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Tourism, Anti-Tourism, and Communitas: E. M. Forster's Representation of Modern Tourism in A Room with a View

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Introduction

Where Angels Fear to Tread¹ and A Room with a View² are often classed together as E.M. Forster's "Italian novels": both novels evoke the passionate atmosphere and free spirit of Italy. After Forster graduated from King's College, Cambridge, he traveled to Italy with his mother during the years 1901-1902. Though his Italian travel experience was utilized in both Italian novels and some short stories, later he regarded his first Italian trip as a "timid outing" (Furbank 96) because "neither he nor his mother had made any Italian friends, not had they once entered an Italian home; at most they had struck up acquaintance with an occasional Italian hotel-guest or kindly museum-attendant or stationmaster" (Furbank 96). Although he was genuinely excited by the passionate intensity of Italy and received authentic inspiration to write novels there, he seemed to have a clear consciousness of the limitations of modern tourism; therefore, in his novels he satirizes modern tourism and British tourists. For example, when Forster's party visited Florence, the pension in which they stayed was crowded with typical English visitors. This Anglo-Italian world was definitely reflected in A Room with a View. Forster's vivid descriptions of modern tourism are in fact what inspired the following study.

¹ Abbreviated below as "WAFT."

² Abbreviated below as "RV."

Forster wrote a letter to his friend, Malcolm Darling (12 December 1908): "It is the great defect of my position that I only see people in their leisure moments" (Furbank 137). This truth inevitably influenced what he wrote. Forster himself realized that it was his special weakness as a novelist because he had no knowledge of the working side of people's lives. But as Furbank suggests, "[T]his disability, though it was one that he managed to turn to advantage in his fiction, tended to produce difficulties, and comedies, in his own life and friendships" (138). Seen from a different point of view, leisure is one of the most important topics in modern times; therefore, Forster's texts are very useful for learning about people's leisure time in the Edwardian age. And tourism is one of the most important leisure activities in Forster's novels.

Although some studies³ have been made on Forster's texts from the point of view of tourism, what seems to be lacking is a study of how Forster depicted both positive and negative aspects of tourism. In addition, it is also important to examine the roles of tourism in his novels, using theoretical approaches of tourist activity. Holidays, tourism and travel are being studied in a variety of fields such as sociology, anthropology and history. Thus, the objective of this essay is to reveal the representation of modern tourism in one of Forster's Italian novels, *A Room with a View*, by employing such approaches to these tourism studies.

1. Tourism and Anti-Tourism

The aims of this section are to examine tourism at the time when the Italian novels are set and to understand how Forster responds to that situation in his novels. It is often said that A Room with a View is a

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³ For example, John Pemble explains why the Mediterranean charmed the Victorian and Edwardian middle classes in the period of 1830-1914. His studies enrich our understanding of the socio-cultural background of Forster's Italian novels and of the European travel situation at the time. James Buzard studies the emergence of tourism as a cultural phenomenon between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Moreover, he studies Forster's texts focusing on tourism.

romantic comedy about two countries, Italy and England, and therefore the story is divided into two parts. Part 1 is set in Florence, Italy and Part 2 is set in Surry, England.

In the opening scene of this novel, all visitors at the pension called Pension Bertolini are having dinner. Lucy, the protagonist of this novel, has been saddened by "the Signora's unexpected accent" (RV 3); she speaks Cockney. Lucy thinks:

'It might be London.' She looked at the rows of English people; at the portraits of the late Queen and the late Poet Laureate that hung behind the English people, heavily framed; at the notice of the English church (Rev. Cuthbert Eager, M.A. Oxon.), that was the only other decoration of the wall. 'Charlotte, don't you feel, too, that we might be in London? I can hardly believe that all kinds of other things are just outside. I suppose it is one's being so tired.' (RV 3)

What the passage makes clear at once is that the Pension Bertolini is too British. We see, from Lucy's disappointment, that what Lucy has wanted is a pension where she can experience an Italian atmosphere. This is because modern tourism had appeared, and accommodations for tourists were improved as travel agencies emerged. Piers Brendon wrote about the European travel situation at that time by quoting some writers' notes:

'We talk glibly of leaving England but England is by no means an easy country to leave.' Europe was being annexed by little Englands, which were springing up all over the Continent. 'During the summer indeed England is everywhere.' (qtd in Brendon, *Thomas Cook* 93)

British tourists hardly went outside of British society during their travels. Lucy needs to confront the little British society of the pension.

After dinner, even though Lucy is disappointed by the pension, one of the little old ladies, Miss Alan, comes to speak to Lucy and she tells her

that she found in her bedroom something that was worse than a flea at Venice. She continues speaking, "But here you are as safe as England; Signora Bertolini is so English" (10). In this passage, we notice that Miss Alan is pleased that she can stay in such a comfortable English pension without any real risk at all. Her remark shows us that British tourists were always privileged and protected by Great Britain and that they could have many domestic comforts outside their home country.

In the opening chapter of the novel, we notice that Lucy tends to be a tourist who feels that modern tourism facilities that insulate tourists from the place they visit are unpleasant, whereas Miss Alan is a mere passive tourist who is willingly being protected by the English pension.

On the day subsequent to Lucy's arrival in Florence, Miss Lavish, who is a strong-minded novelist, promises to take Lucy to Santa Croce instead of Miss Bartlett, who is Lucy's cousin and chaperon. Miss Lavish says:

'I will take you by a dear dirty back way, Miss Honeychurch, and if you bring me luck we shall have an adventure.'

Lucy said that this was most kind, and at once opened the Baedeker⁴, to see where Santa Croce was.

'Tut, tut! Miss Lucy! I hope we shall soon emancipate you from Baedeker. He does but touch the surface of things. As to the true Italy—he does not even dream of it. The true Italy is only to be found by patient observation.' (RV 15)

The expression "a dear dirty back way" is important because there is a suggestion here that Miss Lavish diverges from the beaten track, daring to run the risk of seeking an adventure. Lucy, however, relies on a guidebook which tells her precisely about the beaten track. After Lucy takes Miss

⁴ See Buzard for a full account of Forster's treatment of guidebooks. Lucy carries *Mornings in Florence* written by Ruskin instead of Baedeker in the earlier version. Ruskin's guidebook is more academic than Baedeker's. In its final form, Forster replaced Ruskin's book with Baedeker's to centre on Lucy's personal development.

Lavish's suggestion, she thinks that "Italy was coming at last. The Cockney Signora and her works had vanished like a bad dream" (15).

In a book entitled *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events In America* (1961), Daniel Boorstin suggests that foreign travel became a commodity since a new word, "tourist," came into the English language in the early nineteenth century. He describes this change as "the decline of the traveler and the rise of the tourist" (84-85). He explains the difference between tourists and travelers etymologically and says: "Our American dictionary now defines a tourist as 'a person who makes a pleasure trip'" (85), while "the old English noun 'travel' (in the sense of a journey) was originally the same word as 'travail' (meaning 'trouble', 'work', or 'torment')" (85). As a result, the traveler is actively in search of adventures. The tourist is passive because he expects interesting things to happen to him. The traveler is sometimes forced to face the dangers of travel, but the tourist is guaranteed safety by travel agencies. Consequently, one of the functions of travel agencies is now to prevent tourists from coming into close contact with the host environment and local people in order to avoid "trouble."

Taking Boorstin's explanation into consideration, Miss Lavish's attitude of not being a passive tourist shows that she might want to be a traveler who braves the dangers of making "the discovery of the ill-known." But, we cannot say that Miss Lavish is a perfect traveler. This is because she also stays at the same comfortable pension with the typical tourists that she dislikes. It means that she partly enjoys the benefits of the development of the tourist industries and the tourist system. What is more, she disdains vulgar lower-middle-class British tourists. When she and Lucy see the Emersons in front of Santa Croce, she laughs at their figures. She says: "They walk through my Italy like a pair of cows.

⁵ Brendon defines tourism as follows: "tourism is the discovery of the well-known (whereas travel is the discovery of ill-known and exploration the discovery of the unknown)" (*Thomas Cook* 63).

It's very naughty of me, but I would like to set an examination paper at Dover, and turn back every tourist who couldn't pass it" (18). We see, from the word "a pair of cows," how cruelly Miss Lavish mocks the unrespectable lower-middle-class tourists.

The same critical attitude toward modern democratization and institutionalization of tourism is assumed by Rev. Cuthbert Eager, a member of the residential colony in Florence. He despises Cook's tourists because he knows well the special places that the tourists with the Cook coupons have never heard of. Let us consider the following conversation, which takes place on the drive to Fiesole. It begins with Mr. Eager asking a question of Lucy.

'So, Miss Honeychurch, you are travelling? As a student of art?'

'Oh, dear me, no-oh no!'

'Perhaps as a student of human nature,' interposed Miss Lavish, 'like myself?'

'Oh, no. I am here as a tourist.'

'Oh, indeed,' said Mr Eager. 'Are you indeed? If you will not think me rude, we residents sometimes pity you poor tourists not a little—handed about like a parcel of goods from Venice to Florence, from Florence to Rome, living herded together in pensions or hotels, quite unconscious of anything that is outside Baedeker, their one anxiety to get "done" or "through" and go on somewhere else. The result is, they mix up towns, rivers, palaces in one inextricable whirl....' (55-56)

Then Miss Lavish quite agrees with his opinion, stating that "[t]he narrowness and superficiality of the Anglo-Saxon tourist is nothing less than menace" (56). It will be clear from these examples that Miss Lavish and Mr. Eager think modern tourism to be meaningless. We are now in a

position to say that Miss Lavish represents an anti-touristic ideology that occurred as the age of modern tourism arrived.

James Buzard traces the rhetorical construction of tourism and anti-tourism⁶ in his book, *The Beaten Track*. He explains that "Snobbish 'anti-tourism', an element of modern tourism from the start, has offered an important, even exemplary way of regarding one's own cultural experiences as authentic and unique, setting them against a backdrop of always assumed tourist vulgarity, repetition, and ignorance" (5). This suggestion is quite useful because Forster was interested in the connections and contradictions between tourist and anti-tourist in his Italian novels.

In contrast to Miss Lavish and Mr. Eager, Lucy represents a modern tourist because she claims, "I am here as a tourist" (55). For the reason given above, we are now able to see that *A Room with a View* is a "tourist novel" in which Forster tries to describe how tourists like Lucy transcend the passive touristic state to seek "reality" or "authenticity" in Italy, within the limits of the system of modern tourism.

In contrast, Where Angels Fear to Tread can be read as an "anti-tourist novel" because all of the troubles in the novel resulted from Philip's anti-touristic advice in the opening paragraphs of the story. Where Angels Fear to Tread starts at Charring Cross Station, where Philip advises Lilia, who is leaving for Italy, as follows:

'Remember,' he concluded, 'that it is only by going off the track that you get to know the country. See the little towns – Gubbio, Pienza, Cortona, San Gimignano, Monteriano.' And

⁶ Paul Fussell suggests that the distinctive features of anti-tourists are snobbish. He distinguishes anti-tourists from travelers as follows: "the anti-tourist is not to be confused with the traveler: his motive is not inquiry but self-protection and vanity" (47). In contrast, James Buzard admonishes Fussell's description about the dynamics of anti-tourism, saying that "'Traveller' is still an operative positive category in Fussell's thinking (even if it usually appears only by way of nostalgia)" (153).

don't, let me beg you, go with that awful tourist idea that Italy's only a museum of antiquities and art. Love and understand the Italians, for the people are more marvelous than the land.' (WAFT 3)

The sentence—"it is only by going off the track that you get to know the country"—definitely shows that Philip is an anti-tourist who disdains other tourists and avoids superficial tourist attractions. He then emphatically warns Lilia: "don't go with that awful tourist idea." He even seems to avoid any consciousness of himself as a tourist. In this respect, Philip is quite similar to Miss Lavish.

Lilia literally follows his anti-touristic suggestion; she and her companion, Miss Abbott go to one of the little towns, Monteriano, which represents an unspoiled place, escaping from the routines of the European tour. Lilia falls in love with a handsome Italian man, Gino, and they get married. It leads Philip to face many difficulties. In short, Philip's anti-touristic advice plays a key role in this novel.

Let us now return to the European travel situation at the time. In *A Room with a View*, the reference to Cook's company appears twice, but in both scenes, Forster looks down on Cook's customers. In other words, he describes Cook's firm as the very image of cheap conducted tours. But, we should not overlook the fact that Thomas Cook's company had expanded by meeting the client needs of different classes in order to make a big profit. To do so, it was necessary to satisfy snobbish rich clients who have anti-touristic attitudes. In the next section, let us attempt to extend this observation into the travel company, Thomas Cook & Son.

2. Thomas Cook & Son

In this inquiry into the history of Cook's firm, I shall stress two themes. The first is Thomas Cook's significant contribution to female emancipation. The second is the conflict between Thomas Cook, an altruistic father, and John, a ruthless son, concentrating on the period when the company's policies changed from mass tourism to "select" tours.

Thomas Cook (1808-1892) was a pioneer in the marketing of conducted-tours that led to mass tourism. There are some important social and technological factors that contributed to the democratization of travel. First, industrialization caused radical changes in the way of life; hence, new urban middle classes emerged. Modern tourism appeared as the by-product of industrialization. Second, the increasing ease of transportation, such as railroads and ocean steamers, made travel pleasurable. Third, workers gradually had more leisure time: to quote John Urry, "as work became in part rationalized so the hours of working were gradually reduced" (127). The separation of work and leisure characterized social development, and consequently it developed the rationalization of leisure. In short, Thomas Cook organized a railway excursion, as part of the temperance movement, which was built upon those social factors mentioned above, in order to teach "great moral and social lessons" to common people. All his life he remained a strict and ardent Baptist; therefore, his travel business was closely related to religion and philanthropy (Brendon, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography).

Cook began special-rate railroad excursions within England in the early 1840's. His first Scottish tour took place in the summer of 1846, and in 1851 he arranged for 165,000 people to visit London for the Great Exhibition (Brendon, *ODNB*). Brendon and Urry wrote that more ladies than gentlemen joined Cook's tours. This is because Cook referred to himself as "a travelling chaperon" and attracted women by advertising that "it was entirely proper for 'unprotected females' to go on his tours" (*Thomas Cook* 52). Brendon concludes that Cook assisted females in moving away from home; thus, he provided a remarkable opportunity for women to travel unchaperoned. Before modern tourism pervaded the United Kingdom, travel had been mainly the preserve of men. Tourism

therefore freed women from some of the strict conventions of the Victorian age.

In the 1860s with the help of his son, John, Cook started foreign tours. It was at the very time when improvements in transportation, rising per capita income, and the Pax Britannica were making tourism possible on a global scale. Alpine tours became popular; then, in 1864, his parties went to the newly united Italy; in 1866 to America; and, finally, in 1869 to the Holy Land. He quickly developed convenient systems such as hotel coupons, room reservations and guidebooks. Sophisticated Englishmen said that "Cook was depriving travelers of initiative and adventure and cluttering the continental landscape with the Philistine middle classes" (qtd in Boorstin, 87). Moreover, John Ruskin complained, "Going by railroad, I do not consider as traveling at all, it is merely being 'sent' to a place, and very little different from becoming a parcel" (qtd in Boorstin, 87). Ruskin's criticism is very similar to Mr. Eager's in A Room with a View. The reason why some attacks against Cook's tours occurred is that Victorians feared the mixing of social classes. Cook needed to contend with British snobbery all the time.

However, the business began to change when his son, John (1834-1899), rejoined Cook's firm in 1865. John, who was characteristically a complete business man, was dissatisfied with his father's style of business because his father mixed "missions with business." He became a full partner in 1871 (known as Thomas Cook & Son), but there were frequent serious disagreements between them. In 1878, "a full-scale quarrel" occurred between them and it led Thomas to retire. When John seized real power in the business, the habit of tourism had already spread to the lower classes and, besides this, the travel business became more competitive, because of new rival firms emerging. John's solution, in order to increase the profits of his own firm, was that "he concentrated on 'select' tours for a more exclusive clientele than that

favored by his father" (Brendon *ODNB*). In short, he tried to satisfy snobbish clients who had an anti-touristic attitude.

His advertisements reflected the new policy: 'Select First-class Party of Limited Numbers'. So did his brochures: parties were 'select and private'; they were conducted by 'gentlemen of experience and culture'; members were 'uniformly of the most intelligent, refined and cultured class' and they enjoyed 'practically the freedom of an individual traveler without the responsibility'. (qtd in Brendon, *Thomas Cook*, 183)

During the 1880s, he opened up new tourist destinations such as India, Australia and New Zealand. In 1884, he happily accepted official commissions to relieve General Gordon. After that, John always exploited official connections and thus tourism gradually combined with imperialism. These changes imply that the firm turned from "commercial philanthropy" to "imperial entrepreneurship" at the end of the nineteenth century (Brendon, *Thomas Cook* 3).

3. Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Tourism

According to Eric Cohen, the subject of tourism received little attention in the field of sociology for a long time. However, the rapid expansion of tourism after World War II provoked some critical and influential writing like Boorstin's analysis of modern tourism as "pseudo-events." Boorstin, as mentioned in the first section, argues against modern tourism. In his view, since modern tourism appeared and foreign travel became a commodity, tourists come to expect "more strangeness and more familiarity than the world naturally offers" (79). So, tourist entrepreneurs produce more extravagant tourist attractions that are isolated from the living culture and the local people. Tourists have become so accustomed to inauthentic, contrived attractions that they cannot

experience "the reality"; as a result, Boorstin concludes, "the modern American tourist now fills his experiences with pseudo-events" (79). He also insists that foreign countries are the confirmation of pseudo-events because "[m]uch of our interest comes from our curiosity about whether our impression resembles the images found in the newspapers, in movies and on television" (116).

Boorstin's essay gave an initial impetus to tourism studies. The study of tourism as a sociological specialty rather than merely as a marginal topic emerged in the 1970s. Boorstin's analysis is still highly inspiring, but some objections have been raised to his opinion. For example, Dean MacCannell challenged Boorstin's position, criticizing his intellectual approaches as follows:

Specifically, Boorstin's and other intellectual approaches do not help us to analyze the expansion of the tourist class under modernization, or the development on an international scale of activities and social structural arrangements made *for* tourists, social changes Boorstin himself documents. Rather than confront the issues he raises, Boorstin only expresses a long-standing touristic attitude, a pronounced dislike, bordering on hatred, for other tourists, an attitude that turns man against man in a *they are the tourists*, *I am not* equation. (MacCannell 107)

In my view, Forster's satires of modern institutionalization of tourism also belong to intellectual statements such as Boorstin's. Though MacCannell's concern, too, is the inauthenticity of modern life, he emphasizes that Boorstin's comment – tourists want superficial and contrived experiences – is unfounded. Unlike Boorstin, the term "tourist" for MacCannell has two different meanings. The first is actual tourists: sightseers. The other is the tourist as "one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general" (1). Cohen clearly summarizes MacCannall's

intentions: "since modern man is alienated from his own inauthentic and shallow world, he seeks authenticity elsewhere in other times and other places" (33). Therefore, MacCannell admits that all tourists demand authenticity away from their everyday life, just as Boorstin does (102-07). Therefore, he also thinks that the tourist can be regarded as a kind of contemporary pilgrim. Cohen says that MacCannell was the first sociologist to study modern tourism in order to develop "ethnography of modernity." Though a fuller study of this "ethnography of modernity" lies outside the scope of my essay, MacCannell's idea – tourism as a modern variety of the traditional pilgrimage – can be related to Forster's characters' journey.

MacCannell's idea is also partly related to the pilgrimage processes that Victor Turner has explored. John Urry briefly summarizes Turner's work on pilgrimage as follows:

Important *rites de passage* are involved in the movement from one stage to another. There are three such stages: first, social and spatial separation from the normal place of residence and conventional social ties; second, liminality, where the individual finds him/herself in an 'anti-structure...out of time and place' - conventional social ties are suspended, an intensive bonding 'communitas' is experienced, and there is direct experience of the sacred or supernatural; and third, reintegration, where the individual is reintegrated with the previous social group, usually at a higher social status. (Urry 10)

According to Turner's account of the concept of communitas, which he coined in the late 1960s, communitas – in other words, social anti-structure – is "a bond uniting...people over and above any formal social bonds" (*Dreams* 45). In contrast, "structure is all that holds people apart, defines their differences, and constrains their actions, including social structure in

the British anthropological sense" (*Dreams* 47). Turner continues: "communitas is society experienced or seen as 'an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals" (*Dreams* 49) and communitas is a relationship between individuals. He wrote that communitas is most evident in liminality, a concept which refers to "any condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life," adding that it is often a sacred condition (*Dreams* 47). But he also wrote that "liminality is not the only cultural manifestation of communitas" (*The Ritual Process* 109). For example, people of low status or position symbolize "the moral values of communitas as against the coercive power of supreme political rulers" in folk literature (*The Ritual Process* 109-10). The reason why the communitas component is elusive is that "communitas can be grasped only in some relation to structure" (*The Ritual Process* 127).

Some scholars maintain that tourism has the same structure of this pilgrimage process because a tourist moves from everyday life to extraordinary sacred days and then returns to normal workaday life. For example, Nelson Graburn develops this idea further and considers tourism as the sacred journey. The state of tourism (the transitional state) is almost equivalent to "liminality," which Turner stresses in his cultural analysis. In Graburn's view, the basic motivation for tourism seems to be the human need for re-creation in modern times (Graburn 21-36). Turner's work on the pilgrimage process and Graburn's analysis of the sacred journey, it seems to me, can be applied to Lucy's Italian experiences in A Room with a View.

Before Lucy comes to Florence, she obeys strict Victorian values, even though their restrictions frequently annoy her. Her habit of playing the piano passionately and her fondness for Beethoven show that she is not innately conventional. As Mr. Beebe predicts, "If Miss Honeychurch ever takes to live as she plays, it will be very exciting—both for us and for her"

(30).

Though Lucy's emancipation from the old conventions is a leitmotif in this novel, she is always guarded by her chaperon and the little British society of the pension in Italy. Lucy is so unformed that she cannot transcend the timid tourist way; therefore, Forster sets up two key liminal symbolic scenes in part 1: the murder in the Piazza Signoria (chapter 4) and the kiss among the violets (chapter 6). Through these scenes, Forster prepares unexpected events that force Lucy to break through the tourist's boundary, and consequently she is able to encounter the "real" Italy. Many critics have already offered several interpretations of these well-known scenes.

In the scene of the Piazza Signoria, Lucy goes out alone for a walk in the late afternoon, then witnesses an Italian murdered in "the hour of unreality" (38). When a dying Italian man bends towards Lucy "with a look of interest, as if he had an important message for her," she dimly thinks, "What have I done?" (39). This incident throws Lucy into George's arms and the photographs that she bought at an art shop get stained with blood. Mike Edward points out that "there occurs in the passage a significant change of Lucy's perspective from passive to active: from 'Nothing ever happens to me' to 'What have I done?'" (108). After Lucy recovers from her faint, she thinks: "she, as well as the dying man, had crossed some spiritual boundary" (40). Buzard explains that "Forster invests the notion of active participation in foreign life (or indeed in 'life' itself) with the promises and dangers of sexual passage" (296). He also indicates that Forster uses the violence to shatter the boundaries of touristic proprieties. He regards this scene as Lucy's 'symbolic loss of virginity' by following earlier critics (296-97). In addition to these interpretations, I would like to suggest that Lucy has an experience of communitas through this initiation.

On the way home after witnessing the murder, George hesitates

about what to do with the bloody photographs and decides to throw them away. He looks as if he is going to burst into tears so that Lucy's heart warms toward him. It is the first time she sees his weakness. When they come close to their pension:

She stopped and leant her elbows against the parapet of the embankment. He did likewise. There is at times a magic in identity of position; it is one of the things that have suggested to us eternal comradeship. (41)

Here we may note that Lucy feels sympathetic toward him. She unconsciously breaks down the barriers of class and gender by sharing the same experience, talking about it and taking the same posture as him. The next day, Lucy is puzzled all day about the previous day's incident. She feels that "[t]he well-known world had broken up, and there emerged Florence, a magic city where people thought and did the most extraordinary things" (51). This incident, however, does not change Lucy's life immediately but gradually influences her from that moment onward. At this stage, she does not understand the message from the murdered man. Like Lucy, we also need to discover the meaning of the message while reading the rest of the story.

Similarly, in the scene of the picnic at Fiesole, Lucy misses a chance to understand the message from the murdered man. Though nature is about to liberate Lucy's desires at Fiesole, her awakening to passion and love toward George is again interrupted by Miss Bartlett. However, she is unable to forget her memories and emotions about beautiful blue violets and the kiss from George. After she returns to England in Part 2 of this novel, she has to fight against those "ghosts" over and over again.

Lucy does not interpret the message until Lucy and George go on their honeymoon, accepting passion and love at the end of this story. We might say that *genius loci* is embodied in this message.⁷ To respond to the *genius loci* is a key to Forster's characters' ability to transcend old conventions, leading them to know the importance of "personal relations" in this novel.

4. Lucy, Cecil and George

This section mainly deals with Part 2 of this novel, where Lucy comes back to England with new eyes. Her mind is in turmoil, conflicted between aesthetic Cecil and passionate, pessimistic George. On the one hand, if she were to choose Cecil, she would be able to enter higher society. On the other hand, if she were to choose George, she would leave Windy Corner – where she was brought up – forever, because of class distinction. George is ill-bred and rises from the working class to the lower-middle-class. I would like to examine how the Italian experiences of Lucy, George and Cecil influence their lives after they return to England.

Cecil Vyse appears in Part 2 and is described as follows: "He was medieval. Like a Gothic statue....Well educated, well endowed" (81); he has no profession. After Lucy and Miss Bartlett left the Pension Bertolini, they visited Cecil in Rome. When they asked him to take them to St Peter's, Cecil was depressed because Lucy seemed "a typical tourist shrill, crude, and gaunt with travel" (83). However, while he stayed with her in Italy, he was slowly coming to be charmed by "her shadow," in which he found that "she was like a woman of Leonardo da Vinci's, whom we love not so much for herself as for the things that she will not tell us" (83). As a result, he decides to ask her for her hand. We notice here that Cecil only sees Lucy as a work of art.

Italy has influenced Lucy and Cecil differently. Italy has offered Lucy "the most priceless of all possessions her own soul" (103) and she is yearning for comradeship. Lucy realizes that Italy has broadened her

⁷ For further details of the idea of *genius loci*, see Tsutsui.

horizons: she thinks "there was no one whom she might not get to like, that social barriers were irremovable, doubtless, but not particularly high" (103) and she desires "equality beside the man she loved" (103). In this respect, she is re-created through her Italian experience.

On the other hand, in Cecil's case, "Italy had quickened Cecil, not to tolerance, but to irritation" (103). He wants to rescue Lucy from her narrow local society and to lead her to his splendid London society. We can see that his Italian experience has neither changed his social outlook nor humanized him. He seems to be a blind follower of the values of the Establishment.

As John Pemble points out, Victorian people strongly believed that they owed their political and commercial supremacy to their national character, and British tourists to the Mediterranean were filled with national pride by recalling Britain's economic and military might (269). This is another aspect of tourism we should not overlook. And he concludes that: "Travel did not broaden their minds" (274) and Victorian and Edwardian tourists never seemed to become people of cosmopolitan character (274).

Cecil's portrait partly mirrors this negative and patriotic aspect of tourism: "Cecil, since his engagement, had taken to affect a cosmopolitan naughtiness which he was far from possessing" (91). He just spends a winter in Rome with his mother and then he pretends to have a cosmopolitan outlook, saying that he believes in democracy and that the classes should mix. In fact, the only relationship which Cecil really seeks is feudal: "that of protector and protected" (143). He regards traveling to Italy as aesthetic education, such as the Grand Tour⁸ that was popular

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⁸ Buzard examines the discourse surrounding the Continental tour (the Grand Tour) and its ideology. "The eighteenth century had heard much of the patriotic function of the tour abroad, with some Englishmen asserting that they returned 'better Englishmen' than when they departed, having seen by contrast with other societies the great qualities of their own." (8)

among men of culture in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He tells his mother about ideal education: "I shall have our children educated just like Lucy. Bring them up among honest country folk for freshness, send them to Italy for subtlety, and then not till then let them come to London" (114). In Cecil's view, Italy is the place where he rounds off his education in order to live in London society.

We can find Forster's opinion on the national character of the English from his essay entitled "Notes on the English Character." To briefly sum up his accounts, the English character is essentially middle-class, so the heart of the middle classes is based on the public-school system. Public school education teaches boys that "school is the world in miniature" (Abinger Harvest 4) and "no one can love his country who does not love his school" (4). Students leave their school and go out into the world with "well-developed bodies, fairly developed minds and undeveloped hearts" (5). Forster especially emphasizes that these undeveloped hearts cause difficulties for Englishmen abroad.

From Forster's view, we may say that Cecil has a typical middle-class character. Mike Edward refers to Cecil's portrait precisely:

As a character, being medieval, he can assist only negatively in the development of Lucy's individuality. His importance is not limited to that, however. He is presented as an extreme development of a kind of Englishness which Forster sees as depressive and ultimately barren. (79)

Since their engagement, Lucy has forgotten her Italy because she devotes her spare time to the study of solid literature in the hope of catching up with Cecil.

Cecil believes that "women revere men for their manliness" (101) and he always feels that he should lead and protect women. However, Lucy already realizes that "men were not gods after all, but as human and as clumsy as girls; even men might suffer from unexpected desires, and need

help. To one of her upbringing, and of her destination, the weakness of men was a truth unfamiliar, but she had surmised it at Florence, when George threw her photographs into the river Arno" (142). I have already discussed this episode in the preceding section, suggesting that they had experience of communitas after witnessing the murder case.

Later, when George persuades Lucy to break off her engagement to Cecil, he confesses that he has cared for her since the death of the Italian man. It is worth recalling this incident in which George threw away the bloody photographs and claimed "I shall want to live" (42). It follows from this scene that George chose life rather than art in Italy, unlike Cecil, who chooses art instead of life at the end of the novel.

Though this novel has a happy ending, the reader cannot be certain that Lucy and George have a bright future. The result of choosing George leaves Lucy slightly bitter because "the Honeychurches had not forgiven them; they were disgusted at her past hypocrisy; she had alienated Windy Corner, perhaps for ever" (193). Accepting their passion and love, they can enter the Garden (Florence), but it implies that they have become outsiders of Windy Corner. However, Lucy's last comment – "if we act the truth, the people who really love us are sure to come back to us in the long run" (194) – reflects Forster's optimistic hope for a world that is based on personal connections.

Seen from a different standpoint, as Ann Ardis suggests, the reason why Lucy and George can respond honestly to the true self is that they have never had a classic intellectual education such as public school (Ardis 73). This is highly revealing because George has not been baptized and has been brought up under his father's belief, which is that "love is of the body" (189); by contrast, Cecil has been formed by a classical education, so that he cannot cope with life in the raw; or perhaps his solid public school education has prevented Cecil from building personal relationships that are based on love. Forster concluded "Notes on the English Character"

as follows:

I hope and believe myself that in the next twenty years we shall see a great change, and that the national character will alter into something that is less unique but more lovable. The supremacy of the middle classes is probably ending. What new element the working classes will introduce one cannot say, but at all events they will not have been educated at public schools....The nations must understand one another, and quickly; and without the interposition of their governments, for the shrinkage of the globe is throwing them into one another's arms. (Abinger Harvest 13-14)

From Forster's perspective, the pursuit of personal connections is essential in "the shrinkage of the globe." Forster criticized middle-class people who have undeveloped hearts, but at the same time he believed that they were not cold at all and only the machinery of the country was wrong.

Conclusion

By applying tourism theories to Forster's texts, we are able to elucidate why travelling can be described as a movement beyond old conventions: for travelling is one of the ways for people to move away from ordinary social constraints, and within it lie possibilities of communitas in liminality. The pattern of separation, liminality, and reintegration that Turner examines as the pilgrimage processes is also observed in *A Room with a View*. Forster's characters are transformed in liminal situations, and then they come back to England with a new concept of life. In this respect, his protagonists go on a journey to cure their "undeveloped heart" and to learn the importance of personal connections outside the "structure." Turner links "communitas" with spontaneity and freedom, and he also associates "structure" with obligation, law and constraint. The values of communitas are no doubt present in Forster's

belief in "personal relations."

However, just as Boorstin criticizes modern tourism as consisting of "pseudo-events," Forster also satirizes the nature of modern tourism and tourist industries in many ways. As a result, normal sightseeing does not bring spiritual transformation to his characters. Therefore, Forster's project in this novel is to show how his characters participate in indigenous life and powers of the place they visit. To do so, he sets up unexpected events and violence which lead his protagonists to encounter the "real" Italy.

At the same time, we see that Forster also depicts the case in which experiences gained from tourism affect his characters negatively. For Cecil, touring tends to play a role in helping to maintain the social structure at home. Forster knew that tourism had both a positive function and a patriotic function, and he seemed to appreciate the former. On the one hand, he satirized the problem of modern tourism while, on the other, he saw tourism as a movement beyond old socio-cultural conventions.

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