

# **Market Pressures and Innovation: The Orient Steam Navigation Co. and the Development of Pleasure Cruising, 1888-1900**

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The Orient Steam Navigation Co. is well known for playing a significant role in the introduction of steam shipping into the Australian trade in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Founded in 1878 by two companies - Anderson, Anderson and Co. and Frederick Green and Co. - engaged in brokering and the management of sailing ships in the Australian trade, Orient from its inception competed with the powerful Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co. (P&O). Unlike previous challengers, Orient did not succumb and its success has been described "as a commercial milestone." In later years it survived various merger and acquisition attempts by other shipping companies, although it did undergo some temporary name changes in the process. It retained its identity until 1965 when it became a wholly owned subsidiary of P&O. Although no full business history of Orient has been written, the pattern of its activities over its almost ninety-year existence and its place in the Australian - and later Pacific - trades is fully recognised.<sup>2</sup> So too is its participation in cruising in the 1930s and after 1945. What has not been appreciated, however, is its role in the early business of pleasure cruising. Why a company with a focus on long-distance ocean transport should have moved in 1888 into a relatively short-sea trade is an interesting issue, but what makes this shift even more fascinating is that at the time the cruising business hardly existed. In other words, Orient was one of the pioneers of cruising and arguably entered the business before any other major company. Moreover, it was the first to adopt a considered commercial approach to the new and special conditions of the cruise market. Orient's role in the early years of cruising is the subject of the current study. The sources are chiefly primary material on the cruise business that has hitherto been ignored by scholars.<sup>3</sup>

My approach is first to consider the position of the Orient Steam Navigation Co. in the late 1880s and 1890s. What market circumstances led it to look outside its established sphere of activity? Having determined that depressed conditions in its core activity induced it to seek alternatives, I then consider why the business of cruising offered possibilities. Given that pleasure cruising was in its infancy, this involves an examination of the nature and economics of cruising. Was there a cruise market and, if so, what were its characteristics? I next look at the way Orient approached this new business and how quickly it came to appreciate its requirements and potential. How did Orient establish a presence in this new market in the years before 1900? Finally, I assess the role of Orient in the development of

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cruising and, to a lesser extent, examine the impact of cruising on the company's overall business.

The Orient Steam Navigation Co. was born into a harsh environment. The Australian trade was highly competitive, although the steam sector was dominated by the powerful P & O, which enjoyed the significant advantage of the mail contract to Australia. Despite this, Orient quickly demonstrated that a regular service could be operated without a subsidy. Its service led to successful negotiations with the government of New South Wales to gain a share of the Australian mail contract in 1883.<sup>4</sup> Five years later, its reliability was further recognised when, on the re-negotiation of the contract, Orient was granted parity with P & O. Under the new arrangements the two agreed to coordinate their services, with vessels of the respective companies undertaking departures in alternate weeks.<sup>5</sup> The gaining of mail contracts in 1883 and 1888 provided greater financial security and encouraged Orient to expand and modernise its fleet. To appreciate these accomplishments it is necessary to review the circumstances of the founding of Orient.

When the Orient Steam Navigation was formed in 1878 to operate a line to Australia, the initial fleet was assembled by purchasing four ships from the Pacific Steam Navigation Co., which since 1874 had been in grave financial difficulty due to the launch of an over-ambitious Liverpool-South America service.<sup>6</sup> These vessels were *Lusitania*, *Chimborazo*, *Cuzco* and *Garonne*. All four, built in 1871, were of around 3800 tons register and were iron screw steamers with compound engines. In the years that followed, Orient extended its fleet by chartering further vessels, notably from Pacific Steam, and purchasing new and secondhand vessels. Following the first mail contract, three new vessels were bought in 1886, and two more were acquired in 1889, following the second contract. In 1890 Orient has eleven steamships, comprising the four original purchases together with *Austral*, *Orient*, *Orizaba*, *Ormuz*, *Orotava*, *Oroya* and *Oruba*. All the later acquisitions were in the 5000-6000-ton range. The "O" prefixed vessels were all built after 1886 and were screw steamers fitted with much more efficient triple-expansion engines. Under construction in 1890 was the even more powerful twin-screw, triple-expansion *Ophir* that was to come into service in 1891.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, in 1890 Orient had a mixed fleet, including a group of older, smaller and less efficient vessels, although *Lusitania* and *Cuzco* had been fitted with triple-expansion engines in 1886 and 1888, respectively. The older vessels had been the backbone of operations in the company's first decade and still had some role to play. Nevertheless, the trend toward larger vessels on the Australian route made it necessary to consider alternative employment for its older ships, particularly during "off peak" periods. The Australian trade was seasonal: October to February was the peak, while spring and summer - in Northern Hemisphere terms - were slack. Seeking employment in the slow season soon became an even greater imperative. Beginning in the early 1890s the Australian trade experienced a severe depression due to a cyclical crisis and a period of drought.<sup>8</sup> Orient, which had paid annual dividends of five percent in the years 1886-1889, paid only three percent in 1890 and nothing in 1891. When the 1891 results were announced, *Fairplay* observed that "the position of the company is nothing short of disastrous" and noted that Orient shares were at sixty-percent discount.<sup>9</sup> Employment of surplus capacity was thus essential, but how was this to be achieved? The shipping market overall was far from buoyant. Freight rates declined after 1888 and plunged after 1890; the 1888 level was regained only in 1900, and then but temporarily.<sup>10</sup>

The solution adopted by the Orient Line was to put some of its older vessels into cruising. Just how innovative this decision was becomes clear when the history, nature and economics of cruising are considered. Cruising, or the act of making a sea voyage for pleasure, was a concept that was quite unthinkable until the late nineteenth century. In the age of sail, no one ventured to sea for pleasure, since going to sea was synonymous with discomfort, danger and uncertainty. Steam mitigated the uncertainty by lessening the impact of wind and tide, thus making it possible to adhere to schedules. Moreover, as steam engines became more efficient and powerful, and as iron became more common in ship construction, vessels became larger, more stable and more reliable. At the same time, competition between companies on major shipping routes ensured that facilities for cabin, though not steerage, passengers were of the highest standard. Advertising promoted this quality and, in consequence, many people began to recognise that a sea voyage might be taken for pleasure. "

Alongside such developments in the supply of shipping services, changes were also occurring on the demand side. Economic progress enhanced leisure and holiday opportunities. For some it provided the first chance for such activity, while for the more fortunate it opened up the possibility of new and more adventurous holidays. Two further developments encouraged the idea of the cruise as holiday. One was that the cruise first came into being as the pastime of the very rich. Cruising in one's own large yacht, often steam-assisted, with accommodation befitting the owner's status and with his own crew and personal servants, developed as an elite form of recreation in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, for those lower on the social ladder but still well off, the practice of organised group holidays was pioneered and popularised by travel agents, above all by Thomas Cook.<sup>13</sup> Thus, by the 1880s, all the factors necessary to make commercially organised cruises viable were present. Sea voyages could now be taken safely, reliably and pleasurably; there was a sector of the population with the time and money to do so; and the practice of organised group holidays had become accepted. There was also the attraction of emulating the lifestyles of the elite. In addition, much publicity was given to the medical benefits of sea voyaging, with doctors and even the *British Medical Journal* stressing its curative qualities.<sup>14</sup>

The first "cruises" were promoted in the mid-1880s.<sup>15</sup> The earliest ventures arguably took place in 1884 when *Ceylon*, owned by the Ocean Steam Yachting Company, made three cruises, first to the "Atlantic Isles," then to the "Northern latitudes," and finally "around the United Kingdom." From 1885 the Wilson Line of Hull offered "yachting cruises" to the Mediterranean and later to the Norwegian fjords, while from 1887 the Bergenske and Nordenfjeldske Steam Ship Companies also began to promote fjord voyages. In addition to such operators, the steam yacht *Victoria* successively undertook Mediterranean, Atlantic Isles and fjord cruises in 1888. Yet despite such signs of activity, it appears that by the end of 1888 fewer than twenty cruises had been undertaken in the previous five years.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, when in December 1888 the Orient Line announced that it would be dispatching *Garonne* on a Mediterranean cruise the coming February, it was venturing into a tried, but hardly tested, market. Various reasons can be suggested for the company's decision. Having introduced three new vessels on the Australian route since 1886, it had a measure of excess capacity, particularly during the slack European spring season. Moreover, its surplus vessels had extensive first- and second-class accommodation suitable for cruise passengers and were fitted with electric lighting, which though still a novelty, offered added comfort and convenience.<sup>17</sup> Employing a vessel on a five-week cruise was therefore

attractive to Orient's managers, and Mediterranean waters were familiar because the line routed its steamers via Suez. Perhaps another influence was that in November 1888, when P&O had dispatched *Cathay* from London to Alexandria to begin a fortnightly service between Venice and Egypt, it had advertised the outward passage (and the subsequent regular service) as an "exceedingly pleasant Autumnal tour."<sup>18</sup> Such connotations of a pleasure voyage by its long-time rival, and knowledge of successful ventures by other companies, may well have provided added encouragement to Orient in its new enterprise.

The company's first venture into cruising thus took place early in 1889 when *Garonne* embarked on a thirty-seven-day cruise to the western Mediterranean. Departing from London on 20 February, the vessel visited Lisbon, Gibraltar, Algiers, Palermo, Naples, Leghorn, Genoa, Nice, Malaga and Cadiz, arriving back at Plymouth on 28 March and London the next day. Interest was evidently high, for even before it departed Orient was advertising a similar tour in *Chimborazo* in March. This, too, was successful, for in May the company advertised the same vessel for a June pleasure cruise to Norway, visiting Christiania, Bergen, Trondheim, Tromsø, North Cape and other ports.

The three 1889 cruises demonstrated the possibilities of the market but Orient apparently saw them as only an occasional part of its operations. An attractively illustrated advertisement in 1890, headed "Pleasure Cruises," indicated that "the Orient Company [may] despatch from *time to time*, some of their Steamers on SPECIAL YACHTING CRUISES [my italics]." Indeed, following its first Mediterranean cruise *Garonne* returned to the Australian run in June 1889, albeit only for a single round-trip voyage." This observation apart, the advertisement points to a significant feature of the cruise market in its use of the term "yachting cruises." Although Orient's vessels were large 3800-ton steamers, because the early focus was on first-class (and therefore expensive) cruises, companies sought to emphasise quality and exclusivity by describing vessels as "yachts," however inappropriate the nomenclature. This charade, originated by Orient, was to become traditional; forty years later, for example, P&O's 16,000-ton *Rawalpindi* became a "C. Y." (cruise yacht) when on cruise service.<sup>20</sup>

From "time to time" took on a new frequency in 1890 when *Chimborazo* and *Garonne* undertook long Mediterranean tours in February and March, respectively. The former was promoted by *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* as "an excellent opportunity to escape the March winds of England."<sup>21</sup> Both vessels returned to make a total of six cruises to Norway between June and August. These voyages began a sustained involvement not only in cruising to Norway but also to cruising in general. This became fully apparent in November 1890 when *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, under the title "Yachting Cruises by the Orient Company's Steamships," published a programme of spring, summer and autumn cruises for 1891. Nine cruises by *Chimborazo* and *Garonne* were listed, and the introduction of autumn voyages represented a definite move towards "round the year cruising." But the first departure date (11 February) and the final return date (14 October) ensured that vessels were available for the peak Australian trade period if required. In the following year this commitment was maintained, with eight voyages scheduled, and even increased by the addition of *Lusitania* to the roster of vessels used. In 1893 *Chimborazo* and *Garonne* together made ten cruises.<sup>22</sup>

In its first five years in the cruise business Orient thus undertook thirty-eight voyages, chiefly utilising *Garonne* (eighteen voyages) and *Chimborazo* (seventeen voyages). And this commitment continued for the rest of the 1890s (see table 1).

**Table 1**  
**Orient Line Cruises, 1889-1900**

1889	3	1896	11
1890	8	1897	10
1891	9	1898	5
1892	8	1899	7
1893	10	1900	2
1894	10		
1895	12	1889-1900	95

*Note:* The figures for 1896 and 1897 represent the number of cruises advertised with named vessels. Sailing dates, however, are not available for all cruises.

*Source:* Compiled from *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 1889-1900; and *Fairplay*, 1891-1900.

After 1894 *Lusitania* replaced *Chimborazo* as *Garonne's* cruising partner. The vessel was acquired by the Ocean Cruising and Highland Yachting Co. and re-named *Cleopatra*.<sup>21</sup> The new owners promptly put it into Mediterranean cruising from a base at Marseilles during the winter and spring seasons. *Chimborazo's* disposal was probably occasioned by the state of Orient's core Australian business. In May 1893 *Fairplay* noted that "the state of the Australian trade may be inferred from the accounts of the Orient Co.," quoting the Managers' Report that "the whole shipping trade is passing through an unexampled period of depression. Things have been as bad before, but never so bad for so long."<sup>24</sup> The problems were severe: the deep depression and continued drought cut into cargoes and led to lower freights for all operators. The Australian conference, founded in 1876, collapsed; some companies failed, and others curtailed services. Indeed, while previous writers noted that Orient "passed its dividend in 1894," the reality was that this marked the third year in succession that the line had provided no return to shareholders.<sup>25</sup> In such circumstances the additional capacity of the older vessels seemed less necessary, and Orient's managers, having settled on a pattern of running cruise operations with two vessels, logically decided to replace *Chimborazo* with the more efficient *Lusitania*.<sup>26</sup> Three years later, when the company commenced a programme of fleet modernisation, *Garonne* was sold and *Lusitania* was the only cruise vessel in 1898. The next year, however, it was joined by *Orient* and *Ophir*. *Garonne* was sold in 1900, the year *Cuzco* appeared for the first time as a cruise vessel. The rise in freights associated with the Boer War, and the chartering of some Orient vessels to the government, curtailed cruising in 1901 and 1902.<sup>27</sup> *Cuzco* made two lengthy cruises in 1903, but the next year the company decided to use it to make eleven short voyages, six to the fjords and five to the Mediterranean.<sup>28</sup> This was the final burst of activity in a long career; the thirty-four-year-old *Cuzco* was broken up in 1905, bringing to an end the services of Orient's "first fleet." In the meantime, the company's long-term financial difficulties necessitated re-structuring. After the disastrous "no dividend" years of 1892-1894, only two and one-half percent had been paid in 1895, 1896 and 1897; in 1898 there again was no dividend.<sup>29</sup> This led Orient in 1901 to form a closer association with Pacific Steam, with which it had been linked since its formation. For some years thereafter the business traded under the title of the Orient-Pacific Line.

Orient's precise share of the cruise market between 1889 and 1900 is difficult to assess because of the inherent difficulties in assembling data on the cruise market, the

problem of definition and the lack of official statistics. The special cachet attached to cruising encouraged the practice of selling any holiday involving a sea voyage, or even regularly scheduled services, as cruises.<sup>30</sup> In the matter of statistics *Cook's Excursionist*, which had published details of all cruises in the early years and continued to do so for Orient, provided less complete coverage from around 1893, particularly in the case of fjord and Baltic cruises, the busiest sector of the market and one which involved a number of companies. Instead, readers were offered special programmes and pamphlets obtainable from Cook's offices. Sadly, none of these have survived. Nonetheless, a few conclusions can be drawn with confidence. No other company undertook as many cruise voyages between 1889 and 1900, and Orient was the principal operator of Mediterranean cruises from British ports for most of the period. While in the fjord sector Orient provided a lower proportion of cruises, this is a blunt measure of market share that takes no account of vessel size or length of cruise. *Garonne*, *Chimborazo* and *Lusitania* were all around 3800 tons and thus far larger than most other vessels that cruised the North Sea and Baltic. Likewise, Orient cruises to the fjords usually took around a month compared to the industry average of ten to fourteen days. Were the market to be assessed in terms of "days cruising" or "cruise passenger days," Orient's market share would be even greater than suggested by its ninety-five cruises between 1889 and 1900.<sup>31</sup>

**Table 2**  
*Garonne's Cruise Schedule, 1893*

22 February: North Africa, Palestine and Egypt; 45 days, returning 19 April.  
 22 April: Mediterranean; 45 days, returning 6 June.  
 13 June: Fjords and North Cape; 28 days, returning 11 July.  
 15 July: Fjords and North Cape; 27 days, returning 13 August.  
 16 August: Southern Norway; 15 days, returning 31 August.  
 22 November: Atlantic Isles and West Indies; 65 days, returning 26 January.

*Source: Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser, 1892-1893.*

Market share notwithstanding, Orient's contributions to the pioneering years of cruising were perhaps more important in a number of other respects. A first notable aspect is that it was the first major shipping company to enter and to make a sustained commitment to the market. Hull's Wilson Line, the largest privately-owned shipping enterprise of its time, with extensive transatlantic and North Sea businesses, entered the cruising market in December 1885 but did not maintain a regular presence.<sup>32</sup> The Hamburg-America Line was a relatively early entrant in 1891, principally to find employment for its North Atlantic liners during the winter when business was slack. It specialised in long and expensive cruises but, though undertaken regularly, these were few in number. Real expansion in its cruise business was delayed until after 1900.<sup>33</sup> While in the 1890s the Bergenske Steam Ship Co., Nordenfjeldske Co. and North of Scotland Steam Navigation Co. annually engaged in cruising, these were small firms with only seasonal and regional commitments. None of these generalizations fit Orient, which undertook cruising year-round and in so doing developed a diverse pattern of routes according to the time of year. A third of the way through the twentieth century the *Daily Telegraph* observed that cruising had "an all-the-year-round season," yet the Orient Line had demonstrated this forty years earlier.<sup>34</sup> This is clearly borne out by *Garonne's* 1893 cruising schedule (see table 2).

**P**LEASURE CRUISES.

THE ORIENT COMPANY *despatch, from time to time, some of their Steamers on SPECIAL YACHTING CRUISES, occupying periods ranging from 2 to 8 weeks,*

To **NORWAY,**  
(LAND OF THE MIDNIGHT SUN),



VISITING ROMSDAL.  
**THE FINEST FIODS,**  
AND CALLING AT  
BERGEN, TRONDHJEM, HAMMERFEST,  
LOFOTEN ISLANDS, NORTH CAPE, &C.



BERGEN.

TO THE **MEDITERRANEAN, LEVANT, & BLACK SEA,** VISITING  
ALGIERS, ATHENS, PALERMO, NAPLES, THE RIVIERA, MALTA, SMYRNA,  
CONSTANTINOPLE, SEBASTOPOL,  
BALACLAVA, YALTA, &c,



ALSO TO ROME.  
**PALESTINE & EGYPT.**



ATHENS.

And to **MADEIRA, CANARY ISLANDS,** and other places of Interest,  
ACCORDING TO THE SEASON.

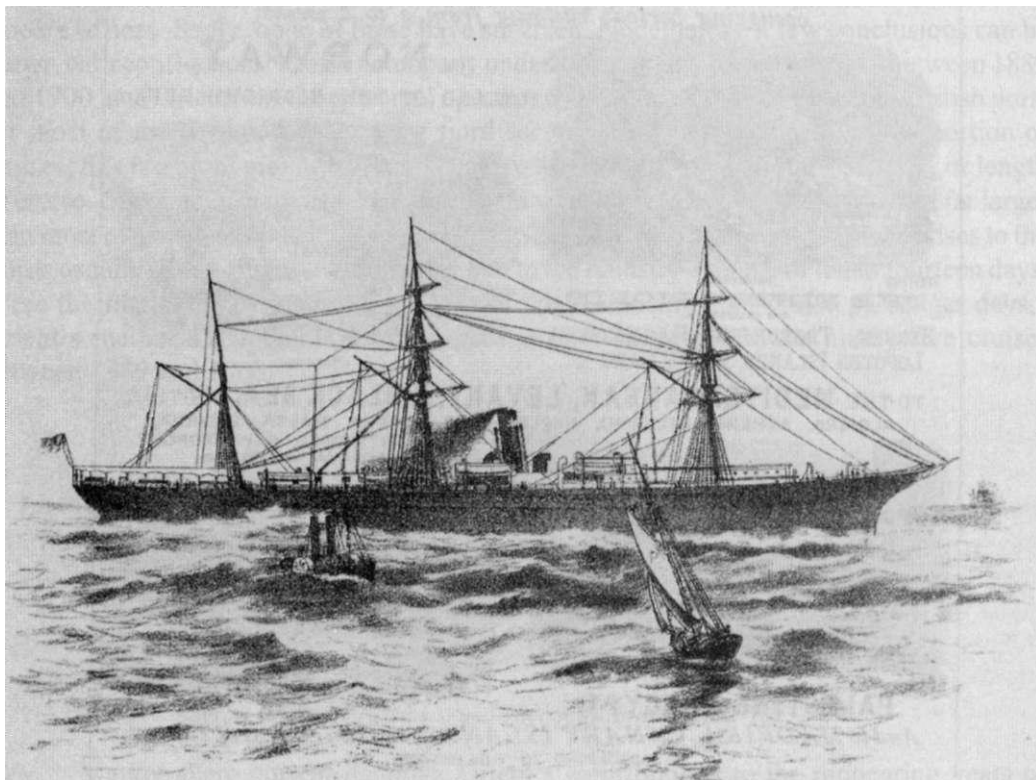
Managers :- { F. GREEN & Co.,  
ANDERSON, ANDERSON & Co., } FENCHURCH AVENUE, LONDON.  
*For full particulars and Terms apply to the latter firm.*

Figure 1: Advertisement.

Source: W. J. Loftie (ed.), *Orient Line Guide* (4th ed., London, 1890) xliii.

This schedule is impressive in a number of ways. Most obviously, it represents the efficient use of capital, achieved through good management in matters of advance planning and operational practice. The latter is demonstrated by the speedy turnarounds between cruises 1 and 2, and 3 through 5, and the whole programme reflects careful planning. The cruise business is not one where operators can rely on business at short notice; success is achieved by planning far in advance to permit early and prolonged advertising and an extended booking period. Orient appreciated this soon after its entry into cruising, and far earlier than other companies. Its presentation of a complete 1891 programme in November 1890, for instance, was an example to others. Indeed, it was this long-term scheduling, as

well as its prominence and reputation, that led Cook's to continue to detail its programme in the *Excursionist* throughout the decade. All the same, Orient also advertised all its cruises in *Fairplay*. One further observation from *Garonne's* schedule concerns its autumn cruise to the West Indies. Although not the very first example of a vessel making a winter Caribbean cruise, it was novel enough to be regarded as innovative and the first undertaken as part of a "year round" cruising schedule.<sup>55</sup>



*Figure 2:* The Orient Line's first Cruise Ships. The practice of using one picture in common to depict a number of vessels of similar design and tonnage was resorted to by a number of shipping companies. Examples can be found in the publicity material of Cunard and White Star.

*Source:* See figure 1.

In operating cruises in winter and spring, as well as during the popular summer fjord season, and by providing cruises of a lengthy duration, Orient was clearly focussing on the top end of the market. The cruise market before World War I catered largely for the upper class and the most affluent of the middle class. Where price details are available, one guinea per day appears to have been the standard rate set by many companies for fjord cruises; Orient's rates were higher, with a place in a two-berth cabin being forty to fifty guineas for a twenty-seven-day cruise in 1892.<sup>56</sup> Prices were slightly lower later in the decade. Orient was always keen to promote the quality of its product, stressing the size and horsepower of



its vessels; the excellent fittings, including electric lights and bells; the first-class cuisine, wine and beer; and the carriage of experienced surgeons, musicians, stewards and stewardesses. Its experience and on-board organisational structure built up for long Australian voyages gave it a considerable advantage over other cruise operators. Yet Orient was not content to rest on its laurels: within a year of its first cruise, it was providing high-quality "tour guides" for its clients. The company also produced a publication entitled *Pleasure Cruises to the Land of the Midnight Sun by the Orient Company's SS "Garonne" and "Chimborazzo"* as early as 1890.<sup>37</sup> Similar guides were produced for some subsequent cruises. Through such attention to detail, Orient established its reputation in cruising. Its advertising was especially notable for its extent and innovations. The illustrated advertisement depicted in the appendix was probably the first of its type for cruising; likewise, in 1898 the company pioneered colour poster advertising for cruises.<sup>38</sup> In retrospect, Orient also contributed significantly to creating the image of cruising as a luxurious form of recreation. In the 1890s, unlike today, that image was matched by reality.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Australian route remained the core of Orient's business. Its annual reports, if they mentioned cruising, did so only in terms of vessels having been employed on "occasional pleasure cruises" or having "found partial employment" in cruising.<sup>39</sup> Yet cruising was a significant sector of the company's operations in the 1890s, and for much of the decade more than twenty percent of its capital stock was employed in this sector. Its continued participation suggests that, besides providing employment for the line's excess vessels, cruising was profitable. It provided income at a time when Orient was hard pressed by poor conditions in its main Australian business. But cruise income could only ameliorate the financial difficulties, which explains the 1901 move to a closer association with Pacific Steam and, in 1906, its acquisition by the Royal Mail Steam Packet group - although Orient regained its independence in 1909.

The focus of this short study, however, has been not so much on Orient's fortunes *per se* as on its role in the development of cruising. That this was significant is apparent from the extent and nature of its participation. The move into cruising was an innovation for the line and, in many respects, for cruising in general. While other companies had made early cruises from the mid-1880s, it was Orient's entry in 1889 that marked a coming of age for the sector. From the mid-1890s there was clearly a "cruise market" as opposed to a minor fringe activity in which the odd vessel made an occasional voyage. Besides being the chief player in the creation of a market, Orient significantly influenced its form and nature. It is more than a little ironic that this role should be played by a company in the Australian trade that entered cruising mainly to find employment for its older vessels. Nevertheless, as these vessels were sold, Orient's involvement in cruising was maintained. The Boer War brought a brief hiatus, but in 1901 the line gained welcome prestige and much publicity when *Ophir* was selected to convey the Duke and Duchess of York to the opening of the first Commonwealth Parliament, a voyage which developed into a 40,000-mile cruise that was extended to other imperial locations.<sup>40</sup> *Ophir* became one of Her Majesty's Ships for the duration.<sup>41</sup> Orient resumed commercial cruising in 1903, and while the 1904 cruise programme was dominated numerically by the voyages of *Cuzco*, perhaps of more significance was that *Orient*, *Ormuz*, *Ophir* and *Orontes* (built 1902) all made cruising voyages.<sup>42</sup> What had initially been a short-run response to market pressures had become a regular sector of activity for Orient. *Fairplay* in 1939 put this all in perspective, noting that for "the Orient Line the 1939 cruising season is one to celebrate in a rather special way, for 50 years ago -

in 1889, that is - the good ship *Garonne*... sailed on the first Orient Line cruise. Since that pioneer cruise, the Orient Line have run ocean holiday trips without interruption - except during the war."<sup>43</sup> After a further war, cruising continued to provide employment for company vessels until the line's disappearance in 1965.

## NOTES

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1. Frank Broeze, "Distance Tamed: Steam Navigation to Australia and New Zealand from Its Beginnings to the Outbreak of the Great War," *Journal of Transport History*, 3rd ser., X (1989), 9. I am indebted to Professor Broeze for comments on an earlier draft of this essay.
2. Charles F. Morris, *Origins, Orient and Oriana* (Brighton, 1980), provides some historical background but focuses very much on *Oriana*, the last ship to be designed and built for the Orient Line. For a succinct summary of Orient's activities and its ships, see John M. Maber, *North Star to Southern Cross* (Prescot, 1967), 101-120. Neither work makes other than passing reference to cruising before 1914.
3. There is no serious historical study of cruising. In part this may be because of problems endemic in assessing its extent, since official statistics do not distinguish it from other shipping activity. It is therefore necessary to look elsewhere. Newspapers provide some information, and I have drawn on advertisements in the weekly shipping paper, *Fairplay*. The fullest source, although not complete in its coverage, is probably the publications of Thomas Cook, the leading travel agent of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* first appeared in 1851 and, with various changes of title, was published until 1939. I am grateful for permission to use the Thomas Cook Archive and for the assistance of the Archivist, Mr. Paul Smith, and his staff.
4. On the early history of the Orient Line, see Broeze, "Distance Tamed," 7-14; and Maber, *North Star*, 99-105.
5. In 1897 parallel tenders for the mail contract by P&O and Orient were again accepted.
6. M. R. P. Bonsor, *South Atlantic Seaway* (Jersey, 1983), 147-150.
7. This list of Orient Line steamships is taken from W. J. Loftie (ed.), *Orient Line Guide. Chapters for Travellers by Sea and Land* (4th ed., London, 1890), xlii. Although listed in the Orient fleet, *Oroya*, *Orotava* and *Oruba* were owned by Pacific Steam. On this, and for technical details, see Maber, *North Star*, 116-120.
8. Broeze, "Distance Tamed," 12 and 14.
9. *Fairplay*, 24 June 1892 and 28 April 1898.
10. B. R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), 224. Mitchell and Deane's figures are derived from L. Isserlis, "Tramp Shipping Cargoes, and Freights," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, New Series, CI (1938), 53-134. See also E. A. V. Angier, *Fifty Years Freights 1869-1919* (London, 1920).
11. As early as 1888 a publication entitled *Holidays Afloat* appeared (subsequent editions were also published). See Thomas Rhodes (ed.), *Holidays Afloat. A Handbook of Coasting Trips and Ocean Voyages* (London, 1888). The first edition, which comprised 218 pages, interestingly made no mention of cruises.
12. See Janet Cusack, "Yachting in Britain, 1890-1960," in David J. Starkey and Alan G. Jamieson (eds.), *Exploiting the Sea* (Exeter, 1998), 167-192. Such cruises gained publicity through a genre of cruise diaries and reminiscences. See, for example, John O. Charles, *The Cruise of the Steam Yacht North Star* (London, 1854); Samuel R. Graves, *A Yachting Cruise in the Baltic* (London, 1863); William D. Gainsford, *A Winter's Cruise in the*

*Mediterranean* (London, 1887); and John Goldsmith, *Diary of a Six Months Cruise in the Steam Yacht "Nerissa"* (Worthing, 1888).

13. Piers Brandon, *Thomas Cook. 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London, 1991).

14. David and Stephen Howarth, *The Story of the P&O* (London, 1986), 52. See also Samuel W. Wilson, *The Ocean as a Health Resort. A Handbook of Practical Information as to Sea Voyages for the Use of Tourists and Invalids* (London, 1880).

15. There has been some debate as to when the first "cruise" occurred and which company pioneered commercial cruising. See Boyd Cable, *A Hundred Year History of the P&O* (London, 1937), 94-100. The ambiguities which arise through the use of terms such as "cruise," "sea tour" and "pleasure voyage" lend themselves to various interpretations. There is no doubt, however, that the commercial "cruise," in the sense of a voyage dedicated to cruising which carried no cargo, commenced in the 1880s.

16. *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 19 April, 9 June and 11 August 1884; 11 December 1885; 1 June 1886; 14 May 1887; 1 February, 17 March, 5 May and 14 December 1888.

17. Loftie (ed.), *Orient Line Guide*, 6-9.

18. *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 8 October 1888.

19. *Ibid.*, xliii; and Maber, *North Star*, 103.

20. See references in *Cook's Traveller's Gazette*, "Cruise Lists," in the 1930s. The author possesses a "Programme of Sports and Amusements" for CY *Rawalpindi's* cruise, 22 August-5 September 1930.

21. *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 1 February 1890.

22. *Ibid.*, 16 December 1890; 2 April 1892; and 18 March 1893.

23. It would be useful to know more of this transaction. Maber, *North Star*, 116, refers to *Chimborazo* as being "transferred" rather than sold to its new operators. It could well be that the Ocean Cruising and Highland Yachting Company had links with, or was a minor venture of, some of Orient's managers. On the other hand, Orient's

*Report and Accounts* for the year ending 31 December 1894 refers to the *sale* of *Chimborazo*. See *Fairplay*, 26 April 1895. For details of *Cleopatra's* cruise programme, see *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 1 February 1895.

24. *Fairplay*, 5 May 1893.

25. Maber, *North Star*, 104; Broeze, "Distance Tamed," 14; and *Fairplay*, 28 April 1898.

26. *Lusitania* continued to make the occasional Australian voyage until December 1897. See Maber, *North Star*, 116.

27. *Austral* and *Orient* were chartered to government. See *Fairplay*, 26 April 1900.

28. *Cook's Traveller's Gazette*, March, 9 April; June and September 1904.

29. *Fairplay*, 28 April 1898 and 27 April 1899.

30. See *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 1 February 1895. Cook's made a distinction between "cruises" and "circular tours."

31. This point can be illustrated by the length of cruises from British ports to Norwegian waters offered by various shipping companies during the period 1891 to 1893. In each year the Polytechnic Touring Association offered thirteen- or fourteen-day cruises to the fjords. *Polytechnic Magazine*, 6 March 1891; 20 October 1892; and 7 June 1893. In 1891 the Bergenske Steam Navigation Company, the Nordensjeldske Company and the North of Scotland Steam Navigation Company all advertised cruises of fourteen-days' duration. *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 8 August 1891. In 1893, the Ocean Yachting Company Ltd. and the Albion Steamship Company ran sixteen cruises to the fjords; all were of twelve- to fourteen-days' duration. *Fairplay*, 19 May 1893. In contrast, of the seven cruises made to North Sea waters by the Orient Line in 1892, six were between twenty-five and twenty-nine days. The remaining one, at the end of the season, was of fifteen days. *Cook's Sailing List*, April-June 1892.

32. On the Wilson Line, see James Taylor, *Ellerman's: A Wealth of Shipping* (London, 1976), esp. chapter 7; and Arthur G. Credland and Michael Thompson, *The Wilson Line of Hull, 1831-1981* (Beverly, 1994). *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* shows that the Wilson Line operated some cruises between 1885 and 1891.

Thereafter, there is no clear evidence of involvement in cruising.

33. Bernhard Huldermann, *Die Welt der Kreuzfahrtschiffe* (London, 1922), 70-72, claims that "the institution of pleasure trips and cruise voyages" was one of Ballin's "most original ideas." A similar suggestion is found in Peter F. Stubmann, *Ballin. Leben und Werk eines deutschen Reeders* (Berlin, 1926), 63-65. While Ballin was one of the pioneers of cruising, he was not the originator. I am grateful to Frank Broeze for providing the Stubmann reference.

34. *Daily Telegraph*, 1 March 1937, supplement.

35. Winter "sun" cruises to the Caribbean were pioneered by vessels sailing out of New York in the 1880s. See American editions of *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* in the 1880s.

36. Cruise fares are a complex matter, as they could vary according to cabin size, position within the vessel, whether berths or beds were offered, quality of facilities and, above all, duration of the cruise. Moreover, on some cruises shore excursions involved additional costs. Prices were often quoted with the prefix "from." While all these factors make comparisons difficult, to use the (and sources) cited in note 31 as an example, all the twelve- to fourteen-day cruises had prices which averaged out at "from" just less than £1 per day. The Polytechnic cruises were far cheaper. In contrast, Orient Line cruises of twenty-nine days were priced at forty and fifty guineas, a considerably higher daily rate.

37. *Pleasure Cruises to the Land of the Midnight Sun by the Orient Company's SS "Garonne" and "Chimborazo"* ([London, 1890]). Four years later a similar publication was issued: J. Norman Lockyer, *Spitzbergen and Norway in August 1894. Pleasure Cruise of the SS Lusitania - The Midnight Sun* (London, 1894).

38. A colour poster promoting Orient's winter West India cruises appeared in 1898. The design was imaginative, illustrating the exotic location rather than the ship. It is the earliest colour cruising poster that I have located in my research. The poster is reproduced in Howarth and Howarth, *Story of the P&O*, 54.

39. *Fairplay*, 29 April 1892; 5 May 1893; 26 April 1895; 24 April 1896; and 29 April 1897.

40. *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 10 December 1901.

41. The voyage was recorded in a longhand diary with watercolour illustrations by a petty officer, Harry Price. The original manuscript was reproduced seventy-nine years later, see *The Royal Tour or the Cruise of the HMS. Ophir, Being a Lower Deck Account of Their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York's Voyage Round the British Empire* (Exeter, 1980).

42. *Cook's Traveller's Gazette*, March, 9 April, June and September 1904.

43. *Fairplay*, 9 March 1937.