Mass Tourism," *The Journal of Transport History* 28, no.2 (2007), 258
[17] Peter Hulme and Tim Young, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 48.

intensified when Cook's packaged tours became popular with the new middle class, allowing them to travel to destinations previously only accessible to the upper classes, and then were extended to those who wrote about travel. Even today, many travel writers emphasize how they are different from tourists. Lillian Allen often derides tourists, sometimes labelling herself as someone who is not a tourist and sometimes referring to herself negatively as a tourist. In Travel Book Ten, for example, she describes a ticket purchase as "...the only stupid tourist thing I've ever done in years...." and refers to her destination as "...the worst of all tourist traps" that she had let the Cook's salesman talk her into buying.[18] In Travel Book Seventeen she complains about tourists: "The biggest headache is that there are so many thousands of tourists. When I first began to go abroad that was not the case. Now they jam the hotels."[19]

Part of the tourist versus traveller debate relates to class. Aristocrats were the first to write scathingly about tourists now able to go on the very journeys that were once exclusive to them, and they took pains to identify themselves as travellers and their travels not as packaged tours. Some early guidebooks such as Murray's or Baedeker actively encouraged users to look down on the mere tourist excursions of the Thomas Cook type.[20] The elitist attitudes continue somewhat among current travellers. Today travel articles and books often contain stories about a horrible, disrespectful act done by a 'tourist' on vacation. Allen shared this elitist approach. As will be explored further in chapter two, she generally does not refer to herself as a tourist except in self-deprecation.

[18] University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections (hereafter UMA), Lillian B. Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 10, Europe 1956.
[19] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 5, Travel book 17, Britain, Spain 1964.
[20] von Buch. "In the Image of the Grand Tour: Railway Station Embellishment and the Origins of Mass Tourism," 258.

She had sufficient income to travel extensively, and she considered herself part of an educated upper class; as such, she viewed herself as above the common tourist.

Despite the differences in class, money spent on transit etc, the distinction between tourist and traveller remains somewhat nebulous. Academics have come to recognize that, while the term tourist was not in use prior to the nineteenth century, activities generally attributed to tourists were, such as Romans touring Egypt. Historian Loykie Lomine sets out to prove that tourism existed in the Roman Augustan period between 44 B.C. and A.D 69. He writes that Augustan society offered everything that tourism offers the modern tourist, including museums, guidebooks, seaside resorts, sightseeing places, spas, souvenir shops, postcards, tour guides, concert halls and more.[21] It therefore may not be appropriate to refer to all individuals who travelled prior to the nineteenth century as travellers. Alexander Vari when reviewing Lomine's work had difficulty with this interpretation of what constitutes tourist activities. He believes it problematizes the concept of modernity when referring to developments that took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and wonders about the point of calling the seaside resort or a guidebook modern if they already existed in the Augustan period.[22] Amanda Kendle suggests that the distinction between the tourist and the traveller is about "…experiencing a country and its culture from the inside, rather than simply taking pictures of it as it passes by your tour bus window.…"[23] This suggests that being a tourist is what consumers do en masse and being a traveller is more individualistic. In addition, it is no longer only the elite who sneer at the middle class, but also a new breed of

[21] Walton, ed., *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, 69.
[22] Alexander Vari. Review of *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. John K. Walton. *Journal of Tourism History* 2, no.3 (2010) : 244.
[23] Amanda Kendle. "4 Ways to Be a Traveler Not a Tourist," *Vagabondish* (November 3, 2007) http://www.vagabondish.com/4-ways-to-be-a-traveler-not-a-tourist/ (last accessed 20 August 2014).

traveller who despises the mass consumerism of the modern tourist industry, thus requiring a distinction between upper class travellers who can afford to travel independent of package tours and those who travel on a budget to 'tourist traps'.

A careful examination of the records produced from and for travels do differentiate the tourist from the traveller. Not because the definition itself is so important but how these people are defining themselves is important, as in Allen's case. Again, Allen was very aware of her social class, identifies herself as a traveller and disdains tourists, even while she involves herself in tourist activities. Indeed, she started travelling internationally during a time when few even in the middle class could afford to. What this means for the records and for Allen herself will be further explored in chapter two. It is important not to become immersed in who is a tourist and who is a traveller but to understand that there is a distinction and ongoing debate about these differences.

As travel evolved, different forms of records have been created to document it. Early travel history was dominated by explorers, scientists, merchants, missionaries, and migrants, resulting in mainly institutional records such as maps and formal reports, as well as many published travel accounts. As modes of transportation improved, allowing a wider range of people to travel, travel also became a way of gaining and exhibiting education and culture, such as with the Grand Tour taken by many among the European social elite. These lengthy, leisurely travels by the elite produced new kinds of travel records that reflected the added available travel time and affluence of their creators such as paintings, extensive correspondence and diaries, some of which were also published.

With the rise of tourism in the nineteenth century, new forms of records arose in order to be able to organize the greater number of people who were now travelling on

shorter trips and for shorter periods of time and these records helped tourists to remember their travels. A range of more quickly made and even mass produced records emerge to document and transmit information about travel. Photographs, postcards, guidebooks, booklets, brochures, tickets, and itineraries joined institutional records, personal letters, diaries, and publications among the records of travelling.

Initially, women did not feature prominently in travel records, as it was rare for them to travel outside of missionary work or religious pilgrimages. Tourism allowed women to travel safely and respectably in a way they had never been able to before. They flourished, despite their narratives often being taken less seriously than men's. Lillian Allen is one such woman who took advantage of this new era of travel for women. As a single well-educated woman, with a profession that provided the time and financial resources to travel extensively, she created a large body of travel records, more than most Canadian women of her era. Her records reflect both the development of and shifts in tourism as it expanded after the Second World War, and became more available to those in the middle class. The rising number of tourists and the shift from travel being solely for the elite to being available for individuals not of her social background annoyed Allen, as she much preferred the tradition of sophisticated travel experiences -- visiting faraway places and expanding her social connections, professional knowledge, and self-understanding. The post-1945 explosion of tourism shaped her and her travel books, the latter of which became a product of the changes in travel and the types of travel documentation developed during this period.

These travel books contain the variety of records created during the era of mass tourism. Allen created these books over the course of her lifetime, and it took her many

years to compile, organize and edit them. That she did so shows how important they were to her, not only as a way of differentiating herself from the ordinary tourist, but also as a means of enhancing her social standing as resources for her public talks and publications. Her records at the University of Manitoba Archives include multiple versions of some written accounts and both the materials she chose to include in her books and the material she did not. These records do not reflect specific, static moments in time, but rather are part of an evolving creative process that took years. Allen's travel books became an expression of her personal growth and developing sense of identity, an identity that became a part of the legacy that University of Manitoba Archives staff helped her to craft and to leave, which will be further explored in chapter three.

In order to understand the history of travel records chapter one will provide an overview of the history of travel. It concentrates on the early history of travelling, the evolution of tourism from its nineteenth century origins and on tourism in the twentieth century. This chapter will introduce the kinds of records that have been produced and that will appear in Lillian Allen's travel journals. Chapter two will shift focus to Allen, her travel journals, and women travellers. The first chapter's focus on early travellers and their records, while important, often precludes women. Although the amount that Allen travelled, either alone or with friends or family, is noteworthy for a woman of her generation, there are other women travellers as well. It is important to highlight how their travels and experiences would have been different from those of the opposite gender because of their sex and how this relates to Allen and her journals. Chapter two will discuss further Allen, her family, her social class, her education and their impact on her travels and travel journals. By comparing and contrasting a variety of women's travel

records with hers, the societal context and origins of Allen’s travelling and travel records are made clearer. Her education, family, friends and class had a large impact on why she chose to travel and the kinds of travel records she kept. This knowledge becomes key to understanding why she kept her travel records for so many years and donated them to the archives.

Chapter three will focus on the Allen records specifically. Sketching out a preliminary overview of Allen’s entire fonds at the Archives will provide an overall idea of the kinds of recordkeeping she did outside of her travel records. This chapter will delve specifically into the types of records found within her twenty-seven travel books, which range from photographs to maps to menus. It is the intention of this chapter to show what insights can be made into travel records and thus into women travellers through the eyes of an archivist.

CHAPTER ONE

A HISTORY OF TRAVEL AND RECORDS

To fully recognize the importance of Lillian Allen's records, one needs an understanding of travel records, and to properly contextualize travel records, it is important to understand the history of travel itself. This chapter will review the history of travel, starting with the ancient Greeks, highlighting several different eras of travel in the west, and covering the main points in the history of travel that are covered in most tourism history books; i.e., the Grand Tour, Thomas Cook, and the rise of mass tourism after World War II. It will also explore why people chose to travel, the kinds of records created in each era, and how the travel narrative has changed over time. As John K. Walton says in the first issue of the *Journal of Tourism History*, a new journal devoted to this emerging subject, "The analysis of written, visual and multi-media texts from perspectives rooted in literary and cultural studies constitutes an important component of the agenda of tourism history, whether the sources in question are travel writing, guide-books, novels, films, television programmes or electronic media…."[1] The narrative of travel has changed over time and so have the motivations, but as evidenced by the large amount of disparate records that can be considered travel records, it is clear that the travellers' need to document their travels has remained consistent and this is clear in throughout the history of travel.

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[1] John K Walton. "Welcome to the *Journal of Tourism History*," *Journal of Tourism History* 1, no.1 (2009), 4.

Early accounts of travel were often the only information about the outside world available to small communities, whose citizens often seldom ventured beyond those communities' borders. Some great travel narratives were fictional, such as Homer's The Odyssey: there was a fear in leaving, of the unknown, and these tales often reflected those fears. Many of these early travel accounts were oral and only written down later. Later written accounts were reserved for the aristocrats or religious figures who could afford to travel and have their travels recorded. Today's travellers have much information at their fingertips, but for these few early travellers, oral tales were the primary source of information.

Herodotus is famous for his great work *The Histories*. He was Greek, born in what is now Bodrum in 484 B.C. He has often been called the first travel writer because of the travel section in *The Histories*, though some academics contest this. [2] Herodotus was not the only author in the classical world to travel, but his writings about his time in Egypt demonstrate an obvious zest for what might be termed the exotic, an enthusiasm shared by many travellers throughout history. Unlike other travellers and authors of the time, it was crucial to Herodotus that he witness activities and events first hand before recording them; for example, he observed Egyptian sacrifices instead of relying on other travellers' tales. His writings convey information about geography as well as about human nature, just as many travel books have since done.[3] Herodotus' *Histories* are "...part travelogue, part history, part myth and part sheer gossipy storytelling...." and are not solely dedicated to his travel experiences.[4] He is more concerned about explaining the

[2] Brian Fagan. *From Stonehenge to Samarkand* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 8.
[3] Casey Blanton. *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Simon & Shuster Macmillan, 1997), 6.
[4] Fagan, *From Stonehenge to Samarkand*, 9.

origins of the Greek and Persian wars than about writing down the details of his trip, and the impression one gets from his books is more of a history than a travel narrative.[5] This is why his title as the first travel writer remains contested.

Tourism has typically been viewed as beginning in the nineteenth century. However, some historians (for example, Loykie Lomine) believe that tourist activities had existed as early as in Augustan Rome between 44 B.C and A.D 69.[6] The Romans travelled widely to create and control their vast empire. The majority of Romans did not travel for leisure, but rather for reasons of religion, commerce and war. Leisure travel was limited to the aristocratic Romans who, like Herodotus, were motivated by intellectual interests to travel to learn about history and geography, and to widen their philosophical horizons. One of the countries that aristocratic Romans travelled to for pleasure was Egypt. Greece was also a popular destination for Roman aristocrats who appreciated Greek culture and the Grecian contributions to their own society; even then it was considered to be the cradle of civilization. Aristocratic Roman travellers who wrote about their experiences were a minority. For example, Pliny the Elder, a well-known Roman traveller, visited Egypt in the first century A.D, and is one of the first Roman authors to describe the Sphinx.[7] Their travel accounts illustrate that Roman aristocrats shared certain traits with the modern tourist. Just as modern tourists flock to museums and religious sites to learn about ancient cultures, the Romans followed a well beaten path, scratched graffiti on pyramids and temples, and inscribed their names on the walls of royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings.[8]

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[5] Blanton. *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*, 6.
[6] Walton, ed., *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, and Conflict*, 69.
[7] Fagan, *From Stonehenge to Samarkand*, 13.
[8] Ibid.

Another type of early traveller is the religious traveller, or pilgrim. The Christian pilgrimage from Europe to the Holy Land is considered by some to be a precursor to modern tourism. An entire industry grew up around pilgrims, who often followed set routes, needed places to sleep along the way, food, and, once at their destination, help to the holy sites.[9] Similar industries grew up around the Crusades, as well as missionary activities among people who viewed it as their duty to travel forth and convert non-Christians to Christianity.

A notable example of a religious traveller is Egeria. A nun from Southern Europe, she - rather than Herodotus - has been credited by some with the title of 'first travel writer.'[10] Egeria made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land from Europe in the fifth century A.D. and in letters sent to her nunnery, she described the major sites of the Holy Land, the events, and its people. Her written narrative is a much more organized narrative than that of Herodotus. Hers are also the earliest surviving records from a female traveller.

Another important type of early traveller is the merchant explorer, who sought new markets and goods. By the late medieval era, pilgrims and merchants were the main types of travellers pushing back the frontiers of geographical knowledge. For merchants, documentation of travel became an essential part of the activity. While there could be wild tales of the adventures and the foreigners encountered by travellers, political and commercial sponsors who were funding those travels wanted detailed reports.[11] Detailed records were therefore required of any explorer who wanted to continue to travel.

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[9] Hulme and Young, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 2.
[10] Blanton. *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*, 6.
[11] Hulme and Young, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 3.

This was the period in which travellers such as Christopher Columbus and Marco Polo would become famous. Christopher Columbus was a government-sponsored explorer and Marco Polo was a diplomat. Both kept travel narratives, and both had to report to a higher authority. As men who recorded their travels, their work illustrates a developing tension in travel writing that wavered between the authority invested in them as representatives of higher powers (and the resulting expectation of accuracy), and the fictional, fantastic quality of the traveller's narrative prevalent in this period.[12] The purposes for travelling, the intended audience of the narrative, and when the travel experiences were actually recorded, had an impact on the type of narrative these travellers wrote and the type of traveller they were.

Marco Polo was a medieval Italian merchant explorer who produced a narrative of his journey across Asia with the aid of a ghost writer.[13] Polo's work was filled with tales of wonder and grotesque beings, the kind of emphasis on the 'other' that readers of this period came to expect. When read in its entirety, his narrative is a good example of how travellers told their tales then and now. As with modern tourists, Polo carried with him the values and norms of his own culture, used them to judge foreign cultures and, according to Blanton, to establish a kind of control over those with other habits or beliefs.[14] He was a product of medieval Europe, and his narrative reflects the society he came from. Despite the use of the first person, his 'I' in the book is the medieval authority and not his own personality.[15] Then and now, travellers are not always self-aware enough to recognize and examine their own cultural baggage and how it reflects on

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[12] Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* , 113.
[13] Blanton. *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*, 7.
[14] Ibid., 8.
[15] Ibid.

how they describe their journeys. Polo's assumption that those he encountered were demons or beasts is the prelude to a long and complicated history of aggression against indigenous peoples that characterize the works and acts of western explorers.[16] There has always been 'othering' of those who are foreign, but Polo set the standard for travellers.

Christopher Columbus's narrative is different from Polo's in that the former had a specific audience in mind – his king and sponsor. Unlike Polo, who recorded his travels after the journey was completed, Columbus recorded his voyages in letters to his king. As did Polo, he exoticized native peoples and their ways of life, and assessed them as property.[17] In contrast to Polo's work, however, Columbus's personality, his ego and sense of self, come through in his writings. His egotism may be his main contribution to travel literature; it was out of this self-love in seeing himself as the conquering romantic hero, that the travel memoir was born.[18]

This was the age of exploration: the new world inspired tales of riches, beautiful and bountiful lands for settlers, and promises of freedom for the oppressed. Fables about cities of gold sent explorers like Hernan Cortes and Sir Walter Raleigh off in search of them in the sixteenth century. Raleigh saw himself as setting off on a quest for El Dorado. His motivation was to find this fabled lost South American city of gold. He fashioned his narrative to reflect this, but he tried to elevate the motivation for travelling beyond pure greed to an almost mythical status. In his published account of these travels, *Discovery of Guiana*, he was not looking for the gold of the natives he encountered but rather was a hero delivering the native people from the Spanish.[19] Raleigh never found El

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[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 9.
[19] Ibid., 10.

Dorado, but because he wrote of his travels afterwards, he was able to make it a tale of adventure, and never questioned whether the deaths and failures had been worth it.[20]

By the end of the Renaissance there were two basic types of narratives: (which published and unpublished are all travel records) the logbook/journal of sailors or explorers, and narratives - either scientific or sentimental - whose author comes to the forefront.[21] Columbus and Raleigh provide examples of the latter, and the public no doubt enjoyed their almost fictionalized tales. The two types of narratives, the scientific and the sentimental, became the dominant models for the travel writing genre in the centuries following. They presented men as heroic risk-takers, and exemplified the purpose for which people travelled in this period – for exploration, the mapping of the world, essentially for economic and political reasons. With that came tales filled with adventure to ensure that, even if the trip had been a failure, they had an account they could embellish to ensure that their patron, whether a government, church, or business, would continue to fund them. The male voice dominates the narrative, and continued to do so for centuries to come. It was not until the eighteenth century that this would change and a new kind of travel and traveller began to emerge.

The eighteenth century brought in another form of travel, the Grand Tour. Travelling for centuries had been primarily for practical reasons. People travelled as soldiers, messengers, statesmen, scholars, pilgrims, and outlaws. While those travel motivations remained, a new more leisurely social purpose also emerged. The Grand Tour was the tradition for young, male, English aristocrats, who completed their education with a continental tour of sites considered educational and important to western

[20] Ibid., 10.
[21] Ibid.

civilization. These men were often influenced by the rise of Romanticism towards the end of the eighteenth century, and were inspired to travel in search of the primitive.[22] The Grand Tour typically averaged about two years, often focused on Italy, and was considered an important rite of passage for young men from the British upper classes.[23] Many modern tourist sites were initially defined as such by these aristocrats. Before the invention of the railway that would eventually crisscross the entire European continent, mass transit did not exist, and travel was slow and tedious. It took ten days just to get from London to Edinburgh via a horse and carriage. Aristocrats were the only class with the leisure time and wealth to travel around Europe this extensively. There was, however, a minority of men who could afford this Grand Tour, or similar travels, who were not aristocrats. They were travel writers who financed their journeys by publishing their travelogues, a practice that gained great popularity in the nineteenth century. [24]

The Grand Tour continued into the nineteenth century, but by the late eighteenth century, industrialization was affecting the types of people who could go on the Grand Tour.[25] With the advent of the Industrial Revolution came the rise of a new middle class in countries such as England. The middle class did not have the time or money that the aristocracy did, but it definitely had more than the working class. Middle class people could not go on long and elaborate Grand Tours, but they could go on shorter, cheaper tours. Technological developments created the opportunity for faster, less expensive trips. New modes of transport such as the train and steamship increased the speed of travel, and allowed people to be transported faster than a stagecoach and more efficiently. The cost

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[22] Hulme and Young, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 6.
[23] von Buch. "In the Image of the Grand Tour: Railway Station Embellishment and the Origins of Mass Tourism," 257.
[24] Ibid., 258.
[25] Ibid., 257.

of travel also decreased, because more people were able to be transported by a train than in a stagecoach, so larger groups could travel at a time, making it more economical for the purveyors. For the new middle class, which could not afford to take months off work, this was a way to travel and see sites that had once been inaccessible. This was the beginning of tourism and the tourist, with lasting effects in the twentieth century with the emergence of mass tourism. However, it was not until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the impact of this new middle class on travelling and the documents produced by such travel would be evident.

People in the middle class did not have as much leisure time as the upper classes, but that did not mean it did not want to use leisure time. The main issues middle class people faced were where to travel and how to do so in an efficient manner. Thomas Cook, a devout Baptist and an English cabinet-maker, solved this problem with the invention of the all-inclusive packaged guided tour and the creation of the first travel agency. Cook's agency started in 1841 as a way to run rail excursions to temperance meetings.[26] He had discovered that railway companies would allow large groups to travel at a reduced fare. At that time in most European countries, the railways' primary income was from freight traffic.[27]

By 1851, Cook's agency had expanded; he transported more than 165,000 people to London's Great Exhibition via train.[28] Cook started mounting tours outside of England, enabling the middle class to visit France, Switzerland and Italy at affordable prices.[29] In 1869, the agency started all-inclusive package tours to Egypt. His agency grew further,

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[26] Fagan, *From Stonehenge to Samarkand*, 114.
[27] von Buch. "In the Image of the Grand Tour: Railway Station Embellishment and the Origins of Mass Tourism," 255.
[28] Fagan, *From Stonehenge to Samarkand*, 114.
[29] Ibid.

and continues to offer packaged tours in the twenty-first century. Lillian Allen herself used the agency to book several of her trips. The ticket voucher, a type of travel record that many people saved as a memento or proof of their travels, was invented by Cook to help organize his tours. His company combined various popular sites into a single itinerary, saving travellers unnecessary worry about details. The package tour simplified travelling and made it easier for those with limited time by providing a largely problem-free travel experience at a pre-determined cost. Tourists who could not afford a Grand Tour could go on packaged tours to sites such as Stonehenge and the nearby Avebury Stone Circles.[30]

The package tour had the side effect of insulating travellers from the very place they were visiting, allowing tourists to remain within their own cultural sphere even while travelling in a foreign place. They brought their cultural baggage with them and were protected from anything that might challenge this.

The package tour with its brochures, itineraries and ticket vouchers, changed the way travelling, whether as tourist or traveller, was documented. As with transport, new technologies also contributed to this change. With the emergence of the camera came photographic travel records, though this did not become widespread until smaller, cheaper, easy to use cameras appeared in the late nineteenth century. Until then, travel photography remained in the hands of those who could both afford expensive cameras and cope with the inconvenience of having to carry this bulky equipment around. They were more likely to be dedicated travellers and those travelling for a purpose other than leisure.

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[30] Ibid., XIX.

Though photographs changed travel records, travelling also contributed to the development of the camera. As the number of individuals travelling increased, so too did a desire to record sites they were witnessing. Those without artistic talent or the time to draw a specific sight especially wanted an alternative method of visually recording their experiences. Daguerre's early marketing described the daguerreotype as an invention for amateurs,[31] and the camera did indeed allow travellers to become amateur photographers, creating visual narratives of their travels. Even more so than ticket vouchers and more quickly created than sketches, photographs verified to those back home that the traveller had been there.[32] While documentation in diaries, letters and travel literature could be called into question, photography was physical proof of the authenticity of the traveller's tales. The alliance of the documentary impulse and the need for faster creation of visual records therefore made photography a significant method of travel documentation.

Postcards were also created in the late nineteenth century. The first postcard was introduced in Austria in 1869,[33] and within a few years, postcards were popular in both Europe and North America. One interesting note is that until 1907 it was illegal in the United States to write anything on the address side of the postcard.[34] If travellers wanted to send a message, they had to write in the space on the picture or illustration side on the front of the postcard. Information such as this is important for archivists to consider when examining travel records. Postcards have always been useful, not just for sending information back home, but also to capture that one picture the traveller could not take, which also made them useful souvenirs. Postcards were kept for years by both those who

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[31] Karen Burns. "Topographies of Tourism: 'Documentary' Photography and 'The Stones of Venice'," *Assemblage* no. 32 (1997), 28.
[32] Ibid., 28.
[33] Kira Vermond. "Postcards Back from the Edge" *The Globe and Mail*, April 9, 2008.
[34] Ibid.

purchased them and those who received them. Postcards were not just about sending a friendly hello; they are also about bragging about and authenticating one's travels with foreign postage stamps. Today there are fears that the postcard is slowly disappearing. In a world of smartphones, digital cameras, and emails, the postcard seems likely to become a relic of another time. However, a recent *Globe and Mail* article stated that postcard sales were actually on the rise and not falling.[35] Postcards will continue to be a part of tourism and, just like physical maps, will not likely disappear soon.

Maps too came into their own in the nineteenth century, evolving from an object used for pre-planning a trip and maintaining navigation into a tool for tourism. Early travellers, explorers, merchants and officials had made maps that became part of a large collection of cartographic information, found in reports and surveys. These were never entirely accurate, but they represented much hard work, technical knowledge and attention to detail in a world without satellites. The official or scientific traveller, the kind of traveller arising from eighteenth and nineteenth century traditions, sought to fix national boundaries, suggest ideal courses for canals and railroads, and match linguistic groups to specific territories.[36] Such travellers wanted to improve and increase general knowledge of geography and society by building on available cartographic sources. They created maps intended to be institutional records for government use. These maps eventually were archived or collected by private individuals and donated to or purchased by an archives, and today they not only highlight evolution of knowledge of the world and its natural formations, but also the very institutions that were used to create them.

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[35] Ibid..

[36] Jordana Dym. “More Calculated to Mislead than Inform: Travel Writers and the Mapping of Central America, 1821-1945,*” Journal of Historical Geography* 30, no.2 (2004), 341.

However, maps were not created purely for institutional reasons. In the nineteenth century, unofficial travellers, such as adventurers, merchants and diplomats, avidly made sketches that they then converted into maps to accompany their published and unpublished travel accounts. They viewed the existence of increasingly portable maps as licence to include artistic and impressionist portrayals of travel routes, assuming the general public would either possess or have access to geographical maps, separate from the narratives they produced.[37] These maps were often workmanlike and incomplete, and sometimes they were wildly inaccurate. The point of the map was to portray the world as the creator saw it, which may and likely did, differ greatly from the portrayal of official cartographers. They were intended to complement the narrative rather than convey information, and were not taken seriously by academia.

However, the Oxford Dictionary defines mapping as both a literal and figurative endeavour.[38] Literal maps represent the physical details of the earth's surface to scale on a piece of paper or other flat surface. Figurative maps not only represent physical details, but also participate in mapping in a metaphorical sense, as a record of cultural, gender, racial, and class difference. Even official maps gain another narrative when the boundaries a cartographer draws represent societal rather than physical divisions. Maps describe the various figurative activities of travellers. [39] For example, they can be records and weapons of imperialism, as lands are claimed before they were occupied in anticipation of building an empire, claims not necessarily acknowledged by other individuals or countries. Institutional maps drawn from cartographers' and travellers'

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[37] Ibid., 341.
[38] Wendy Roy. *Maps of Difference:Canada, Women, and Travel* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 3.
[39] Ibid., 5.

sketches are therefore both important types of record worthy of academic consideration: one may be more accurate than the other, but both convey cultural agendas that shape how the map appears, and are among the travellers' cultural baggage that affects their experiences.

Another important form of travel documentation that arose due to the increase in travel by the middle class was the travel guidebook. The first travel guidebook was published by Englishman John Murray in 1836.[40] It was the first of a long-running series Murray's handbooks for travellers that included the first rating system of travel sites, or the star system, whereby the number of stars reflected the travel writer's opinion of each site. Another popular mid-nineteenth century series of guidebooks was published by German Karl Baedeker. These books provided detailed information on travelling procedures, facilitating an individualistic alternative to the packaged tour for middle class travellers.

Also, as guidebooks increased in popularity, the new profession of guidebook writer emerged that specifically targeted its books at different types of travellers. For example, Baedeker wrote for the educated traveller, focusing on culture and art history, while downplaying or ignoring industrial or commercial sites of interest to less educated travellers.[41] Travel guidebooks continue to be popular sources of information for individual travellers in the twenty-first century, with some such as the Lonely Planet's guidebooks becoming famous worldwide. Guidebooks have fallen in popularity slightly with the advent of the Internet and smartphones, but many have transitioned into online

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[40] Hans Magnus Enzensberger. "A Theory of Tourism," *New German Critique* 68, (Spring -Summer 1996), 124.

[41] von Buch. "In the Image of the Grand Tour: Railway Station Embellishment and the Origins of Mass Tourism," 258.

formats. The printed book, however, remains a valuable source of information, especially when travelling to places with limited or no Internet access.

Travel in the early twentieth century closely resembled travel in the Victorian era. This is reflected in Allen's travelling experiences and the records she collected pre- and post-World War II. The early twentieth century saw an increase in tourism. In Canada, the interwar period saw an increase in domestic tourist destinations, including new Canadian national parks such as Riding Mountain National Park, which was developed through Canada's Great Depression relief programs. Work camps were funded by the federal government in order to give the unemployed some means to earn money.

In England, where there already was a tradition of domestic tourism, camping and hiking increased in popularity due to new attitudes about health.[42] The standard boarding room holiday was viewed as boring and outdated. English resorts had long been an acceptable destination for the aristocracy and gentry for health reasons, such as contrasting healthy sea air to the smoke-filled industrial towns, or emphasizing the restorative powers of drinking the water. During the 1920s and 1930s, however, seaside resorts began to promote the healthy sunshine instead of the healthy air. Tourism at these resorts was largely confined to the domestic market. International publicity organizations avoided advertising England's climate, and instead focused on London, historic sites and buildings, and the British landscape rather than seaside resorts.

The British Lake District and its tourism industry also faced changing tourist patterns due to the increased prevalence of motor coaches and motor cars. Before cars became commonplace tourists had frequently travelled by rail, and so would stay for long

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[42] Walton, ed., *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, 65.

periods at one specific resort. Travelling by motor car gave travellers greater flexibility; they could make shorter stays at a number of resorts.

In the United States, there has always been a national preoccupation with historical origins, and the US experienced the same steady increase in tourism in the 1920s and 1930s as was seen elsewhere. This increase was interrupted by World War II, but after the war, tourism exploded, especially in the area of historic site tourism. Several factors contributed to this change, including improved roads and increased availability of cars.[43]

A significant contributor to the rise of mass tourism was the demand by the working class for paid vacations. In 1940 only twenty-five percent of Americans had paid holidays, but by 1957 this had risen to ninety percent.[44] Paid vacations helped propel mass tourism in the western world. According to Patricia Mooney-Melvin, tourism on a substantial scale can only be maintained if four conditions are met.[45] The first is that a population needs both leisure time and a disposable income; as was discussed previously, the Grand Tour was limited to the social elite because only it -- and young men especially -- had the long periods of time without work responsibilities and the affluence needed to enjoy such travel. Only when the working class earned enough to cover more than the bare essentials, and only when it too could take time from work without enduring financial hardship, could working people too afford significant travel experiences.

The second requirement for tourism is an adequate transportation system. Before the advent of mass transportation, too much time would have to have been spent getting

[43] Patricia Mooney-Melvin. "Harnessing the Romance of the Past: Preservation, Tourism, and History," *The Public Historian* 13, no. 2, (1991), 40.
[44] Enzensberger, "A Theory of Tourism," 128.
[45] Mooney-Melvin, "Harnessing the Romance of the Past: Preservation, Tourism, and History," 35.

to and from a travel destination for the trip to have been worthwhile, even for those with paid vacations, as they would likely not have enough time at the destination itself. The third requirement for tourism is that tourists must be assured that upon arrival at their destinations, they can find safe and comfortable accommodation. Tourists typically were not adventurous, or at least wanted adventure with the reassurance of survival and no injury; they, unlike explorers or travellers who travelled for adventure and excitement, needed the assurance of safety, comfort, and little chance of real danger. Lastly, tourism requires that there be enough information available to entice people to leave their homes. Given that travelling was new for the middle class, it was not as familiar with potential tour destinations as were the well-travelled upper class. Middle class travellers had to be educated as to the merits of each destination.[46]

Tourism therefore began in the nineteenth century but increased dramatically after World War II, when all four conditions were met for a greater majority of the middle class through paid vacations, faster transportation through popularization of the airplane, stable postwar international relations, and increased reliability of communication. The postwar era saw a reimagining of the world, with greater interest in the world because of the "World War II Resistance movements and wars of liberation in the former European colonies, and the waves of immigration that followed."[47] Renewed postwar prosperity, political stability, and improving means of motor vehicle and air transportation increased mobility, making it safer and easier for everybody. The nineteenth century may have created the tourist, but the twentieth century allowed tourists to flourish en masse. Also in this new age of travel, a new generation of travel writers emerged. The travel writing

[46] Ibid., 35.
[47] Hulme, and Young, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 261.

genre, long associated with colonial and imperial attitudes, was freed from some of that heritage.[48]

The latter half of the twentieth century was a period of increasing globalization, and tourist activities were affected by it. In the 1970s, mass tourism became a way of promoting economic development in less-developed countries by working with multi-national companies to encourage tourism.[49] The development of cheap tourist resorts and packages in these often invitingly warm countries was not a new idea, but it had never before been done so cheaply or on such a massive scale. These resorts became quite popular in the late twentieth century, and continue to be popular in the new millennium. Mexico offers an example of this is. It hosts a large number of resorts that North American and other tourists can visit quite cheaply en masse. The tourists are shuttled from the airport to the resort by a bus, and spend their entire vacation within the resort, never actually having to venture out of these tourist areas and their comfort zone. These large resorts are often located near other resorts, with whom they can share beaches and facilities. They have food that is familiar to the tourists, provide shops and pools, and are essentially self-sufficient communities. Tourists can say they went to Mexico, Cuba, or Bali but do not have to actually experience the country outside of the resort.

Another new type of tourist that arose in the 1980s and 1990s, was the Voluntourist or Volunteer Tourist, or people who travel for the purpose of helping others or saving the environment.[50] Voluntourists pay a company to arrange for volunteer opportunities, often in third world countries, and engage in activities such as building a

[48] Ibid., 91.
[49] John K. Walton, "Welcome to the *Journal of Tourism History*,"*Journal of Tourism History* 1 no.1 (2009), 2.
[50] Jane Edwards. *Travel Writing in Fiction and Fact* (Portland: Blue Heron Publishing, 1999), 7.

school or home. Voluntourism can take many forms and some of them remain controversial. It is a positive experience for the tourist, for example, but not always beneficial for the local economy, as tourists do work for which local citizens could have been paid.

A darker side to tourism was identified in the 1990s, though this type of travel is evident throughout history. In ancient times, people travelled specifically to witness gladiatorial games and the associated violent deaths of warriors. Today, 'dark tourism' is evident in packaged tours that take people to specific sites of poverty or historical significance that are more controversial in nature, and may be considered voyeuristic. Individuals can visit sites of genocide such as Auschwitz or the Cambodian killing fields, or impoverished areas such as slums. This is a controversial reason for travelling. Tourists who visit these sites argue that they are gaining knowledge about tragedies and the human experience, and also that they are contributing to the local economy. However, those opposed to dark tourism assert that it turns poverty, criminality, and mass suffering into entertainment.[51]

The late twentieth century introduced new forms of travel and new reasons to travel. However, it also bore witness to a resurgence, or at least a version of an old reason to travel. The Grand Tour for the aristocratic young adults of the eighteenth century re-emerged as the so-called “gap year” for middle class young adults in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. During the gap year, young adults take a year off between high school and university, or between university and seeking employment, to work and travel abroad. Parents often support this in the belief that a year of travel will encourage young adults to develop a better understanding of the world. Gap years also arose from the

[51] Kennedy Odede, “Slumdog Tourism,” *The New York Times,* August 9, 2010.

concern that once individuals entered the work force, they would never again have such ample leisure time to dedicate solely to travel.

Travel carries many costs, including exploitation of third world citizens by first world citizens, and the commoditisation of culture into a tourist package. Additionally, travel and tourist activities have had a negative impact on the environment. Shifts in international relations can abruptly make travel safer or more hazardous. Many historical sites such as Stonehenge, the Parthenon, and Egyptian tombs no longer allow tourists to view them up close because of damage caused by the sheer number of people visiting them. It is an ongoing challenge, trying to balance peoples' needs to visit historical sites with the need to preserve these sites for the future, often with funding limited to what tourists contribute to the local economy or to the specific site.

Throughout history and into the new millennium, there have been many reasons to travel, and this summary has by no means exhausted them all. People travel for cultural reasons, because of specific interests, and for adventure. Pilgrimages still take place, and business travelling occurs now more than ever. Regardless of the motivation behind the travel, it has always been documented. Forms of documentation have varied and developed throughout history, and include oral tales, Roman graffiti on the pyramids, or ticket stubs. The tourist was created in the nineteenth century because of a new mobile middle class, and with the tourist came new types of records. After World War II, travel was stimulated by an economic boom, an established middle class, improved travel methods including cars and airplanes, which led to more documentation of travel. It is important for the archivist to understand the variety and distinctiveness of these travel

records, and why contextualization of specific records within the history of travel allows them to be accessible in archives in new ways.

CHAPTER TWO

A WOMAN'S TRAVEL NARRATIVE

"Travel begins with an imaginative act; it requires 'daydreaming and anticipation of new or different experiences from those normally encountered' in the here and now."[1]

The previous chapter helps to situate Lillian Allen within the growing academic area of travel history because to contextualize travel records properly it is important to understand the history of travel itself. However, to begin to contextualize more fully the records of female travellers such as Allen, one must also study the history of female travellers. The literary efforts of women travellers were only really recognized and celebrated in the latter half of the twentieth century, and it is important to recognize where Allen fits into that context.

Lillian Allen claimed she was not a 'woman's libber', but she was highly educated, independent and a professional at a time when many of her peers were not. As a single woman traveller, she was somewhat unusual, but it was the privilege of her class, education and ethnicity that allowed her to travel and accomplish what she did. These factors influenced her observations on her travels. Allen's records also suggest she was writing for an audience, as she spent considerable time creating, arranging and organizing the twenty-seven travel books archived at the University of Manitoba. Her intended purpose and audience is less clear, but undoubtedly affected how and what she recorded.

[1] Clare McCotter. "Woman Traveller/Colonial Tourist," *Irish Studies Review* 15, no.4 (2007): 481.

Therefore, only with an awareness of the history of travel, the history of women travellers, and the personal history of Lillian Allen is it possible to understand more fully the significance of her travel records.

Lillian Allen's archive at the University of Manitoba is a treasure trove that spans the twentieth century. Her travel books are a reflection of her personal passion for travel, but also of the experiences of her gender and her class within the context of women travellers and travel history. Allen's travel books are more than mere accounts of her journeys. They highlight the evolution of tourism in the twentieth century, the change in social mores for women travellers, and the democratization of travel in general. Both the form her records take as well as what she writes encapsulate all of this, and are why it is important to properly contextualize these records. Even the lowliest travel brochure for a tourist trap in the next town over is important to the cumulative contribution of these documents.

This chapter will therefore begin with a review of the history of women travellers, before moving on to review Lillian Allen's biography. Her travel journals provide a wealth of information, indeed her entire archive does so. It would be all too easy to be derailed from her travel books and write a detailed biography of her life. While the entire Allen archive were reviewed, and some sources were used to highlight some of her motivations for travel, the focus of this study remains the travel books.

People have always travelled for various reasons, including war, treasure, religion, diplomacy and exploration. Early on, to travel away from home was like being in exile, because travel methods were often long, arduous and dangerous. The majority of these travellers were men, and specifically young men of the aristocracy, who had both

the time and the money necessary for extensive travel. By the eighteenth century, the Grand Tour became a sort of finishing school for European men. Women in this period also travelled, but in far fewer numbers and more often than not accompanied by a male relative or a husband. They travelled for reasons different from men. They travelled "...as a vital support system for missionary work, immigration, imperial adventures, diplomatic support or civilizing the frontier."[2] Eighteenth-century women, who travelled for enlightenment, exploration or adventure, were the exception rather than the rule. The movement of women into the public sphere has generally been challenged across time because women were thought best suited to the private domestic sphere of home and family. Travel was a public sphere, a male dominated sphere, and unchaperoned and exploratory travel, especially, was discouraged.[3]

Women travellers have not always had to fight to be able to travel, but they had to fight the stereotypes that were associated with women who did travel. Women travellers had to be aware of their status as anomalous travellers; they faced situations that men did not; they were less likely to be able to travel alone and instead had to be in the company of another. They had to act properly according to the dictates of society. When one also takes into consideration class and race differences, women travellers had much more societal and psychological baggage than their male counterparts and their writings often reflect this.

Nineteenth-century opportunities for greater travel through organized tours and new modes of transportation, such as the train, allowed people to travel in greater

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[2] Sonia Khan. "Gendered Leisure: Are Women More Constrained in Travel for Leisure?" *Tourismos : An International Multidisciplinary Journal of Tourism* 6, no.1 (2011), 108.
[3] Roy. *Maps of Difference*, 6.

numbers, including women.[4] For a middle class woman in the late nineteenth century, the organized tour provided affordable and respectable travel in the company of other women. These trips were often only a day long, but they enabled English women to visit some of the more famous sites. Schoolteachers or governesses became the typical client of organized tours; they did not have a husband or family with whom they could travel, but they had the leisure time that their mothers and their married counterparts did not. Women overall embraced these packaged tours as a form of independence, and tours often included more female than male travellers.

For example, in 1888, more than half the tours registered in Paris hotels were filled with women.[5] Thus, despite the aristocratic travellers' disregard for and derision of packaged tours, the tours permitted women, perhaps not of great means, to be semi-independent, and to travel unescorted without appearing disreputable. To this day, organized tours for women provide a different and perhaps safer travelling experience than is had when travelling alone. This is not to say that women travelling alone should be discouraged. In some situations, for both men and women, the packaged tour offers a safer and stress free alternative, a way to see some of the world, when budget and time are limited and without risking one's reputation. Packaged tours became the perfect compromise for a woman of minor means to travel in the nineteenth century.

Another common reason for a woman to travel was the honeymoon, taken in the company of her husband. Honeymooning would remain solely the domain of the upper classes for many years, but by the late nineteenth century the upper middle class was

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[4] Mary Suzanne Schriber. "Julia Ward Howe and the Travel Book," *The New England Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (1989), 269.
[5] von Buch, "In the Image of the Grand Tour: Railway Station Embellishment and the Origins of Mass Tourism," 255.

slowly adopting the practice.[6] Even if a woman had visited a site before, she was expected to visit again, this time to see it through the educated eyes of her new husband,[7] as society assumed that any education or knowledge she might have could not compare to her husband's. Julia Ward, an upper-class woman from New York, wrote of her honeymoon to Italy, but based on her own experiences rather than through her husband's perspective.[8] Despite her husband's disapproval, she continued to travel and publish her travel accounts for many years afterwards, revisiting Italy, and publishing several books about Europe.[9] Travel provided a powerful lure for a woman fighting for women's rights.

The nineteenth century also saw travel writing gain popularity. Travel writing became a way for women to enter other public spheres considered off limits to good women.[10] It allowed women to make a living in a male dominated literary world.[11] One such female travel writer, Margaret Fuller, was attracted by the mobility of travel writing. Her published books form an impressive contribution to the literature of travel.[12] Her travel articles in the *New York Tribune* supplemented her income, and she also worked as the editor of the magazine *Dial*. It is from this tradition of travel and writing that Lillian Allen arose.

While Allen never published any of her travel books, she did publish some of her other writings, and she showed slideshows of her travels, as well as of various other interests and hobbies, including her love of nature. Allen belongs in this group of

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[6] Ibid., 263.
[7] Ibid.
[8]Schriber, "Julia Ward Howe and the Travel Book," 264.
[9] Ibid., 265.
[10]Jennifer A. Thompson. "From Travel Writer to Newspaper Editor: Caroline Churchill and the Development of Her Political Ideology within the Public Sphere," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 20, no. 3 (1999), 47.
[11]Ibid.
[12]William W Stowe. "Conventions and Voices in Margaret Fuller's Travel Writing," *American Literature* 63, no. 2 (1991), 250.

adaptable, multi-talented women who had to fight for recognition of their literary works and to travel in a male dominated world. As Sara Mills says, "...that although there are taboos on women writing, which have been reinforced by women's relative lack of education and for negative judgements on individual women authors, women have nevertheless continued to write."[13] Allen not only continued to write but she continued to travel, and her travel books are the proof that she forged her own path, reflecting the tradition of female travel writers who came before her.

Women's travel records cannot be read in a vacuum or viewed as purely feminist texts. In addition to being aware of how women travellers are or were being written about it, is also important to look at how these texts are analyzed. They must be considered within the larger travel genre and as products of the period in which they were written, and the implications of gender, class and race. However, it is important that recognition of their work be tempered with some critical analysis. According to Sara Mills, as late as 1991, those writing about women travellers did not include any critical analysis of the text, and did not analyze the politics of production of women's texts, instead limiting their focus to the extraordinariness of the women travellers.[14] This created a negative reaction by male reviewers, who dismissed women's contributions to the genre. The female critics also did not look at how the women had their works published, especially in periods of history when it was almost taboo for women to travel, and why their works were read then and still continue to be read today.[15]

It is also important to consider the audience for which specific travel records were written, although that is not always clear. Published women's travel anthologies often

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[13]Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* , 41.
[14] Ibid., 35.
[15] Ibid.

provide no context about why these women were writing or who their target audience was, how heavily their records were edited before being published, or how a woman might be influenced to portray herself in a certain way. Although Allen spent considerable time arranging and organizing her travel books, the purpose and intended audience is unclear, which will be further explored in chapter three. For now, it is noted that her work has similarities to the published works of many other women travel writers, often written in the same confessional diary style and obviously carefully prepared.

Lillian Allen was born to Frank and Sadie Harper Allen in 1904, the eldest of three children, and the only daughter. Her brother John, known as Jack, was born in 1908, and her brother William, known as Bill, was born in 1914. The children grew up in the relatively affluent Winnipeg neighbourhood of Crescentwood where a few of her neighbours would become a lieutenant governor, a university chancellor and the father of a millionaire.[16] Allen came from quite a distinguished academic family and this would have an impact on her education and her career. Her father was one of the founding professors of the University of Manitoba. The physics building at the University of Manitoba was named after him in 1961. Born in 1874, he was one of six children of a reverend and a very religious mother. This religious background would have a definite impact on him after his wife's death. His family had a British and United Empire loyalist background.

Frank Allen graduated from the University of New Brunswick in 1895 with honours in physics and chemistry, and a gold medal in Latin. Allen received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1902, married Sadie Harper in 1903, and then worked as an

[16] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 14, Folder 1, "Growing Up".

instructor at Cornell for two years.[17] He and Sadie then moved to Winnipeg to help establish the University of Manitoba, where he became the first professor of physics. In 1944 he retired a Professor Emeritus of Physics.[18] Over the years he won many awards and medals, including the King Jubilee Medal, and the Tory Medal of the Royal Society of Canada. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and a member of the National Research Council of Canada. Over the course of his career, Allen wrote many articles and two books. He was an active and driven man. Unfortunately, his wife died in 1915, and he turned his attention increasingly to the Christian religion.

Reading her articles about her father, Lillian Allen appears to be quite proud of him, despite complaints about the restrictiveness of her childhood after her mother's death.[19] His death, in 1965, was likely a blow to her, after living with him most of her life. She does not speak of his death in her travel books, but its impact is apparent. There is a difference in her later travel books, which lack the letters to her father that she had included in previous books and express the worry she generally had before each trip about her father's health as he got older. He had seen her off at the start of each trip and he was no longer there to do so in his old age. Lillian claims that he had been the one who encouraged her to travel, and, if she needed it, he always found a bit of money to help her finance her journeys.[20] Allen was an interesting man in his own right, a man Lillian Allen loved and of whom she was proud, but of whose influence she was never quite able to break free.

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[17] Mary Biggar Peck. *A Full House and Fine Singing : Diaries and Letters of Sadie Harper Allen.* (Frederiction: Good Lane Editions, 1992), 217.
[18]Ibid., 218.
[19] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 14, Folder 1, "Growing Up".
[20] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 17, Folder 10, "Meditations".

Sadie Harper Allen, Lillian's mother, while not having the advanced education that her husband had, was still an intellectual woman. One of seven children, she was born in 1875 and grew up in Shediac, New Brunswick. The daughter of a prominent partner in a shoe factory, the family was comfortable. However, as her father's health deteriorated, ultimately leading to his confinement to a wheelchair, the family finances suffered.[21] Nevertheless, the Harpers remained a socially active family, and much of their time was devoted to the local Methodist church where several members were in the choir. Sadie went to Mount Allison University for a year until family finances forced her to leave. It is in Shediac that she met Frank Allen, when he came to teach at the school and save money for graduate school. In 1903, they married and moved to Cornell and then to Winnipeg.

Sadie's sudden death in 1915 due to a heart attack left Lillian without a mother at a crucial age. Sadie did leave a legacy, however, that may have prompted Lillian's later interest in recordkeeping and archiving. Sadie kept a diary between 1893 and 1897. This became a way for the Allen children to connect with the mother they had barely known. She also left letters written to her family while she had been in Europe. In 1912, Frank Allen had been selected to represent the University of Manitoba at the University Congress of the Empire. During this trip, the Allens were entertained by notables such as Prince Arthur, Lord Strathcona, and the Lord Mayor of London, Col. Sir David Burnett. They then toured Great Britain, Paris, and Switzerland.[22] Lillian spent a year after retiring in the mid 1970s transcribing her mother's journals before turning them and the letters

[21] Biggar Peck. *A Full House and Fine Singing : Diaries and Letters of Sadie Harper Allen*, 15.
[22] Ibid., ix.

over to the New Brunswick Provincial Archives.[23] Mary Biggar Peck, a New Brunswick author, found the journals, letters, and Lillian's transcriptions and published them in 1992 in *A Full House and Fine Singing: Diaries and Letters of Sadie Harper Allen.*

After her mother died, Allen and her brothers were raised by a maternal aunt. When Allen grew old enough, her aunt left, and Allen took on the role of mother and hostess in her father's home. She had many interests, including entomology and nature, drawing, painting, reading and writing.[24] She also loved to dance, but her father forbade this activity when he became stricter in religious matters after Sadie's death.[25] This limitation affected Allen's activities and social life when she was younger. Once she began travelling, however, she demonstrated her independence: her travel records indicate that she was always excited to go dancing and to socialize with people her age whenever she had the chance. Allen lived a fairly active life in Winnipeg, but her writings suggest she felt it lacked something. Her travel books include complaints about her life in Winnipeg.

Both of Allen's brothers chose an academic path, and both moved to the United Kingdom. Jack eventually became a professor emeritus in the Department of Physics and Astronomy at St. Andrews College. He married once but divorced, and had an adopted child. Bill obtained a degree in architecture, and eventually formed an architectural partnership, focussing on new building designs. He also married and had children. Both men were well respected in their fields and received awards. Bill was even made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (C.B.E) in 1980. Lillian was proud of both brothers and visited them frequently.

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[23] Ibid., ix.
[24] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 14, Folder 1, "Growing Up".
[25] Ibid.

Allen came from a quite distinguished academic family. In her travel books, she conveys the impression that her brothers carried on the Allen family academic legacy. However, she had her own academic and professional accomplishments. In 1926, she graduated from the University of Manitoba with a Bachelor of Arts degree. She then spent two years at the Winnipeg School of Art, receiving her diploma in 1928.[26] During this time, she also travelled to Norway House, the first journey recorded in her travel books. Allen enrolled in the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Manitoba, but switched to interior design for two years. Later she enrolled in the Ontario College of Education, and received an art specialist degree in 1933. Allen taught for a year at Hatfield Hall, a girls' school in Cobourg, Ontario, before becoming a lecturer in applied art at the University of Manitoba's School of Home Economics in 1934.[27] In 1947 she received her M.Sc from Syracuse University and then returned to the University of Manitoba, where she taught as an Associate Professor until retiring in 1971. Allen moved to Victoria, British Columbia in 1981 and died in 1995.

Allen was, if not famous, certainly a noted nature photographer, and she was also heavily involved in the community. In 1980, the Crafts Guild nominated her for the YWCA Woman of the Year Award, which she won for the Arts category in recognition of her community service. A book of her work entitled *Frost* was published in 1990. Over the course of her career she also published various articles related to her career, her art, and her travels. There were fifteen exhibitions of her photographs, including one at the Winnipeg Art Gallery and another at the University of Manitoba.[28] She showed slideshows of her trips and nature photographs during presentations at various local

[26] Lillian Allen, *Frost: Photographs* (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1990), 70.
[27] Allen, *Frost: Photographs*, 70.
[28] Ibid., 70.

events. The slideshows and accompanying notes are now in her archive at the University of Manitoba Archives. And she remained a prolific letter writer.

From all outward appearances Allen led a very fulfilling life. The fact that she did so much travelling, sometimes travelling alone, and making all her travel decisions, says a lot about her character. The ability to be flexible and change plans as needed is not a trait many people share. For a woman born in the Edwardian era, with parents from the Victorian era, this is noteworthy.

While it is good for women travellers to finally be recognized and published or republished, the manner in which their work is presented degrades their accomplishments. These descriptions of women travellers make it sound like the average woman could not do what she did. Critics of women's travel writing often concentrate on what the travellers had to overcome to go on their journey; they do not consider these women and their texts in relation to the colonial enterprise.[29] Mills suggests that is it easy for feminists today to fall into the trap of reading these early women's travel accounts as proto-feminist works worthy of such titles as 'indomitable' and 'eccentric.'[30] However, this approach ignores all the women who do not live up to such titles and do not fit this mould. Lillian Allen, for example, is one whose texts might not fit this mould of extraordinary woman traveller, yet her work should not therefore be ignored. As a reader, one must be able to look beyond the feminist framework in which these works have traditionally considered. Just as with archiving in general, the context in which the record was created must be looked at.

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[29] Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* , 29.
[30] Ibid.

In her study of transatlantic Canadian tourism between 1870 and 1930, historian Cecilia Morgan supports this emphasis on the variety of tourists, including women tourists, within the overall upper middle class backgrounds shared by most Canadian tourists travelling abroad at that time.[31] Allen started travelling when English-Canadians were starting to form a national identity increasingly distinct from a British identity. This changing identity in the interwar years, however, did not change where they chose to travel, and that was very often to Britain and Europe, as it had been before World War I. While a number of trips across the Atlantic were taken independently, some were made through group tours organized by churches, schools, universities, educational leagues and sporting teams.[32] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, aspects of these trips by Canadians to Britain and Europe resembled that of the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century.[33] A few of these aspects included the length of the trips and who took them. These trips would often last two to three months. For these Canadians, Britain, with Europe, was the centre of art, education, reform, theatre, music, and the scientific, political and legal world.[34] The Canadians taking this trip across the Atlantic believed that they would be joining an elite community of cultural enlightenment.[35] This view was not limited to Canadians as those in other countries formed by the British imperial experience saw travelling to Britain and Europe in a similar way. For example, Australian women in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were drawn to London by the tens of thousands to visit family, advance their careers, tour, and for 'doing the

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[31] Cecilia Morgan. *'A Happy Holiday': English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 27-28.
[32] Ibid., 6.
[33] Ibid., 10.
[34] Angela Woollacott. *To try her Fortune in London : Australian women, colonialism, and modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 16.
[35] Morgan. *'A Happy Holiday' : English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930*, 10.

season' and shopping. Britain was the centre of inherited cultural memories, ancestral connections and the setting of major cultural events.[36] This was a large draw for those so far from the centre.

Allen, too, made her own trip to Britain (and France), but not until 1936. She did not make another trip to Britain and Europe until 1952 and by that point, Britain was not quite the centre of modernity that it had been in the early twentieth century. This suggests that Allen, who is not discussed in Morgan's book, is noteworthy as a further example of the diversity of Canadian travellers that Morgan discovers within their broadly similar class standing. As an educated upper middle class woman, Allen no doubt felt it was important to go to Europe. Her own well-educated parents had travelled there in 1912. Her younger brothers were examples of Canadians who moved to Britain because it was the 'centre' and both excelled in their respective fields while living there. Jack moved to England in 1935 and Bill in 1936. These two moves provided Allen another reason to visit in 1936. Allen found Jack doing well but she commented, as other Canadians had before her, on the strict class system in Britain, comparing the stratification of Cambridge University to the caste system in India.[37]

This class system in Britain, however, could be used to the advantage of the Canadian middle class traveller. There were certain types of elite spaces that were not open to the average tourist that were open to them, as will be discussed later in relation to Lillian Allen. Broadly speaking, homes of the upper middle class and aristocracy were open to them, along with limited tours of historical sites like Windsor Castle and

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[36] Angela Woollacott**.** *To Try Her Fortune in London : Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity*, 15.
[37] UMA,. Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 3, Travel book 4, Britain, France, 1936.

educational institutes like Eton.[38] Not all of the Canadian middle class had access to these spaces and Lillian Allen, as will be shown later, struggled with this stratification. Thus Allen, like many other English Canadians of that time, was drawn to visit Britain and Europe, but her reactions perhaps reflect that growing distance from a mainly British identity in her critique of the class system. Her decision to travel often elsewhere in the world implies that distancing as well. At the same time, she does not fit any standard mould for a woman traveller, as she eschews overtly feminist views, while not being constrained by traditional assumptions about women and work, travel, and family and marriage. Allen's experience is a further variation on the diversity of traveller that Cecilia Morgan discusses.

Allen's social class then must also be considered when reading her records. Allen came from an upper middle class family, and this affected how she chose to travel, what class on a ship she chose to travel in, where she travelled, and who she went to visit. Her social class connections provided opportunities such as being shown around Lisbon by the mayor or being invited to go to a Garden Party at Buckingham Palace. Allen's social class also affected her travelling because it allowed her the time for multiple, lengthy journeys, and also the time to carefully create her travel records. The connections made through her social class also affected the form and volume of her records: Allen's income level meant she could afford to take a great many photographs of her journeys, a record not affordable for the average person. Allen could also afford to stay at a higher class of hotel, resulting in letters written on hotel notepaper not available to the average traveller. That these travel journals have been placed in the archives is also in part indicative of class, especially given that women's records, including travel books, were much less

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[38] Morgan. *'A Happy Holiday' : English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930*, 15.

likely to survive, never mind be added to an archives, or even be written in the first place.[39] Not many women from the working class could travel and if they could, they could not typically record their journeys through extensive bodies of photographs, letters, and travel books that were of interest to archives. And as a single woman, Allen had more time to devote to recording her travels.

Allen's perception of her social class and the reality were not always identical. When she was young, she experienced the life of a well-known academic's daughter, with dinners and social evenings with scientists and academics, Sunday evenings with local poets and writers, serving at the 'at homes' of Lady Aikens, wife of the Lieutenant Governor, and formal dinners at Government House.[40] She led a different life in her later years. Though she, like her father, was a professor at the University of Manitoba, she was not in the same social strata that she had experienced when she was younger. However, Allen maintained many of the same customs and prejudices, which greatly influenced her views as she travelled. Prior to World War II, when far flung travel was still largely the domain of the upper class, Allen's records reflect her continued identification with her childhood social strata. When she travelled to Bermuda in 1932, she was mentioned in society columns because the relatives she was visiting there were 'connected'.[41] While in England, she was invited to lecture at the Victoria League where she met locals who wanted to meet an educated woman from the colonies. In 1937 while on a study tour in Shanghai and Hong Kong, she danced in the clubs. The family with whom she was staying in a fortified compound, arranged for companions to take her out at night. The

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[39] Bridget Brereton. "Gendered Testimonies: Autobiographies, Diaries and Letters by Women as Sources for Caribbean History," *Feminist Review* 59 (Summer,1998), 145.
[40]UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 14, Folder 1, "Growing Up".
[41] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 3, Travel book 2, Chicago, Bermuda 1932.

patriarch of this family later became an advisor to Chiang Kai-shek.[42] This was the sort of travel Allen adored -- staying in elegant hotels, travelling with friends and family, and meeting important and interesting people. It was never quite the same after the war, although she continued to visit and travel with her brothers in Europe and used some of their connections to meet people.

As travel became more commonplace after World War II, Allen reacted to what no doubt felt like a loss of privilege, an opinion evident throughout her travel journals, but especially after the war. For example, travelling to Europe by ship in 1952 she remarked, “I was thankful I was in first class and away from the masses of tourist class people.”[43] In 1956 she regretted that she could not afford to stay at a better class of hotel in Europe, where, she noted, she was more likely to “...meet people I like talking to.”[44] On her 1957 trip to the Caribbean and the United States, she recorded that “...scads of horrible looking tourists were coming and going in droves” from the British Colonial Hotel in Nassau. She noted that Nassau was not as nice as Bermuda and that: “It’s too affluent and tourists go in groups and you are aware you are in a tourist trap.”[45] She was also annoyed that her hotel encouraged her to join a club tour and to see gambling places, as she viewed both as cheap and tasteless. In 1959, while in Bermuda, she noted meeting “Quite a character Mrs.Skyes. English. Obviously brought up on the wrong side of the tracks and had a husband mechanic.”[46]

Despite clinging to the aristocratic view of travelling being an elite practice, Allen's journals evidence her recognition that she could not afford to travel in the upper

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[42] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 3, Travel book 5-5A, Orient 1937.
[43] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 9, Italy, France, Britain 1952.
[44] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 10, Europe 1956.
[45] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 11, U.S.A., Caribbean 1957.
[46]UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 13, Bermuda, Boston 1959.

class manner. For example, she noted that she "wished we had the money to eat at some of the gourmet restaurants but we were very poor and had to use the Italian pubs."[47] Allen was very aware of her budget, sometimes recording it at the end of her travel book. Post-World War II travel has been described as "real trips for real people," [48] and Allen could not reconcile herself to mass tourism even as she herself began to participate in it. Allen's travel books therefore reflect her bias towards the privileged and are filled with accounts that most people would never experience, though not in the same way after World War II. However, this bias does not detract from the overall value of her insights, when taken in context with her social background, and in many cases her social biases enrich these records.

Prior to the nineteenth century, travel was limited to those with disposable income and leisure time. Though she was not rich, Allen was a single professional woman with a disposable income. Her position as a lecturer and later associate professor at the University of Manitoba allowed her three months of vacation during the summer, a large amount of time not available to those in the working classes. Allen's education and her profession influenced her travels beyond providing leisure time. Her father had encouraged her to go to university. Historian Mary Kinnear notes that many women who went to university had a father who had also studied at university, and often a mother who had further education, such as teacher training.[49] Allen had both. She did not seem particularly inclined to be a teacher, but at the time, options were limited for women. Teaching, nursing, and stenography tended to be the practical professional choice for

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[47]UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 9, Italy, France, Britain 1952.
[48] Edwards. *Travel Writing in Fiction and Fact*, 6.
[49] Mary Kinnear. *In Subordination: Professional Women, 1870-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 38.

women university graduates.[50] While Allen did try art school and architectural school, eventually she decided on teaching, which her father had encouraged.[51] Privilege allowed her to explore her educational and career options before settling on them. It also allowed her to continue learning by going, for example, to Hong Kong and Shanghai on a study tour or taking art and craft courses at Harvard. Her travels became even more important when she started her professional life because travel gave her personal experience with her lecture material in the history of art, architecture and interior design, and fuelled an enthusiasm she passed along to her students. Many fondly remembered her courses years later. Despite her initial reluctance to enter the field, Allen grew to love teaching and developing her students' talents.

It should be noted that her seeming ambivalence towards her career choice was not actually that uncommon for her professional peer group. Fifty-three women who were employed before 1970 at the University of Manitoba in faculties that employed women were surveyed. When asked how they chose their career, the most common answers were circumstances or ‘fell into it.”[52] Allen could have given a similar answer. She says she was never self-conscious about correcting stereotypes about women, which seems hard to believe. For example, at one point in her travels, she was seated with a group of ‘misses’ and she asked the steward to be seated with both men and women. The steward dismissed her, saying that he doubted she would find any eligible males on this sailing. Allen, having a male friend at home at the time, was offended.

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[50] Mary Kinnear. *A Female Economy : Women’s Work in a Prairie Province, 1870-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press), 52.
[51]UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 14, Folder 1, “Growing Up”.
[52] Kinnear. *In Subordination: Professional Women, 1870-1970*, 36.

Most of these women were not going to challenge the status quo directly, even if they knew they were not being treated as the equals of their male counterparts. They were professionals, not necessarily in search of a husband and wanted to be able to interact with men, if not as equals, in some sort of professional way, though these women often accepted that it was not possible to do so.[53] Many of these women had little to do with each other, disdaining women's groups, consciously avoiding other women.[54] Like Mills, who cautions feminists about seeing all women travellers at proto-feminists, the same could be said about seeing professional women from this period as heroic simply because they had careers. If there was any heroism, Kinnear says, it is found in "... the individual strategies that each woman made for herself in coping with the thoughtlessness and sometimes deliberate sexism that was built into the system."[55]

Ironically, having a husband would have hurt their careers, still comparatively modest as they were. In academia, a professional man with a wife was rewarded, yet a professional woman was penalized for being married or a parent.[56] The University of Manitoba did not hire married women in any great number until the 1960s. The majority of professional women at the University of Manitoba, like Allen, were single. Many had parents at home to take care of. For some, their mothers served as unpaid housekeepers so that they could focus on their careers.[57] Allen lived with and took care of her father for many years. He had always encouraged her in her education and travels. As he aged, she wrote in her travel books about her increasing worries about leaving him behind when she travelled and her efforts to get family friends to look in on him.

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[53] Ibid., 42-44.
[54] Ibid., 47-48.
[55] Ibid., 52.
[56] Ibid., 49.
[57] Ibid., 50.

Many of the published women travel writers of the twentieth century have not had husbands, let alone children. Not being a mother or wife allowed Allen several freedoms. Had she been a mother and wife, society would have dictated that her first priority was staying home and taking care of her family and not travelling. This was a challenge for many professional women who tried to have both a career and family. In a sense it was more socially permissible to travel alone as a single professional woman than as a married professional woman with a family at home. A woman's leisure time had a domestic flavour, corresponding with the tradition of women as caregiver and supporter. A 2005 survey showed that women continue to feel more constrained than men by family responsibility in regard to travel, whether the travel be for business or leisure.[58] If she had a family, Allen would not have been free to travel for entire summers alone or with friends. Having a family affects anyone who travels, but women seem to bear most of the impact. While Allen had some regrets that she never married and had a family, she did have opportunities to marry at different points in her life and either circumstances or her own choices prevented it. She was not desperate for a husband; she had and made choices. And it was those very choices that allowed her to have the leisure time to travel.

Romance was not a subject Allen was afraid to write about in her accounts of her travels. She discusses early experiences with another girl and other experiences with members of the opposite sex. Her travel books include hints and frank statements about the various men she met and her encounters before World War II, but she does not go into detail. This degree of revelation was unusual for travel writing by women and especially for this time period. It suggests that these journals, or at least some accounts, were written much later after the trips. Most women raised within nineteenth-century

[58] Khan, "Gendered Leisure: Are Women More Constrained in Travel for Leisure?" 113.

traditions remained almost asexual in their writings. A woman travelling was already practically considered amoral. The only way to squash any suggestion that she was not a proper Victorian woman, and to ensure her work was taken seriously, was to avoid all romantic interludes, or at least not reveal them in her writing.

Mina Hubbard, a Canadian traveller who undertook a journey in 1905 to complete her dead husband's efforts to map sections of Labrador, is an example of this.[59] In Hubbard's case, even before she had published any accounts of her tales, there was speculation about a romance between her and a man on the expedition. After publication, Canadian historians such as Pierre Berton continued to speculate about romantic entanglement. According to Wendy Roy, this reaction probably lies in "....a desire to convert the narrative of a woman's travel into a more traditional and acceptable narrative of heterosexual romance."[60] Hubbard's method of avoiding notions of romance was to dwell on her deceased husband. She also made sure to include statements in her travel diary from all of her male travel companions attesting to the moral propriety of their trip.[61]

In contrast, it is almost a relief that Allen is rather blunt about the men encountered on her travels. However, in a travel journal from the 1970s, she does reflect on the changing mores of society. Upon learning that her godchild's children were living with their boyfriends and girlfriends, she noted that this was just not done in her time. Allen was open about romance during her travels, but still held to her own moral code about what she considered respectable. She had boyfriends and flirtations, men who were possibilities for marriage, and long-term male friends, but her journal revelations never

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[59] Roy. *Maps of Difference*, 84.
[60] Ibid., 117.
[61] Ibid., 211.

went beyond the bounds of her own notion of propriety. She does not show the obsession with morality and propriety that Hubbard shows, even in her earlier travels. As theorized previously, Allen's openness about her romances could have been because she wrote them at a later time, when it was more respectable to talk about romances.

It is also possible that Allen's openness resulted from the changing boundaries of what was considered respectable in the 1920s. When Shealeen A. Meaney studied four American women's travel narratives from the 1920s and 1930s, she noted that these women travelled without the protection of male chauffeurs, companions or chaperones. They are examples of the popular ideal of the 1920s as a period of sexual liberation and self-expression for women.[62] Their narratives were filled with flirtation and language that would not have been included in earlier women's travel writing. It was during this decade that American girls became famous for being natural, healthy, playful and saucy, while still maintaining some semblance of propriety; that is, they were supposed to remain virgins until marriage. Allen's moral code falls somewhere between these 'new' American girls and her strict upbringing. On several occasions she was quite disdainful of American girls. On one trip to China, for example, she reported seeing "...quantities of American college girls on the make for every available male, except for the Honk Kong deck hands, dining stewards and cabin boys."[63] These American girls "...on any trip always astounded me. They got to know all the men though most of them were out of bounds."[64]

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[62] Shealeen A. Meaney. " 'Sans Clothes and Sans Reproche': Beauty, Nature, and Transgression in Post-Suffrage American Woman's Travel Narratives," *The Journal of Narrative Theory* 35, no.3 (2005), 343.
[63] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 3, Travel book 5-5A, Orient 1937.
[64] Ibid.

Allen grew up in a strict household, but she travelled extensively and was not ignorant of intimacies with the opposite sex. Modern women travel writers do not have the same societal constraints and some mention having a brief affair without much emphasis or attention paid to them.[65] The modern woman traveller can choose whether to include information about sexual behaviour; nineteenth-century women travel writers could not. Even two of the woman travellers about whom Meaney writes had to reassure their readers that they were not immoral. So Allen's travel books, which were started in the 1920s, reveal a change in what was considered acceptable experience and writing topics for women travellers in the twentieth century.

While Allen's loneliness is expressed in her travel books, there is also much socializing. Even without a travel companion, she was constantly meeting people. Travelling alone can force people to open up and interact with individuals they might otherwise ignore if they were travelling with a husband or family member, as many early women travellers were. Allen's travel journals are filled with the names and pictures of people she met during her decades of travel, and the books document her experiences with them. If there was an intended audience for these travel journals, that audience is assured that Allen was not entirely alone or friendless. Some of her travel books tell of looking for travel companions to accompany her on her trips, whether they are a married couple or a single woman. In the first journey Allen wrote about, she was accompanied by an elderly aunt, and when visiting relatives before World War II, they would generally accompany her everywhere. In that way, Allen in her younger days, certainly never lacked for companionship while travelling. She would also frequently note the names of

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[65] Maureen Mulligan. "New Directions or the End of the Road? Women's Travel Writing at the Millennium," *Journal of English Studies* 2 (2000), 72.

everyone she met. Her travel books then also become a way to keep track of those she met while on her travels. As one gets older, memory fades and these travel books are a way of making sure that these people are never forgotten, even if the memories have faded.

It is important, to consider the race and ethnicity of travel writers when considering their work, as well as the travellers' awareness of racial issues, as both have an impact on their travel experience and thus their travel records. Allen rarely commented on political or social issues concerning race in the countries she visited. Her accounts do not appear to contain thoughts on this matter or questions she would have had during her travels. In a way, this is understandable. Allen is taking a vacation, sometimes a three month vacation, but nonetheless a vacation and the aim of her travel books was to record her travels. Some modern travel writers skilfully recount travelling tales that navigate the deeper social issues observed while travelling, but not every traveller sets out to do this. Allen was not concerned about notions of whiteness, of being the oppressor and transient. Some modern travel writers thought they could transcend these notions and were disturbed when they could not.[66] These women wrote of their feelings and frustration at being aware of a racial barrier but being unable to transcend it. Allen, in contrast, offered little of this. She was a product of her times, which does have to be taken into account when reading her travel books. For example, during an interwar visit to family in Bermuda, Allen referred to the local community members as 'Negroes,' and showed no surprise that her aunt had a maid who accompanied her practically everywhere or that they had a native chauffeur.

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[66]Helen Harper. “Nomads, pilgrims, tourists: women teachers in the Canadian north,” *Gender & Education* 16, no. 2 (2004), 212.

In a sense, this is what many modern tourists do when they ignore what is around them, stick to what is safe, and accept what is being presented on the surface. The tourist industry reinforces this when it creates "...bogus folklore, shows typical restaurants and local arts and crafts…turning previous genuine places into Disneyland versions of themselves."[67] Even travellers aware of their own biases can fall into the trap of stereotyping. Margaret Laurence, while living in Somalia in the 1960s, proclaimed her lack of racism in her published travel journals. However, she repeatedly referred to Somalians as "expressionless" and "timeless," thus perpetuating the stereotypes.[68] It is not that these Canadian women did not care about those surrounding them. While in Trinidad, Sarah Morton, the wife of a Canadian missionary, made the effort to master one of the local languages, taught classes for women and girls, and ran a home for girls.[69] Another Canadian woman, also a missionary in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, kept a journal and it was through her journal and Morton's that one can trace the immense impact that these women had on the lives of Indo-Trinidadian women, as well as gain insight into the private domestic spheres not witnessed by traditional travellers who only skim the surface of the cultures they visit. Allen's travel journals show little deeper insight, reflecting her own cultural biases.

However, as Carrie Arnold observed, some of the most telling information in travel journals is what is omitted.[70] Sarah Mills notes that "Because of their oppressive socialisation and marginal position in relation to imperialism, despite their generally

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[67] Gary Krist "Ironic Journeys: Travel Writing in the Age of Tourism" *The Hudson Review* 45, no. 4 (1993), 59.
[68] Roy. *Maps of Difference*, 161.
[69] Bridget Brereton. "Gendered Testimonies: Autobiographies, Diaries and Letters by Women as Sources for Caribbean History," 159.
[70] Carrie F Arnold, "Inside My Illustrated Travel Journals," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (Winter, 1995), 507-516, 509.

privileged class position, women writers tended to concentrate on descriptions of people as individuals, rather than on statements about race as a whole."[71] This may explain the lack of social commentary in Allen's writings. This is reflected in Allen's work. According to Mills, this has been labelled as bad writing, but it may reflect that early women travel writers had to consider who their audience was. Although white and privileged, they were still not in the same position of power as that of their male counterparts. Laurence, for example, found that being a woman gave her a lower status among the local people in Sri Lanka, despite her status as a white married woman.

Allen's motivation for travelling must also be explored in order to understand more fully her records and her need to document. In modern women's travel literature, the motivation is often an inner journey. There are suggestions in her works that Allen too, at least subconsciously, was engaged in an exploration of her inner self. More apparent, however, are four main conscious motivations: visiting family; supporting her professional interests; social prestige and status; and making an escape from her staid life. One of the most straightforward reasons why Allen travelled was to visit friends and family. Both of her brothers lived in Britain and she enjoyed visiting them. She also took the opportunity of those visits to explore other areas of Europe. Allen reported that her father encouraged her to travel, saying that, to properly teach about the great works of art, she would have to see them for herself. As already suggested, her travels fuelled her enthusiasm for her lecture topics, an enthusiasm she then shared with her students.

A third motivation for Allen would have been the prestige obtained from being a noted woman traveller. For example, during her trip to the China in 1937, on the eve of the war between Japan and China, she was mentioned as being on a study tour in the

[71] Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* , 3.

article “Women of Interest on the Canadian Scene.” Allen turned her travels into slideshows, gave talks to various groups, and published articles about them. Through family and friend connections, Allen was also able to meet people she considered high status. For a single woman who was concerned about maintaining her social standing, her remarkable travel experiences may well have been one important way to try to do so.

Allen's fourth motivation for travel was that it provided an escape from her life in Winnipeg. Whereas Allen's brothers left Winnipeg never to return, she stayed behind, established a respectable and stable career, remained single, and cared for her aging father until his death. In Winnipeg, she was constrained by her father’s and society's expectations. Allen used her travel to partake of the social activities typical of a young woman; she went dancing, had romances, and generally experienced greater freedom than she did at home. Those she met on her travels did not know her and did not make assumptions about her. Later in her life, Allen wrote in her unpublished work ‘Meditations:’ “Then I began to travel on my own and life recommenced. Later in life with a job back in Winnipeg, I decided that since now all my friends, student and staff at the U of M had decided on the no fun facade I had around me, I could let it stand as a protection and do what I liked behind it.”[72] Travel for Allen, therefore, become a short-term escape out of her settled life and facade in Winnipeg.

In the early twentieth century, women fought for and won new freedoms, including the right to vote and to enjoy expanded educational and economic opportunities. Some of these women used these new opportunities to travel, “...as a

[72]UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 17, Folder 10, ‘Meditations’.

means of exploring both themselves and their world."[73] Self-exploration became their motivation for travel. Indeed, women's travel writing had always had a confessional tone that expanded during this era. Though Allen makes clear her motivations for travel, her writings suggest she engaged in some unconscious self-exploration, as travelling gave her the freedom to have fun and shed some of the facade she presented to her friends, family, and students in Winnipeg. Modern women travellers are inspired to travel to get away from the solitariness of modern life, the alienation of cities, the breakdown of the family, and also to find one's roots, all classic romantic tropes for motivations for travel.[74] Many women travel writers focus on the inner journey. 'Trying to find yourself' has become an overused phrase. However, in a sense Allen did find herself through her travel; it became how she defined herself, and self-definition is indeed a great reason to travel.

[73] Meaney. " 'Sans Clothes and Sans Reproche': Beauty, Nature, and Transgression in Post-Suffrage American Woman's Travel Narratives," 344.
[74] Mulligan. "New Directions or the End of the Road? Women's Travel Writing at the Millennium," 71.

CHAPTER THREE

A DEEPER ANALYSIS: LILLIAN ALLEN'S TRAVEL BOOKS

The previous two chapters have concentrated on the history of travel and tourism, what Lillian Allen wrote about in her travel books, and the traditions established by previous women travellers. The organization of her records themselves, however, is just as important to investigate as the content contained within. Beyond simply reading Allen's words, the material records allow exploration of questions such as why she chose to travel, why she chose to donate her records to the University of Manitoba Archives, and did she have an audience in mind when writing them. The degree of consistency in their arrangement, what she chose to keep, how she recorded her accounts, and when she might have recorded them are all important to consider. Exploring these points within the context of travel history allows for insights that would not necessarily be obvious without that background knowledge. Other academic fields have produced much work on the history of travel, but little as yet on the records of travel. Archivists, being responsible for the care and contextualization records, are well placed to play a key role in illuminating the history of travel records in order to provide better archival descriptions of them and service to researchers. Not all questions about Allen's records can be answered, but by placing her travel records within the context of the history of travel, a larger picture emerges. This thesis illustrates the value, therefore, of studying travel records' physical

form as well as written content, and doing so within the larger context of the history of travel.

Allen's travel records contain various forms of documentation, including handwritten and typewritten travel accounts, photographs, tourist guides, tourist maps, hotel bills, and hotel key holders. As such, more information can be gleaned from Allen's records than is typically available from published travel records, as published works rarely include as varied an array of information sources. Allen was not consistent in what she chose to save or the way that she placed them in her travel books, which suggests she had originally intended these records to be for her personal use rather than for an audience, or that she considered some trips more important than others. However, she did tend to save some types of records more consistently than others. For instance, Allen originally travelled overseas by ship: these ships often had booklets for passengers that listed the ship's staff, menus, programmes of entertainment, and the names of fellow passengers. Allen sometimes solicited the autographs of the passengers she met or commented about them in this booklet. She enjoyed meeting people and was able to use these booklets as a way of keeping track of the people she met. She did not save all of the programmes of entertainment, especially if they were given out daily on separate sheets of paper as opposed to all at once. It is unclear, however, if she kept only the programmes of entertainment that she had particularly enjoyed, or if she felt keeping all of them would accumulate too much of one type of record when one programme could be a sufficient example of what she received on board.

Once Allen began travelling by plane, however, she was less likely to keep records of her actual mode of travel. She may have been less likely to keep mementos of

her flights because she hated flying and being crammed into an airplane on an overseas flight. Travel by plane had the advantage of being faster than travel by ship, but it did not allow the same opportunity to develop familiarity with fellow travellers. The airplane itineraries that she did save lack the level of detailed information and intimacy of narration of her passenger booklets. In addition, Allen had fonder memories of her days on a ship than of her flights. Her written narratives indicate that she rarely established new relationships on an airplane, which suggests there was little need for her to retain records for what she would consider an unmemorable portion of her journey. One of the few times she actually saved anything from her plane trips was when she flew first class and she saved the menu. By this stage in her life, she could no longer afford to travel as did the upper class, so travelling first class happened rarely, and would have been worth remembering.

Other items Allen kept consistently are hotel bills, paper hotel key holders and pamphlets about the hotels she stayed in. Some might consider bills and key holders to be atypical souvenirs, but they had the hotel name on them and dates of her stay, and so could be used later as sources for her long form travel account. The first hotel bill included is from her first trip to Europe in 1936. This is not the first trip she had ever taken, however. So saving the bill suggests that this is when she began to save travel records more consciously and may have had some plan for their use. Allen also almost always included a list of her expenditures in some form. Its location within the book varied. It was sometimes at the front and sometimes at the end. It typically summarized the cost of travel, money spent shopping, how much her father contributed, and the total costs. In Travel Book Ten she recorded a very detailed daily expenditure list that includes

what seems like all the receipts from the entire trip and estimates of costs versus the actual costs. For this journey, Allen kept track of her expenditures in a little red book that she then stored in an envelope pasted at the back of the travel book. She only tracked her expenditures while in Europe, not while she was visiting family in Britain. She may have been planning a presentation about the actual costs of travelling in Europe, or people may have asked her about the costs of European travel, as she had already been to Europe three times and had experience with budgeting. She used currency converters while she travelled and also kept a couple of them too.

Postcards were another form of travel documentation that Allen saved consistently, especially when on her longer trips. Postcards were not only an excellent way of capturing pictures of famous sites and monuments that the traveller might not be able to photograph, but were also a way of authenticating the traveller's experiences. Allen was an avid photographer and did not necessarily need the postcards for capturing images during her travels, but they would have served as an inexpensive way of demonstrating where she had been and what she had seen.

Allen also kept maps, some of which were held in a separate folder that contained both maps and postcards from her travels. Some were stored in the travel books themselves. These maps were often produced by either the ship she was sailing on or were part of a tourist brochure. On some maps she marked the route the ship took, and circled the monuments she saw while she was in Rome or other cities with famous historical sites. These maps were therefore not only a way of keeping track of where she went and what she saw, but were also an excellent visual representation of part of her trip. They complemented her narrative. Maps intended to be guides for tourists like Allen

became a part of the narratives of her trips that she constructed simply by saving and annotating them.

Newspaper clippings are not generally considered to be travel memorabilia, but they are also found in Allen's travel books. If Allen was mentioned directly, as she was in a 1937 article about her trip to Asia, or if the clipping documented an incident that happened to her, she would save it in her books. Allen appeared to be very conscious about her name being mentioned in the media. As mentioned previously, travel conveyed status to Allen, and these newspaper articles were in a sense a public confirmation of her distinct status as an experienced and sophisticated traveller and proof she had travelled where she had claimed to. The clippings helped tell a part of the story she was constructing for herself and for others.

Allen also saved tourist brochures, guides and pamphlets, though not consistently. She appears more likely to have kept them if she was travelling somewhere new to her. Allen re-visited some places, such as Bermuda and England, and perhaps did not feel the need to collect as many souvenirs on later visits. Supporting the supposition that she focused on memorabilia of specific significance in her books is the playbill for the production of 'My Fair Lady' with Julia Andrews and Rex Harrison. She chose to keep this in her travel book rather than her autograph book of celebrities, which is also in her archive, and so the playbill became part of her travel narrative.

Art created by travellers themselves has been another form of souvenir that Allen also made and kept. Allen thought of herself as an artist and loved art. She used photographs to express her artistic abilities in her travel books, but in Travel Book Three from 1935, for example, she also included drawings and water colours. This is the only

book in which she included any of her own paintings or drawings, though she continued to include her own photographs. In 1935 she was travelling with friends, and it is obvious by reading the narrative that she had very fond memories of this trip. Adding her artwork may have made this particular travel book a little more special for her.

Allen's photographs are a significant part of her travel record and source of its narrative. She loved to take photographs, as evidenced by the over 1000 photographs she donated to the University of Manitoba Archives. They include photos of friends, family and colleagues, photos from her nature book *Frost,* and sample slides from her slideshow presentations. Photographs are not included in all of her travel books. They are often on separate pieces of paper, labelled neatly, interspaced among her travel narratives, letters and other tourist records. For some photos, the paper is thin enough to see the back of the photograph and the labels written there. Allen was a good recordkeeper and made sure to label all of her photographs, whether they are in the travel books or elsewhere in her archive. This level of recordkeeping of photographs has largely been lost with the arrival of digital photographs; photos are less likely to be printed, and rarely labelled beyond the digitally imprinted date. Allen had a lot of photographs to choose from and, as with her maps, kept some in her travel books and some separately. She may have viewed her travel books as a place to combine her written narrative and specific photographs to give both more meaning than they would have had if kept completely separate. People, nature and art were important photographic subjects for her. It is possible that she used travelling and meeting people to ease the pain of her loneliness. This loneliness was often expressed when travelling without a companion throughout her travel books. Thus taking photographs of people may have been a way to remember that she was not truly alone.

Allen did not include train tickets in her travel books. These tickets would have been a ready record of the dates of her trips across Canada and in Europe. Her written narrative includes descriptions of her train trips, so the lack of tickets seems surprising. It is possible that she spent so much time travelling on trains, as did many Canadians, that she did not consider them worth saving. Her books also do not include ship tickets, or tickets from museums or other tourist sites she visited. These are regularly saved by modern tourists, but Allen chose not to save them in her travel books or elsewhere.

Allen collected a variety of forms of travel documentation, but does not appear to have kept any particular form consistently. Some travel books are thinner than others, containing fewer travel records outside of her narrative. There are many possibly reasons for this discrepancy in book size and content. For some trips, Allen may have been revisiting a site or taking a course and so was not collecting memorabilia. On some trips Allen may have been travelling for too brief a time to collect many items. Some trips may not have been as meaningful or memorable to her, and thus not worth the effort of collecting and saving travel records or writing out long, descriptive, day-by-day accounts of her travels. For some of her travel books, which are based on fewer items and were possibly created many years after a trip, Allen may have had to rely heavily on her own memories for her written narrative. However, since these travel books were a way for her to remember her travels, and also to help her shape and reflect on her identity as a traveller and human being, she may have wanted to include at least some record of those trips for which she perhaps did not have as much enthusiasm.

Some travel books cover several years' of travel records, as if she felt that a particular year's travel narrative was not enough on its own and needed to be combined

with others to create a thicker book, or that the trips were not important or memorable enough to be given separate books. This can create some confusion. She combined Travel Book Eleven and Travel Book Thirteen into one, even though she labelled them as separate books and included a separate book labelled Travel Book Twelve to cover the trip taken in between. Travel Book Sixteen has a Travel Book Sixteen B attached to it, which covers a completely different year and trip. This suggests it was added later, once she had already created, organized, and labelled her travel books numerically and may have already had Travel Book Seventeen. Thus she may have needed to call one ‘Sixteen B’. Most of her books are covered by either a duotang, cardboard or a file folder bound with string. All are labelled neatly with their book number and the places visited. This general consistency of covers does suggest that her records were gathered and sorted into books at a later date rather than shortly after each individual trip or year. Alternatively, they may not have originally been bound or may have had different covers and were later re-covered.

Allen began gathering material for travel records during her first major trip in 1927. It is not clear whether she had an audience beyond herself in mind right from the start. However, studying which textual narratives were handwritten and which were typewritten, what tenses she used, and narrative foreshadowing all suggest that at least by 1939, Allen was creating these records for something beyond personal use. A study of both the form and the content of her writing provides insight into her purpose for writing, some expectation of an audience, and how both may have influenced what she wrote. Some of Allen’s travel books are handwritten, some are typed, and some contain both a handwritten and typewritten account. However, when writing about her 1939 trip to New

England, she mentions that she bought a typewriter and learned to type. This implies that unless she was dictating her earlier accounts to a typist, any earlier typewritten accounts would have been composed after 1939. Indeed, in Travel Book Six, which contains two different years of her travels, Summer 1938, and New England and Bermuda, 1939, she hints and then states that she was writing these travel accounts at a later point.

Allen also used foreshadowing as part of her narrative, which again indicates that Travel Book Six was written at a later date. For example, in her 1939 account she wrote that "It looked as if Dad had been right. A man called Hitler was driving German trips into Poland."[1] This was also the year that she chose to go to Bermuda instead of Europe when the ship she was originally booked on was used by the King and Queen of Great Britain for a visit to Canada. Allen noted that her father believed the reason for the visit was to gather support from Canada before a war erupted. Allen's brief mention of this information suggests she assumed the reader would know who Hitler was and why the King and Queen would be visiting Canada. In her 1952 travel book, as the Cold War started and there was much unease about the potential for another war between the west and the U.S.S.R, Allen wrote, "Then everyone was talking about war with Russia. However Dad - quite the prognosticator said that was unlikely."[2] Her use of the phrase 'quite the prognosticator' indicates that this record too was written at a later date, when it was known that this was the beginning of the Cold War and that there was no outright war with the Russians. It is also interesting to note that Allen presents her father as a very intelligent man. This reflects the relationship she had developed with him in their later years, after she forgave him for the restrictions of her childhood and young adulthood.

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[1]UMA, . Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 6, Eastern Canada, Eastern States, 1938, New England, Bermuda, 1939.
[2]Ibid., MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 9, Italy, France, Britain 1952.

In Travel Book Seven, when writing about the summer of 1950, she says, "It was the year of the great flood."[3] The 1950 Red River Flood caused millions of dollars in damage and forced thousands of Winnipeggers to evacuate their homes. As this was a historical event that probably only a reader from Manitoba or Winnipeg would know about, it suggests she was writing for an audience and that she assumed that audience was local. This use of foreshadowing suggests she was constructing a narrative for an audience that would know the historical facts about these events, which would make the story she is telling that much more interesting. Allen's writing showed how historical events impacted on a personal level and guided the reader to this with the use of foreshadowing.

In Travel Book Six (covering 1938 and 1939) she wrote about meeting a man while in New England who would remain a part of her life in the years to come "…in the years ensuing he has become a painter.... He has also through the years, to writing this in 1969 (nearly thirty years) been anxious for us to meet and be lovers."[4] This was one of the few times Allen specifically stated that she was writing at a later date and included how much time had elapsed. She may have been constructing a narrative in many of her travel books and considered stating a later date to be jarring or distracting to the story she is writing. Allen also wrote this account in 1969, four years after her father's death, when she no longer had the responsibility of caring for him, and instead had time to reflect upon her life and write some of those reflections into her travel books. His death no doubt made her think about her own death and what she might be leaving behind.

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[3]UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 7, U.S.A, Eastern Canada, 1949, Iowa, 1950, Fundy National Park, 1951.
[4]Ibid., MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 6, Eastern Canada, Eastern States, 1938, New England, Bermuda, 1939.

She did not leave a travel book for 1969, suggesting she did not travel and thus had time to create new books for travels she remembered fondly. Travel Book Six (1938 and 1939) was shorter than her 1937 Travel Book Five, despite having two separate travel accounts in it. It also does not contain any of her typical souvenirs such as postcards or hotel bills or tourist guides, though it does contain some photographs. At the end of the travel book she included a handwritten note on a piece of cardboard, informing the reader that there was a ten-year gap between this travel book and the next one, Travel Book Seven, which contains trips from 1949, 1950 and 1951. As she explains, "There is a ten year break of real trips. Travel was restricted during the war. Ken got his divorce and work in Mississippi...I made trips to Banff and the west coast. I refused to go to Nevada with Ken. Ken married. I was broken hearted. Life had to go on. It did in Winnipeg. I had to live in Syracuse for a year to work on my M.S." Again, this text was reflective and obviously written with the knowledge of the intervening years.

Allen deliberately chose not to make travel books of trips taken during those ten years. If she had been making these records for herself, it would have made sense to make them for all of her trips. That she did not, suggests she believed her trips to Banff and the west coast would not be exciting or interesting for any potential audience, and again suggests that at least by 1938 her intention for her records went beyond personal use. It is possible instead that Allen used the ten-year gap and her new typewriter to begin assembling her travel books with an eye to sharing them with others. This was not the only travel book with which she addressed an audience. In Travel Book Fifteen she notes that she had mixed up pages seventeen and eighteen, so the reader should skip two pages

and then come back. It seems unlikely that she would have written this note to herself and suggests she knew someone reading her narrative might get confused.

Many of Allen's accounts are edited, or have information filled in with a different colour of pen ink. There are even some spots left blank in the middle of a sentence as if she had meant to go back and fill in the information. At some point, she obviously took the time to correct and edit all of her accounts in her own handwriting, which would have been a large undertaking and not likely to be something she would do simply for personal use. Many people write diaries of their travel. Sometimes they formally publish their travel accounts, as many women travel writers have done in the past, with photographs accompanying their accounts. Though Allen's travel books were never formally published and there is no obvious indication of who her intended audience was, she must have meant for her records to be seen at some point, or else it would hardly make sense to go back, re-read and edit them.

Allen did not change the content, so she may have been prepared for an audience to know the intimate details that many other women would have left out of published accounts. As such, she may have been writing, or at least editing, them at a later point in her life, when she was not as concerned with her reputation or worried about strangers knowing the intimate details about her life while she was still alive. Considering that she donated unpublished articles to the archives entitled, 'My Life With Sex', 'The Men in My Life' and 'Letters to Boyfriends,' in which she does go into some detail about her sex life and intimacy with her boyfriends, it appears she was no longer worried about her reputation to the same degree as she was when she started writing her travel narratives. While her travel narratives lack the detail found in these articles, her books do contain

more than she may have included had she written and published these travel narratives in the early twentieth century.

Allen not only took the time to edit these accounts, but also to write them out in different formats. Some of her travel books, such as Travel Book Nineteen from 1967, are simply what can be termed as a log book, or a daily account of her activities. Sometimes these notations were a few short sentences, and other times they were a few short paragraphs. Sometimes they were written on the day of the event mentioned, and sometimes they were written days later. The implication is that she wrote out these records as she was travelling. As mentioned, Travel Book Twelve includes a small red notebook with her daily expenditures and a daily log. This small notebook would have been more convenient to write in daily than her full-sized logs. She may have kept notebooks like this one all along and rewrote them in her travel books after the fact. As some of her travel books only have long descriptive handwritten narratives with no or few mementos to trigger her recollection, she would have had to have either a very good memory, or another source, such as the small notebooks, to help her remember.

In contrast, some of her travel books have both logs and long handwritten descriptive accounts; the longer accounts were likely written later as a cohesive narrative, and she may have used her shorter accounts to help her write her longer accounts. The typewritten accounts were not written with the memories fresh in her mind, but rather with time to reflect on their significance. Perhaps re-reading her earlier handwritten accounts led her to re-write the accounts as a way of reliving the associated memories. The accounts that tended to be longer and more descriptive may have been the trips about which she was more enthusiastic and for which she believed she had an audience.

Certainly the twenty-five pages of a handwritten account found in Travel Book Eight reflect more enthusiasm than the two pages of an account found in Travel Book Sixteen B. Regardless of the page count, however, she did take that time to write out her account and create each book, which shows a lot of dedication to the creation of these travel narratives and travel books.

It is interesting to note that instead of destroying or not including her original accounts as some other published travel writers have done, Allen chose to keep all versions of her accounts in her records. Allen appeared to have used the various versions of her accounts as reference material for her slide lectures, which were not kept with her travel books. Her first travel book contains two different narratives about her 1927 trip to Norway House with her Great Aunt Kate. In one of the narratives she noted much later that in a "CBC talk I took license with some facts like omitting my great aunt etc."[5] As noted in chapter two, some women did travel on their own and Allen, who read *National Geographic* as a child and was surrounded by scholars, books and papers, may have read about them. Allen may have felt pressure to make her own account more exciting by excluding her aunt and presenting herself as the 'exceptional or extraordinary woman traveller,' at least for the talks. She did not destroy the narratives that contradicted her public talks, however, and made note of this altered presentation of the facts. This was a good way to counteract any claims of falsehood or exaggeration as many female travel writers in the past had been accused of these by male critics.[6] Whether or not that was her intention, by including all versions of her travel narrative, she shows concern about ensuring the record is in the end accurate.

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[5] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 3, Travel book 1, Norway House, 1927, California, British Columbia, 1929.
[6] Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* , 30.

Allen sometimes added letters to her travel books. She was an avid letter writer and her archive contains three boxes of correspondence. On her long travels, she both wrote and received letters, many to and from her father. While she does not include letters written to her in her travel books, she does occasionally include letters she wrote to her father, written on tissue-like paper with the hotel's brand on it. In Travel Book Twelve in 1958 Allen asks her father specifically to keep one letter for her reference.[7] In 1961, Travel Book Fifteen, she notes that the letters are the most interesting; in one letter to her father, she asks him to keep the letters for her as she is writing them to him rather than keeping a diary.[8] These could have been added to her travel books after his death in 1965 or she may have reclaimed the letters when she returned home. By this point, however, it is clear that Allen was actively creating some sort of travel account, perhaps even creating some of the finalized travel books upon returning from her trips. They became an alternative to keeping a travel diary, which could be hard to keep up to date when travelling constantly. Alternatively, she may have asked him to keep the letters to help her 'flesh out' her slideshow presentations. Regardless of her motivation, these letters became part of the narrative and part of the travel books. She even edited her own letters, most likely years later, and added the year to each letter's date.

These letters were also a way for Allen to expand her audience immediately when writing about her travels, as she sometimes asked her father to share the letters with friends and family. For example, in Travel Book Twelve she asks specifically if, "Aunt Ava would like to see my letters? She could reform them."[9] She may have done this again later when she recast some of her original narratives into letter form, perhaps as a

[7] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 12, Europe, 1958.
[8] Ibid., MSS 45, Box 5, Travel book 15, Europe, 1961.
[9] Ibid., MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 12, Europe, 1958.

way to better engage the reader. Initially reading the travel books, one might assume she just had copies of the letters she was sending while on vacation. They were usually not signed or creased, so they could not be the actual letter itself. Some are typewritten, and those typewritten before 1939 were likely written at a later date and so not an actual letter. In addition, Arthur Millward, a University of Manitoba archivist, wrote letters to her to encouraging her to "continue" to recast her narrative found in the 1939 travel journal, into letter form. These letters written by Millward indicate that some of these earlier narratives were actually written much later.

Allen's motivation for creating these travel books can be explored not just through her words, but also through the physical records themselves. Allen never specifically stated her motives for making these twenty-nine travel books, but examination suggests this was a project that spanned many years. By donating them, along with the rest of her records, Allen created a legacy for herself. She was most likely influenced by a couple of different factors related to the archives. One early influence may have been her own mother's recordkeeping. Her mother sporadically kept diaries while living with her family in New Brunswick and letters she had written to her family while in Europe with her husband in 1912. These diaries and letters became a link to Allen's mother after her death. Upon retiring, Allen spent time typing her mother's diaries before depositing them and the transcripts in the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. Mary Biggar Peck would later find and publish these diaries and letters in *A Full House and Fine Singing: Diaries and Letters of Sadie Harper Allen* in 1992. Allen not only considered her mother's records to be important enough to transcribe but also to donate to archives. Perhaps at one point she thought she might herself publish her

mother's diaries and letters. There is a tradition of publishing women's diaries and of course women's travel accounts. The value she placed on her mother's records may have made her value her own records and cause her to be more amenable to donating her own records to the archives. Her mother's legacy may have made Allen think more about her own legacy and perhaps realize that she too could create another legacy for herself, outside of her teaching and her art.

In 1978 Richard Bennett, an archivist at the University of Manitoba Archives, was searching for papers from former university staff. He approached Allen initially asking for her father's papers. Upon learning that she had already donated the majority of them to the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, he asked if she had any papers, published and unpublished, that she wished to donate. Her first instalment came that year and would continue in several accruals until the final one after her death in 1995. Her final travel book covers two different trips in 1978 and 1979. Shortly before retiring to Victoria, British Columbia, she may have donated all of her travel books to the university archives. Allen may have already intended to donate her documents, including the already made travel books, or she may have been inspired to create those books by Bennett's request. She would have had a short period between his initial request and her final submission to assemble them, even with all of her accounts and different types of travel records on hand. However, the books are generally fairly uniform in appearance, and some of her earlier accounts were obviously written many years later. It is possible that Allen had already assembled some version of the travel books before Bennett contacted her, perhaps as a writing exercise or creative outlet. A prolific writer and an artist, she may have found travel records to be another way to express herself creatively. After she

decided to donate them, she could have put covers on them, edited them and labelled them, and added extra narratives and photographs before donating them to the archives. This formalizing process may not have taken very long.

Beyond what Allen herself chose to write or keep, there are indications archival staff influenced her decision to create certain records. Between Bennett's original request in 1978 and her death, Allen kept in contact with staff from the university archives. This contact may have had some influence on her travel books. After her retirement, she continued to send annual diaries that were reflections of old age and contained little or no mention of travel. Staff at the university archives encouraged her to send them and to save all of her papers, even if she did not think they were exciting, and any other writings, including re-writings of unpublished material already located in the archive. One staff member at the university, Arthur Millward, corresponded with her about her travel books, and was in the process of helping her publish her travel account from 1937. As her travel book from that year contained two or three different accounts, he wanted one narrative to publish and was trying to give them a chronological shape. As mentioned previously, Millward also suggested that she continue to recast the original material into letter form. His suggestion that she 'continue' to do this, implies that she had indeed recast original material into letter form in the past. Some of the letters in her books, therefore, may have been sent and later added to her travel books.

Travel Book Three from 1935 has several letters placed intermittently, all typewritten. While her main account of her trip is handwritten, it does also contain a typewritten account of some travels. This suggests that at least some of Allen's reworking of her records was done because of encouragement by archivists, perhaps by adding to

travel books and the travel narrative she had already been constructing. Both Bennett and Millward, as well as other staff with whom Allen worked, were in a profession that often prides itself on being neutral gatekeepers of information. Yet these individuals may not only have influenced the creation of these travel books both in form and content, but also encouraged the creation of more records, most obviously her later journals, but perhaps also additional travel records.

These travel books were labelled as such by both Allen and the archivists who listed them in the university's archival finding aids. Yet the term 'travel book' may not encapsulate all that is contained inside. However, it would be hard to describe these books any other way and it is what Allen chose to call them, so no doubt this is why the university archives labelled them as such. They are more than their summary description, however; they are books filled with travel and the various forms of records that came with that. It is therefore important for archivists to look at these travel records and see the whole of their content, not merely their final 'book' form. Travel records, like any records, should not simply be identified by their types but rather be understood as a whole, as has been attempted here with Allen's work. So much more is gained when that is done.

Allen's travel books can then be seen as a record created over time as she compiles their various components while travelling and then later, sometimes much later, and even with some prompting by archivists, brings them over time into a final form that shapes the narratives she wished to construct and pass along. They are not just edited travel books with various pieces of information about this or that place, trip, and period or the biographical facts of Allen's life. The very process of their formation suggests

something important about how that information should be viewed – as the effort of a particular woman, of a particular social background, at a particular time in the history of travel and of travel by women to come to a greater self-understanding over time and to leave that as an archival legacy. Archivists need an understanding of the sometimes evolving history of the records in their care in order to convey that type of knowledge of their origins and meanings to researchers through archival descriptions.

CONCLUSION

"When I see such things as the fine new aqueduct, it makes me shiver to think of the things Winnipeggers are content to have in their little covered city."[1]

Lillian Allen's travel books represent almost a lifetime's worth of her memories, and the time, effort and creativity she put into creating them. It would be easy to do a surface level analysis of them and just look at what she edited or published, without much contextualization. But seen within the broader context of the history of travel, and travel by women, these records can be seen as particular artifacts of that history, as she experienced it between the 1920s and 1970s. Researchers risk missing valuable information arising from why and how such records were created if the records are viewed outside that context. By virtue of their distinct close relationship to the records in their charge, archivists can reduce that risk greatly by contributing to that contextual knowledge.

Chapter one reviews the history of travel and argues that in order to understand and better contextualize travel records, it is important to understand the history of travel itself. Chapter one also reviews different forms of records created by travel at different times, as well as what archivists need to know about how and why these records were created. By looking at the history of travel and travel records, it becomes clear that the narrative of travel has been documented differently over time, and that there has always been a need for travellers to document their travels in some form. In chapter two, Allen's life is explored as context for understanding the travel records she created. The privileges and opportunities afforded her by her social class,

[1] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 4, Travel book 12, Europe, 1958.

education and ethnicity allowed her to travel and accomplish what she did in her life, and these factors shaped the creation and particular form taken by her travel books.

Allen's narrative is examined within the context of analyses of the works of other twentieth-century women travellers, with the knowledge that these women often shared writing traditions arising with women travellers of the nineteenth century. Allen's travel records should be reviewed within both the general history of women travellers and her personal history in order to understand the significance of her travel records.

The heart of Allen's travel records is her travel books, and that is why the focus is on this specific set of records in chapter three, where their characteristics are explored. The degree of consistency in their arrangement, what she chose to keep, how she recorded her narrative, and when she might have recorded it all highlight the importance of knowledge about records in order to understand more fully the messages they convey.

This thesis attempts to begin to fill a gap in archival literature about the genre of travel records. Travel records are rarely mentioned in this literature as a genre or considered within the larger context of the history of travel. Using Allen's travel books as a case study demonstrates how different types of records can be classified as travel records and how important it is to look at them as a whole. This is also important to the emerging field of tourism history. Travel narratives were not taken seriously academically until the 1970s, and the history of travel was considered too "fluffy", "frivolous", "intangible" and "difficult to quantify".[2] Travel historian John K. Walton also identifies a lack of a "defined body of official archives"[3] as an impediment to the history of tourism, which underscores the importance of archives, the power they have to shape fields of knowledge, and the contributions archivists could make to an understanding of

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[2] Walton, "Welcome to the *Journal of Tourism History*," 1.
[3] Ibid., 1.

the pervasive, pivotal, and heavily documented human experience of travelling. Allen's travel records, incorporating a wide variety of document forms, can serve as an example of the huge breadth of travel records yet to be explored in archives.

Lillian Allen is just one of many Canadian women who travelled in the twentieth century and it would be all too easy to label her as 'exceptional,' as was often done with women travellers since their travel experiences and narratives were viewed as atypical for their gender. However, there is a danger in regarding women travellers as proto-feminists, a point that was only briefly discussed in this thesis. Full comparison of Allen's travel books with other archived twentieth-century women's travel records is beyond the scope of this thesis, but is certainly worth further investigation, in part in order to contextualize further records such as Allen's. Here, it is noted merely that archives have the power to highlight such marginalized records and to do so with critical analysis without relying on stereotypes.

Archivists played a role in the creation of Allen's travel books. The organization and consistency of the records indicate she created them with some kind of audience in mind. Whether it was to be her friends and family or many others too, through publication of the travel books, is debatable. She wrote published and unpublished articles about her travels and presented slideshows about them. Those records had a specific audience in mind, but the audience for her travel books is much harder to determine. What can be said is that when Richard Bennett was hired as the first official archivist of University of Manitoba Archives in 1978 and contacted Allen, he may have given Allen the motivation to formally organize and thus 'create' her travel books in their final form and as 'archives', not just personal materials of no obvious wider and, especially, *enduring* value. Her archive was a significant donation to the university archives, not only because it was a large donation to a fledgling archives, but also because it was from

someone known to the University of Manitoba, not only for her father's contribution to the founding of the university, but also for her contribution as a respected professor.

Correspondence with Arthur Millward, another university archives staff member, encouraged her to continue writing, and to send to the archives her personal diaries and any other records, including re-writings of accounts found in her travel records. Allen had collected travel records, written her travel accounts, and told others about her travels ever since she began them. However, the external influence of the staff at the archives is not necessarily obvious from her travel books, unless there is a close examination of materials not included within the books themselves. The university archives includes recorded lectures presented at the First Annual Archives Symposium, one of which was by Allen herself, discussing her particular records. If this, and her letters with university archivists, were added to the description of her records, it would highlight the archivists' intervention in the creation and donation of the records and thus provide additional context important for future historians studying her work.

Lillian Allen's records are only a part of the legacy she created for herself. She wanted to leave a legacy in fine art and finally did when she published the book of her nature photographs in 1990, showing it is never too late to pursue your dreams. She also realized towards the end of her career that she had had an important impact on her students, enriching their lives by sharing her travel, study, reading and personal experiences. She gained much from developing her students' talents, and that too became a part of her legacy.[4] Perhaps thinking of her legacy, Allen considered writing a full autobiography, as opposed to the less formal narrative in her diaries and published and unpublished articles that she left to the archives. She even wrote out sample titles of chapters, demonstrating both a sense of humour about the façade she had created and also some of her regrets: titles such as "Some Problems in Life and how to Cope (when you look like

[4] UMA, Allen Fonds, MSS 45, Box 17, Folder 10, "Meditations".

an intellectual Methodist but love daytimes of beachcombing, evenings of sophistication with beautiful clothes and nights of wanton desires)" and "The Men in My Life vs. The Men I Got (Most men in my life have worn scruffy clothes - This breaks my heart)."[5] Her travel records are part of the legacy created by the donation of her records to the archives. They show her escapes from Winnipeg and what she considered the façade she put on for her friends, family, students and colleagues. Her travels allowed her to enrich her students' lives, learn more about art herself, meet a wide variety of people from different cultures and life experiences, be a version of herself she could not necessarily be at home, and to come home with a good story to tell.

Perhaps someday someone will write her biography, or publish her travel books, enabling the telling of the fuller story of Lillian Allen that her assiduous record making and archiving may have been undertaken for all along. The university archives certainly provides a large treasure trove on which to base these projects. It is my hope that this thesis might stimulate that study and inform it through greater awareness of the key role in it of document creation, keeping, and archiving.

[5] Ibid.

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