

TRANSNATIONAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: AN EARLY EPISODE FROM COLONIAL SOUTHERN AFRICA

Christian M. ROGERSON

School of Tourism & Hospitality, College of Business and Economics, University of Johannesburg,
Bunting Road, Johannesburg, South Africa, e-mail: chrismr@uj.ac.za

Citation: Rogerson, C.M. (2024). Transnational Tourism Development: An Early Episode from Colonial Southern Africa. *Revista Română de Geografie Politică*, 26(1), 14-28. <https://doi.org/10.30892/rrgp.261102-374>

Abstract: Cross-border tourism marketing and promotion is a widely endorsed approach for encouraging regional tourism development. The aim in this paper is to uncover an early historical example of regional tourism development which occurred in colonial Southern Africa. Using archival sources the study pinpoints the contributions of publicity material produced by South African Railways for the promotion of tourism in the territories of colonial Zimbabwe and Mozambique. In encouraging international tourism to South Africa during the 1920s and 1930s there was an understanding that South Africa's leading national tourism assets were best packaged together for 'transnational tourism development' with marketing for the iconic attraction of Victoria Falls as well as Lourenço Marques. The destination which was promoted as 'South Africa' in tourism guidebooks did not correspond with the geopolitical entity of the Union of South Africa, instead it embraced the attractions of Portuguese-controlled Mozambique and several tourism products in the British-controlled territory of Rhodesia.

Key words: transnational tourism; cross-border marketing; guidebooks; historical approach; colonial Southern Africa

* * * * *

INTRODUCTION

Borders as the markers of national sovereignty are one of the most enduring research objects in political geography (Minghi, 1963; Mountz, 2013; Newman, 2006; Newman and Paasi, 1998; Paasi, 2016; van Houtum, 2005). Indeed, Stoffelen and Timothy (2023) observe that the interplay between borders and tourism has fascinated geographers for decades. In tourism studies borders can function variously as attractions or as barriers to certain destinations (Stoffelen, 2024; Timothy, 1995). During the second half of the twentieth century Timothy and Teye (2004) identify the appearance of a burst in cross-border and multinational co-operations for tourism development. From a situation of what

<http://rrgp.uoradea.ro/index.htm>

they describe as “near non-existence” (Timothy & Teye, 2004, p. 584) in the years prior to the Second World War cooperation for tourism development across political borders has expanded in tempo to become a critical basis for regional tourism expansion in several parts of the world. This momentum for international cooperation and partnerships for cross-border and regional tourism development continued into the 21st century, and most especially within the European Union (Blasco et al., 2014; Ferrer-Roca et al., 2022; Prokkola, 2022; Shepherd and Ioannides, 2020; Stoffelen, 2022; Timothy and Saarinen, 2013). Among a listing of strategic development measures for Africa in Dieke’s (2000) analysis of the political economy of tourism development was the promotion of regional tourism cooperation and integration.

The establishment of international alliances or cooperation for promotion and marketing is viewed as the most potent and widely applied form of cross-border cooperation in tourism development with several prominent examples from sub-Saharan Africa (Rogerson and Kiambo, 2007; Timothy and Teye, 2004, 2008; UNCTAD, 2017). Collaboration for cross-border destination marketing and promotion is endorsed by many scholars as a vital approach for tourism destination development (Ioannides et al., 2006; Rădoi, 2020; Stoffelen, 2022, 2024; Tosun et al., 2005; Žvanut and Vodeb, 2023). For example, Kozak and Buhalis (2019) view cross-border collaborations as particularly valuable in circumstances for destinations which have long-standing political disputes and now are in search of peace, such as is the case of Greece and Turkey. Chauhan (2024) draws our attention to the peace prospects for India and Pakistan through cross-border tourism cooperation.

The objective in this paper is to address the so termed ‘near non-existence’ of such arrangements in the period prior to the outbreak of hostilities of the Second World War. More specifically, the paper discloses one of the earliest examples of cross-border marketing and promotion for tourism development which occurred in sub-Saharan Africa. The focus is the region of colonial Southern Africa and uncovers a record of the cross-national promotion of tourism destinations. In particular, the study highlights the contributions of South African Railways towards the promotion and opening-up of tourism in the territories of colonial Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The analysis is structured in terms of a literature review followed by a brief discussion on methods. The two sections of findings provide clear evidence from Southern Africa of an early example of historical regional tourism development or – to borrow from Dlamini (2020) - of ‘transnational’ tourism development.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review initially situates the study as part of an emerging historical scholarship on tourism in South Africa before moving to examine the existing writings on the significance of railway development and of the role of South African Railways (which subsequently became South African Railways and Harbours) in tourism promotion. Within the broader setting of tourism scholarship this paper aligns with the view which is expressed by the tourist historian John Walton (2005, p. 3) that it is “important that tourism studies should begin to pay serious attention to the relevance of historical research and writing to its concerns”. Historical research can reconstruct past patterns of tourism which Stephen Page (2019) acknowledges is a critical research challenge for tourism scholars. Arguably, an understanding of the current trajectories of

tourism development cannot be comprehended without an investigation of how tourism systems have been established and evolved over time (Chatkaewnapanon and Hanpachern, 2013).

Recent research on South Africa provides several illustrations of the relevance and benefits of undertaking historical research. Of note is the existence of contributions which are made both by historians and by South African tourism geographers (Rogerson and Visser, 2020). Over the past two decades the leading studies by historians of South African tourism are contributions by Grundlingh (2006), Foster (2008), Bickford-Smith (2009), Carruthers (2013), Gupta (2015), Harris (2017), Dlamini (2020) and Pirie (2022). From the desks of tourism geographers there are a number of recent examples of works which investigate issues around the emergence of South Africa as an early health tourism destination (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021a), the evolution of the hotel sector (J.M. Rogerson, 2018, 2020; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2018, 2022a, 2022b), or the growth of business and conference tourism in South Africa (C.M. Rogerson, 2019). Other research has explored the impacts of apartheid and the creation of racialized landscapes of tourism, racially segregated tourism spaces (C.M. Rogerson, 2020; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2020a) and of the struggles against the creation of such racialised spaces (J.M. Rogerson, 2017). The historical evolution of urban tourism has been unpacked for some of the country's major cities such as Johannesburg and Pretoria (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019, 2021b, 2022c) as well as small towns that include Mahikeng (Drummond et al., 2021), Mossel Bay (J.M. Rogerson and C.M. Rogerson, 2023), Hermanus (J.M. Rogerson, 2019; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2020b) and Montagu (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2024a). Historical rural investigations include research on the evolution of rural tourism (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021c), heritage and battlefield tourism (van der Merwe, 2019, 2024), mountaineering (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2024b), pioneer Black South African entrepreneurs in the provision of accommodation services (Sixaba and Rogerson, 2019), and tourism development in the rural spaces of the former apartheid Bantustans (C.M. Rogerson, 2022; C.M. Rogerson and J.M. Rogerson, 2023; Rogerson and Sixaba, 2024; Sixaba and Rogerson, 2023).

Arguably, a seminal contribution to South African historical tourism scholarship is the recent appearance of the study authored by Dlamini (2020), the objective of which is to reveal the 'hidden histories' of Black South Africans and the role they played in shaping the history of Kruger National Park (Smith, 2023). Using a 'history of presence' framework Dlamini (2020) documents how Black South Africans gave meaning to their lives and lived with rather than under colonial and apartheid rule. The central focus is on how Blacks navigated white rule and of how colonial and apartheid South Africa was 'an arena of negotiation' for Black subjects. According to Smith (2023, p. 135) the work "opens new vistas of inquiry about the story of nature conservation in South Africa". The research debunks the myth of popular and scholarly imagination that Kruger National Park was an exclusive playground for Whites. Instead, it uncovers and tracks Black South Africans in their varying roles in the Park's history including as migrant workers and leisure tourists (Dlamini, 2020; Gebhardt, 2021).

Turning to the railways and the contribution made by South African Railways to tourism development in South Africa. Railways assumed a critical role in the making of a modern South African nation during the early decades of

the 20th century (Foster, 2003). Van Eeden (2011) records that at the close of the South African War in 1902 the separate railway systems were amalgamated into the government-controlled South African Railways (SAR) by the time of the declaration in 1910 of the Union of South Africa. According to Dlamini (2020) the railways were central to the political and social creation of South Africa and transformed four political entities – The Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal – into one nation. The policies and practices of the SAR “influenced every aspect of the Union of South Africa’s social and economic life and helped to transform what had previously been four separate territories into a unified, modern and economically self-sufficient nation” (Foster, 2003: 661). The SAR became a powerful change agent of modernization and the primary vehicle for building the economic independence of South Africa.

It is evident that in the history of tourism development in South Africa one of the key moments was the founding of the Publicity and Travel Department of the railways organisation in 1919 (van Eeden, 2011). This department was established to provide publicity that might encourage tourism as well as potential settlers and investors to come to South Africa (Foster, 2003). Gupta (2015, p. 157) maintains that South African Railways and Harbours (SAR&H) took it upon itself the task of publicizing the country and “was the central promoter of overseas tourism to South Africa for thirty years after Union in 1910”. Arguably, the SAR& H organisation assumed a central role in tourism expansion in South Africa both in terms of domestic travellers as well as of overseas tourists. This was achieved through connecting different spaces of South Africa and forging an infrastructure for travel which was encouraged by the enormous amount of publicity material that was organised for, or commissioned by, the agency (Foster, 2003). The expanding railway network and the publicity provided by SAR&H greatly assisted “in familiarizing overseas visitors with the landscapes of South Africa and also helped create South Africa’s first national park in 1926” (Foster, 2008, p. 37).

The tourism impacts of South African Railways and its publicity material extended, however, beyond the formal borders of the Union of South Africa. During the 1920s and 1930s there was an understanding that South Africa’s leading national tourism assets of Kruger National Park, Cape Town, Cango Caves and Drakensberg were best packaged together for international tourism promotion alongside the iconic attraction of Victoria Falls as well as Lourenço Marques. Accordingly, an early initiative consolidated in the inter-war years for cross-border tourism promotion and development. The specific focus of this study is this initiative and of promoting destination development in colonial Mozambique, the territory of Portuguese East Africa, and British-colonial Zimbabwe. It should be noted that in a referendum conducted in 1923 (the white settler) Rhodesians decided that they did not wish to be part of the Union of South Africa and instead to become a separate self-governing colony (Foster, 2008). It is the ‘transnational’ stimulus of the SAR & H organisation and its operations contributing to ‘regional tourism development’ that is the axis for discussion in the rest of this paper.

METHODS

The research applies an historical approach and builds upon archival sources of information. It is archival ‘data’ which is used for the findings in this investigation. The practice of archival research has been acknowledged as a key

research method in geography as scholars excavate historical influences on the evolutionary pathway of contemporary places (van Sant et al., 2020; Wideman, 2023). In tourism studies archival material provides an underused source of data which is able to provide “first hand information for researchers” (Abadi Nasab et al., 2022, p. 111).

The guidebook is an historical object and potentially a valuable archival resource for tourism researchers (Peel and Sørensen, 2016; Didkovska, 2023; Goodwin, 2013; Gottfried, 2013). The use of such material in historical tourism research has been demonstrated in multiple international tourism studies. Among others Little (2012) tracks the changing representation of Quebec City, Canada using historical guidebooks on the city. For Namibia Breitwieser (2012) utilises travel planning guidebooks to explore the establishment and development of tourism in the country from colonial times. In other African research Wigley (2014, 2015) pinpoints the role of Belgian colonial tourism marketing as a propaganda tool to resist pressure for ending its colonial rule in Africa. Ziarkowski (2017, 2021) shows the utility of guidebooks as a source for historical tourism research in studies of Poland. In the case of South Africa, the works by both Foster (2003, 2008) and van Eeden (2004, p. 201) mine a range of publicity material and guidebooks produced by SAR & H in the 1920s and 1930s to chart new frontiers in historical tourism research on the country.

The key archival bases for this study comprise material which has been extracted from the Historical Papers at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and the collections of the South African Railways Publicity Department available at the Cape Town depot of the National Library. The material includes various national accommodation guidebooks and a range of publications, booklets, regional guides and brochures produced for or commissioned by SAR & H.

FINDINGS – A TRANSNATIONAL APPROACH

At the outset it must be understood that tourism which was planned and promoted by the railways in South Africa goes back to the pre-Union period as the predecessor of South African Railways – the Central South African Railways – began to offer organised tours from Cape Town to Victoria Falls during the early 1900s following the completion of the railway access to the Zambesi in 1904 (Foster, 2003). In an important observation Dlamini (2020, p.122) argues that “From the very beginning, South Africa’s tourism authorities took an expansive – or what we might call a transnational – view of South Africa in their marketing”. It was evident that the destination which was marketed as ‘South Africa’ in promotional advertising material did not correspond with the geopolitical entity of the Union of South Africa. Rather, it always incorporated the attractions of Lourenço Marques in Portuguese-controlled Mozambique and several tourism products in the British-controlled Rhodesias, the most important being the iconic site of Victoria Falls. The utilisation of a transnational approach to tourism promotion in Southern Africa therefore was anchored on the importance during the 1920s and 1930s of the destinations of Lourenço Marques and Victoria Falls for luring international tourists to South Africa itself.



Figure 1. Advertising for the SAR&H Hotel and Boarding House Guidebook
(Source: South African Railways and Harbours, 1923)

The earliest hotel guidebooks for visitors to South Africa were produced by the Cape Times and the Union Publishing Agency. Their initial guidebooks appeared after Union in 1910 but regular publication was suspended during the period of the hostilities of the First World War. Publication resumed in 1920 of *The Illustrated South African Hotel Guide* which was described as “representative of South Africa and should be found most useful by pleasure seekers and commercial men” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 1). The guidebook offered for the benefit of travellers descriptions of some of the principal centres of interest and illustrated “the most representative scenes between Cape Town and the Zambezi” through the imagery of photographs (Cape Times, 1920, p. 1). The Cape Times organised and published these guidebooks until 1924 when they were succeeded by the *Illustrated Guide to Hotels and Boarding Houses* which was produced by South African Railways and Harbours. This annual publication by SAR & H regarding accommodation services was widely distributed through its network of railway stations across South Africa and made accessible for overseas travellers through the representative South Africa offices in London and other centres. For nearly 20 years this publication was the standard publicity guide which was available for international visitors to navigate the accommodation offerings of the country (Fig. 1). In its later editions beginning in 1940 the guide incorporated a supplementary section on farm accommodation as an addition to its regular listings on hotels and boarding houses (South African Railways and Harbours, 1940).

During the period 1910 to 1940 this early promotional marketing for tourism to the Union of South Africa consistently incorporated material on colonial Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The organisation of the guides produced by the Cape Times comprised descriptions of what were considered the major centres of interest to visitors as well as a listing of hotels in all cities and towns. The guide also included advertisements by many of the accommodation establishments recorded in the guide. The SAR & H annual *Illustrated Guide to Hotels and Boarding Houses* provided in similar fashion short descriptions of the country’s leading urban centres along with a listing of accommodation facilities in all places and organised on an alphabetical basis starting with Aberdeen in Cape Province and ending with Zwartdruggens in the Transvaal. In all these guidebooks appearing throughout this period the publicity material for ‘South Africa’ extended beyond political borders to include listings for cities, towns and attractions in what was then the colonial territories of Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

FINDINGS – EXAMPLES OF REGIONAL TOURISM PROMOTION

Examination of the two editions of *The Illustrated South African Hotel Guide* produced in 1920 and 1924 by the Cape Times demonstrate these regional promotion initiatives. Several pages in each of these guidebooks are devoted to local descriptions of Salisbury, Victoria Falls and Lourenço Marques. The capital of Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury was described as “well entitled to prominent mention amongst the South African towns which specially recommend themselves to all classes of travellers” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 199). Four pages in the guidebook were devoted to the settlement’s public buildings, entertainment, sport facilities and urban development which it was stated “in the last few years, has progressed by leaps and bounds, and is now the favourite residential and social centre of Rhodesia” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 199). For visitors short excursions were recommended to Six-Mile Spruit, a popular recreational area close to Bushman rock paintings, and to Sinoia Caves which were styled as “perhaps the most unique wonder in the vicinity of Salisbury” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 203).

Not surprisingly, much greater attention for tourists was accorded to Victoria Falls. The guidebook celebrated the natural beauty and attractions around the “wonderful and magnificent” falls seen as “a most beautiful and perfect gem of scenery” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 211). It enthused that until recently “it was considered that the Niagara Falls were the most wonderful sight of its kind, but both in width and depth they are eclipsed by the world-famous Victoria Falls which are twice as broad and two-and-a-half times as high” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 211). The marketing of the falls extended to positive endorsement of the hotel facilities and management at the hotel which it was claimed “assists in every way guests who desire to undertake any excursion in the neighbourhood; guides are provided free and rickshas, canoes, launches or horses can be arranged for” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 213). The 1920 guidebook was supported by advertisements for leading hotels in Salisbury (Figure 2) as well as two pages of marketing for the Victoria Falls Hotel, described as situated ten minutes walk from the falls. This iconic new hotel promised guests they would enjoy “every modern comfort” including “luxurious suites of rooms, large dining room, cuisine par excellence” and with the option of the hotel management organising “delightful boating trips on the waters of the mighty Zambesi” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 212).

The central attraction of tourism development in colonial Mozambique, then Portuguese East Africa, was the port settlement of Lourenço Marques (Rogerson, 2023). In the 1924 edition of *The Illustrated South African Hotel Guide* a remarkable 20 pages was given over to expounding the settlement’s attractions (Cape Times, 1924). As was the case for the promotion of colonial Rhodesia, many local accommodation establishments and even restaurants used the guidebook to advertise their hotel establishments and services. The guidebook promoted Lourenço Marques tourism opportunities as follows: “besides being the capital and chief seaport of the Province of Mocambique – the most important of Portugal’s overseas possessions – it is now rightly regarded as one of the leading towns in the southern portion of the African Continent and it is becoming increasingly known every year both as a holiday resort and a busy shipping centre” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 279). Its tourist lure was deemed that “we have in South Africa a town modelled on the old-world style of the European Continent” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 285).

SALISBURY, RHODESIA.

MEIKLE'S HOTEL

SALISBURY, RHODESIA.

THE LARGEST AND MOST UP-TO-DATE IN THE COUNTRY.



Replete with every Modern
Comfort and Convenience.

Luxurious Dining Hall and Lounges.
Centrally Situated. Large Sample Room.

Terms from 17/6 per day

Residential Terms (if available) on Application.

P.O. Box 594.

Telegrams: "Traveller," Salisbury.

Phone No. 520.

J. G. ROBINSON, Manager.

Figure 2. Marketing for the Leading Hotel in Colonial Salisbury 1920s
(Source: Cape Times, 1924)

Key tourism assets centred on the town's beach attractions – especially Polana beach – and “its fascination as a town (in which it differs from all South African towns) as a health and holiday resort of compelling charm” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 289 and p. 291). Arguably, the opening in 1922 of the elegant Polana

Hotel, described as the “most luxurious hotel in Africa”, was a turning point for the local tourism economy as sufficient visitor accommodation at a high standard was now available (Rogerson, 2023). The holiday destination of Lourenço Marques was promoted as one which “has no competitor, as it is able to give visitors a complete change of environment, which combines both the Continental and the Oriental” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 293). For visitors from South Africa itself Lourenço Marques was endorsed most strongly as a destination where “those visiting this town in the winter months will undoubtedly find in the amenity of the climate one of its greatest attractions” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 293).

The promotional marketing for regional destinations offered by these guidebooks was reinforced by the extensive publicity material generated by the South African Railways. During the period 1910-1940 several targeted publications appeared on travelling in or to ‘South Africa’, the geographical definition of which also encompassed the tourism attractions and opportunities offered by the surrounding colonial territories. It is notable that one of the earliest publications of the Publicity Department of South African Railways was a handbook jointly compiled with Rhodesia Railways to indicate the major places of interest for travellers to Rhodesia (South African Railways, 1912). This 110 page guidebook was titled *Rhodesia For Tourists and Sportsmen* and appeared in September 1912. Statements on the opening page of this guidebook make clear that an important target market was the international traveller:

The object of this brochure is to invite attention to a new and pleasant field of travel – Rhodesia, a country the scenic beauty of which deserve the notice of all who tour for pleasure. It is of course not claimed that as a tourist resort Rhodesia rivals Europe. The two are quite different. Rhodesia depends for its charm on a magnificent environment that is as it was in the beginning – novel and untrammelled... All that is claimed, therefore, is that supreme of their kind though the attractions of Europe may be, those of Rhodesia are in their way as worthy of attention of tourists, especially when a change from old resorts becomes desirable (South African Railways, 1912, p. 5).

Potential travellers were assured that with the expansion of the railways Rhodesia “was no longer a remote wilderness entailing hardship and peril on those who traverse it” (South African Railways, 1912: 6). The guidebook stressed that “Rhodesia may fitly be classed with the foremost of tourist countries” (South African Railways, 1912, p. 7) and with “attractions of its own that can be found hardly anywhere else” (South African Railways, 1912, p. 10). Special prominence was given to Victoria Falls described as “in their way as variedly beautiful as the Alps and perhaps more impressive because more unusual” (South African Railways, 1912, pp. 10-11). In addition, however, tourist attention was drawn to the mysteries of the ruins of Great Zimbabwe described as “the ruins of Mashonaland, ascribed by some authorities to adventurous Phoenicians and Sabaeans at the time of Solomon and by other authorities to Indians, Persians or Arabs of a later date, are by their way as fascinating because as mysterious as much in Egypt, and acquire from their picturesque and distinctive surroundings a tone and atmosphere as subtle and impressive as almost anything in the East” (South African Railways, 1912, p. 11). Beyond places of interest the handbook on Rhodesia also gave much attention to the territory as a location for sportsmen to enjoy the shooting of wild game. Local publicity associations such

as at Bulawayo (Rhodesia's second largest centre) took the opportunity for place marketing and to profile their tourism assets.

The tourist offerings of Rhodesia were profiled in several other publications from South African Railways (eg. South African Railways and Harbours, 1934; Carlyle-Gall, 1937). In a major volume South Africa: Land of Outdoor Life produced in 1923 as a guide for tourists (as well as potential settlers) the tourism assets of colonial Rhodesia were given considerable space (South African Railways and Harbours, 1923). It was stressed that the "extension of the railway systems in South Africa has had the effect of opening up Rhodesia to the sportsman and tourist in a manner not dreamed of years ago" (South African Railways and Harbours, 1923, p. 207). The guide flagged that "the scenery of Rhodesia is of the wild and rugged type, but different from that of Natal and Basutoland" and because of its granitic landscapes with "the hilly region known as the Matopos, where the great Imperialist, Cecil Rhodes, lies at rest, contains some of the boldest scenery imaginable" (South African Railways and Harbours, 1923, p. 13). In addition, the settlement of Bulawayo was described as "the chief commercial centre of Southern Rhodesia, and a place where the tourist may pleasantly spend a few days" (South African Railways and Harbours, 1923, p. 207).

The strongest praise was reserved for Victoria Falls which was described as "the culminating point of all South Africa's scenery" (South African Railways and Harbours, 1923, pp. 13-14). In addition, the potential visitor was to be lured also by Great Zimbabwe ruins which "stand pre-eminent as depicted in Sir Rider Haggard's novel King Solomon's Mines" (South African Railways and Harbours, 1923, p. 14). This type of promotional messaging for colonial Rhodesia was a constant theme in other marketing for tourism to South Africa which was produced by the Publicity Department of South African Railways during the 1920s and 1930s. A 1926 publication South Africa: The Sun Country enthused that Rhodesia "exercises a fascination peculiarly its own" and that of Victoria Falls "much has been written, but the words that can adequately describe their impressive grandeur remain to be penned" (South African Railways and Harbours, 1926: p.27 and p.29). A decade later in another widely circulated promotional volume (issued in 1937) Victoria Falls was styled as "the most majestic spectacle in the world", and that "the sight is regal, overwhelming in the extreme" (Carlyle-Gall, 1937, p. 17). In addition, this "colossus of tumbling waters" was deemed "the world's wonder-sight" which was "frequently ranked as the premier of the globe's scenic masterpieces" (Carlyle-Gall, 1937: p. 39 and p. 41). In a case of marketing hyperbole, it was claimed that "if anything on the African continent is guaranteed to excite awe in the breast of the onlooker, it is the picture presented by the Victoria Falls" (Carlyle-Gall, 1937, p. 41). International tourists were assured of their comfort because the Victoria Falls Hotel "for excellence, is in the very van of hostelries of the entire African continent" and that "in a kingdom of the primitive, is accommodate which would rank high if offered in a leading city of civilization" (Carlyle-Gall, 1937, p. 43). Overall, however, it was cautioned that "Rhodesia is an odd country" but "for those whose inclinations draw them in the direction of the open spaces, for those who would pore over the mysteries of the past, there are few places calculated to appeal more strongly than Rhodesia" (Carlyle-Gall, 1937, p. 45).

Alongside colonial Rhodesia in several of the SAR & H publications for attracting tourists to South Africa, there was the additional promotion and marketing of Lourenço Marques (C.M. Rogerson, 2023). In the 1923 volume it

was stated that “Lourenço Marques is among the many beauty spots of South Africa” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1923, p. 159). The guidebook elaborated that the “grand bay impresses with its grandeur; the fine stretch of the Polana beach, with its noble background of cliff and vivid vegetation, invites a stroll; the well-kept town lies clean before the tourist with a tropical sunshine over all” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1923, p. 159). Potential international visitors were to be assured that the “climate is highly pleasant, comparing favourably with that of the Riviera and the Côte d’Azur on the Mediterranean” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1923, p. 160).

The most significant publicity material for Lourenço Marques issued by the SAR & H were two guidebooks jointly produced in cooperation with Carminos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques, the train operator (Carminos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques & South African Railways and Harbours, 1927, 1931) and the booklet titled Lourenço Marques: Golden Mornings, Silver Nights which was solely produced by SAR & H (South African Railways and Harbours, 1930). These three guidebooks – appearing all within a four year period – present a similar message of Lourenço Marques as “South Africa’s continental holiday-land” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1930. 1) and its ease of access and comfort of travel from Johannesburg or Pretoria. The guidebooks pay homage to the town’s Polana beach, boulevards, cosmopolitan European flavour as well as its distinctive architecture and imposing public buildings. Of interest is that international visitors were informed that Lourenço Marques “is a most convenient gateway to the Kruger National Park, the world-famed game sanctuary being about sixty miles by rail” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1930, p. 43). This serves as a further illustration of the early tourism promotion that occurred in Southern Africa across political borders during the period 1910-1940.

CONCLUSION

Research issues surrounding borders are of vital concern in political geography and also galvanize the energy of tourism scholars. Cross-border tourism marketing and cooperation is a widely endorsed contemporary policy approach for encouraging regional tourism development (Kozak and Buhalis, 2019; Prokkola, 2022; Shepherd and Ioannides, 2020; Stoffelen, 2022; Žvanut and Vodeb, 2023). Against this backdrop the contribution of this paper is to reveal the historical thread of one early example from colonial Southern Africa of regional promotion for tourism development.

Utilising a range of archival sources, mainly tourism guidebooks, the research points to the vital role of tourism publicity material produced by the South African Railways for attracting tourists to South Africa as well as supporting tourism development in the territories of colonial Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Arguably, during the 1920s and 1930s for promoting international tourism to South Africa there was an understanding that the nation’s leading tourism assets were best packaged together with the iconic attraction of Victoria Falls as well as Lourenço Marques. The destination which was marketed as ‘South Africa’ in tourism promotional material did not correspond with the geo-political entity of the Union of South Africa, instead it embraced the attractions of Portuguese-controlled Mozambique and of several tourism products in the British-controlled territory of Rhodesia. Colonial Southern Africa therefore offers an historical case study of a transnational approach to tourism destination development.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the University of Johannesburg for research funding and to Robbie Norfolk and Lulu White for helpful input in the preparation of this paper.

REFERENCES

- Abadi Asab, P.S., Carr, N., & Walters, T. (2022). Using archival material in tourism, hospitality, and leisure studies: Beauty and the beast. In: F. Okumus, S.M. Rasoolimanesh, & S. Jahani (Eds.), *Advanced research methods in hospitality and tourism*. Bingley, UK: Emerald, 111-125.
- Blasco, D. Guia, J., & Prats, L. (2014). Emergence of governance in cross-border destinations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 49, 159-173.
- Breitwiser, L. (2012). "We are going to put South West Africa on the map this time": The homogenisation and differentiation of Namibian tourist spaces. *Journal of Namibian Studies*, 11, 7-27.
- Cape Times (1920). *The illustrated South African hotel guide for travellers and tourists*. Cape Town, South Africa: The Union Publishing Agency.
- Cape Times (1924). *The illustrated South African hotel guide, 1924*. Cape Town, South Africa: The Union Publishing Agency.
- Carlyle-Gall, C. (1937). *Six thousand miles of sunshine travel over the South African Railways*. Johannesburg, South Africa: South African Railways and Harbours.
- Carminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques & South African Railways and Harbours (1927). *Lourenço Marques: A corner of continental Europe in Africa*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Carminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques & South African Railways and Harbours.
- Carminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques & South African Railways and Harbours (1931). *Lourenço Marques: On the edge of the East*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Carminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques & South African Railways and Harbours.
- Carruthers, J. (2013). The Royal Natal National Park, Kwazulu-Natal: Mountaineering, tourism and nature conservation in South Africa's first national park c.1896 to c.1947. *Environment and History*, 19, 459-485.
- Chatkaewnapanon, Y. & Hanpachern, R. (2013). Understanding a tourist destination: A tourist history approach. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, 3 (12), 2399-2408.
- Chauhan, R. (2024). Peace prospects through border and cross-border tourism. In: A. Farmaki (Ed.), *A research agenda for peace and tourism*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 175-191
- Didkovska, T. (2023). European guidebooks as a genre of tourism discourse: Historical overview and modern classification. *International Journal of Innovative Technologies in Social Science*, 37 (1), 1-5.
- Dieke, P.U.C. (2000). *The political economy of tourism development in Africa*. New York, USA: Cognizant Communication.
- Dlamini, J.S.T. (2020). *Safari nation: A social history of the Kruger National Park*. Athens OH., USA: Ohio University Press.
- Drummond, J., Drummond, F., & Rogerson, C.M. (2021). Latent opportunities for heritage tourism in South Africa: Evidence from Mahikeng and surrounds. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 10 (5), 1591-1609.
- Ferrer-Roca, N., Guia, J., & Blasco, D. (2022). Partnerships and the SDGs in a cross-border destination: The case of the Cerdanya Valley. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 30 (10), 2410-2427.
- Foster, J. (2003). 'Land of contrasts' or 'home we have always known': The SAR&H and the imaginary geography of white South African nationhood, 1910-1930. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29 (3), 657-680.
- Foster, J. (2008). *Washed with sun: Landscape and the making of white South Africa*. Pittsburgh, USA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Gebhardt, G. (2021). *The elephant in the room: Tracking the legal history of ivory in South Africa to the 2000s*. M Soc Sci Dissertation (History), University of Pretoria, South Africa.
- Goodwin, G. (2013). Guidebook publishing in the nineteenth century: John Murray's handbooks for travellers. *Studies in Travel Writings*, 17 (1), 43-61.
- Gottfried, H. (2013). *Landscape in American guides and view books: Visual history of tourism and travel*. Plymouth, UK: Lexington.
- Grundlingh, A. (2006). Revisiting the 'old' South Africa: Excursions into South Africa's tourism history under apartheid, 1948-1990. *South African Historical Journal*, 56, 103-122.
- Gupta, P. (2015). Consuming the coast: Mid-century communications of port tourism in the Southern African Indian Ocean. *Comunicação Mídia e Consumo*, 12 (35), 149-170.
- Harris, K. (2017). Taking history on tour: Lowering the disciplinary drawbridge. *Journal of Tourism History*, 9 (2-3), 223-245.

- Ioannides, D., Nielsen, P., & Billing, P. (2006). Transboundary collaboration in tourism: The case of the Bothnian arc. *Tourism Geographies*, 8 (2), 122-142.
- Kozak, M., & Buhalis, D. (2019). Cross-border tourism destination marketing: Prerequisites and critical success factors. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 14, 100392.
- Little, J.I. (2012). "Like a fragment of the old world": The historical regression of Quebec City in travel narratives and tourist guidebooks, 1776-1913. *Urban History Review*, 40 (2), 15-27.
- Minghi, J.V. (1963). Boundary studies in political geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 53 (3), 407-428.
- Mountz, A. (2013). Political geography: Reconfiguring geographies of sovereignty. *Progress in Human Geography*, 37 (6), 829-841.
- Newman, D. (2006). The lines that continue to separate us: Borders in our borderless' world. *Progress in Human Geography*, 30 (2), 143-161.
- Newman, D. & Paasi, A. (1998). Fences and neighbours in the post-modern world: boundary narratives in political geography. *Progress in Human Geography*, 22 (2), 186-207.
- Paasi, A. (2016). Borders. In: K. Dodds, M. Kuus & J. Sharp (Eds), *The Ashgate research companion to critical geopolitics*. London, UK: Routledge, 213-229.
- Page, S. (2019). *Tourism management*, London, UK: Routledge.
- Peel, V. & Sørensen, A. (2016). *Exploring the use and impact of travel guidebooks*. Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications.
- Pirie, G.H. (2022). Tourism histories in Africa. In: E. Zuelow & K. James (Eds.), *Oxford Handbook of the history of tourism and travel*. Online: Oxford University Press, C24.P1-C.24.N94.
- Prokkola, E.K. (2022). Cross-border tourism initiatives in the European Union. In: D.J. Timothy & A. Geldman (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of borders and tourism*. London: Routledge, 353-365.
- Rădoi, I. (2020). European capital of culture, urban tourism and cross-border cooperation between Romania and Serbia. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 22 (4), 547-559.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2019). Business tourism under apartheid: The historical development of South Africa's conference industry. *Urbani izziv*, 30 (Supplement), 82-95.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2020). Apartheid hotels: The rise and fall of the 'non-white' hotel in South Africa. In: J. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (Eds), *New directions in South African tourism geographies*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 33-54.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2022). Tourism evolution in rural South Africa: From native reserve to apartheid bantustans, c.1920-1994. *GeoJournal of Tourism and Leisure*, 40 (1), 120-128.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2023). Historical urban tourism: The evolution of tourism in colonial Lourenço Marques. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, 42, 9-25.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Kiambo, R. (2007). The growth and promotion of regional tourism in the developing world: The South African experience. *Development Southern Africa*, 24, 505-521
- Rogerson C. M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2018). The evolution of hotels in Johannesburg 1890-1948: A case of historical urban tourism. *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites*, 23 (3), 738-747.
- Rogerson, C. M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2019). Historical urban tourism: Developmental challenges in Johannesburg 1920-1950. *Urbani izziv*, 30 (Supplement), 112-128.
- Rogerson, C. M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2020a). Racialized landscapes of tourism: From Jim Crow USA to apartheid South Africa. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-Economic Series*, 48, 7-21.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2020b). Resort development and pathways in South Africa: Hermanus, 1890-1994. In: J. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (Eds.), *New directions in South African tourism geographies*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 15-32.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2021a). Climate therapy and the development of South Africa as a health resort, c.1850-1910. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-Economic Series*, 52, 111-121.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2021b). Urban tourism under apartheid: The Johannesburg chapter. In: C. M. Rogerson & J. M. Rogerson (Eds), *Urban tourism in the Global South: South African perspectives*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 149-172.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2021c). The evolution of rural tourism in South Africa: An historical lens. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 10 (6), 1728-1740.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2022a). Historical turning points in tourism: The establishment of the Hotel Board in South Africa. *Tourism Review International*, 26 (1), 41-55.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2022b). Hotel histories of apartheid South Africa: The emergence and expansion of the Southern Sun Hotel group c.1960-1983. *Studia Periegetica*, 39 (3), 27-46.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2022c). The making of capital city tourism in South Africa. *Tourism Review International*, 26 (1), 9-24.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2023). The bantustans of apartheid South Africa: Transitioning from industry to tourism. *Revistă Română de Geografie Politică*, 25, 1-16.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2024a). The evolution of small town spa resorts in the Global South: The historical pathway of Montagu, South Africa. *Modern Geografia*, 19 (3), 99-116.

- Rogerson, C.M., & Rogerson, J.M. (2024b). Historical special interest tourism: The evolution of mountaineering in South Africa. *Revistă Română de Geografie Politică*, 26 (1), 1-13.
- Rogerson, C.M., & Sixaba, Z. (2024). Rural tourism in South Africa's apartheid bantustans: An historical view. *Modern Geografia*, 19 (4), 67-83.
- Rogerson, J.M. (2017). 'Kicking sand in the face of apartheid': Segregated beaches in South Africa. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-Economic Series*, 35, 93-109.
- Rogerson, J.M. (2018). The early development of hotels in Johannesburg ca. 1928-1963. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 7 (4), 1-16.
- Rogerson, J.M. (2019). The evolution of accommodation services in a coastal resort town: Hermanus, South Africa. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 8 (5), 1-16.
- Rogerson, J.M. (2020). Johannesburg's iconic hotels: The life and death of the two Carltons. In: J.M. Rogerson & G. Visser (Eds.), *New directions in South African tourism geographies*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 55-74.
- Rogerson, J.M., & Rogerson, C.M. (2023). Historical geographies of coastal tourism: Mossel Bay, South Africa c.1850-1988. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-Economic Series*, 61, 7-17.
- Rogerson, J.M. & Visser, G. (2020). Recent trends in South African tourism geographies. In: J.M. Rogerson & G. Visser (Eds.), *New directions in South African tourism geographies*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 1-14.
- Shepherd, J. & Ioannides, D. (2020). Useful funds, disappointing framework: Tourism stakeholder experiences of INTERREG. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 20 (5), 485-502.
- Sixaba, Z., & Rogerson, C.M. (2019). Black economic empowerment and South African tourism: The early pioneers. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 8 (4), 1-10.
- Sixaba, Z., & Rogerson, C.M. (2023). Rural tourism under apartheid South Africa: The case of Transkei. *Studia Periegetica*, 41 (1), 7-26.
- Smith, E.T. (2023). Review article: Jacob Dlamini and the hidden history of South African historiography. *Historia*, 68 (2), 129-149.
- South African Railways (1912). *Rhodesia: For tourists and sportsmen*. Johannesburg, South Africa: South African Railways and Harbours.
- South African Railways and Harbours (1923). *South Africa: Land of the outdoor life*. Johannesburg, South Africa: South African Railways and Harbours.
- South African Railways and Harbours (1926). *South Africa: The sun country*. Johannesburg, South Africa: South African Railways and Harbours.
- South African Railways and Harbours (1930). *Lourenço Marques: Golden mornings, silver nights*. Johannesburg, South Africa: South African Railways and Harbours.
- South African Railways and Harbours (1934). *5,000 miles through Southern Africa on South African Railways*. Johannesburg, South Africa: South African Railways and Harbours.
- South African Railways and Harbours (1940). *Illustrated guide to hotels, boarding houses and farm guest houses*. Johannesburg, South Africa: South African Railways and Harbours.
- Stoffelen, A. (2022). Planning and managing tourism in transborder areas. In: D.J. Timothy & A. Geldman (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of borders and tourism*. London, UK: Routledge, 341-352.
- Stoffelen, A. (2024). A review of tourism and bordering processes: Launching the Annals of Tourism Research curated collection on tourism and territorial borders. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 105, 103728.
- Stoffelen, A., & Timothy, D.J. (2023). Bordering, ordering and othering through tourism: The tourism geographies of borders. *Tourism Geographies*, 25 (8), 1974-1992.
- Timothy, D.J. (1995). Political boundaries and tourism: Borders as tourist attractions. *Tourism Management*, 16 (7), 525-532.
- Timothy, D.J., & Saarinen, J. (2013). Cross-border cooperation and tourism in Europe. In: C. Costa, E. Panyik, & D. Buhalis (Eds), *Trends in European tourism planning and organisation*. Bristol, UK: Channel View, 64-75.
- Timothy, D.J., & Teye, V. (2004). Political boundaries and regional cooperation in tourism. In: A. Lew, C.M. Hall & A. Williams (Eds.), *A companion to tourism*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 584-595.
- Timothy, D.J., & Teye, V. (2008). Regional alliances and cross-border tourism in Africa: Border implications and the Economic Community of West African States. *Tourism Review International*, 12 (3-4), 203-214.
- Tosun, C., Timothy, D.J., Parparis, A., & McDonald, D. (2005). Cross-border cooperation in tourism marketing growth strategies. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 18 (1), 5-23.
- UNCTAD (2017). *Economic development in Africa report 2017: Tourism for transformative and inclusive growth*. Geneva, Switzerland: UNCTAD.
- van der Merwe, C.D. (2019). The geography of heritage in South Africa. In: J. Knight & C.M. Rogerson (Eds.), *The geography of South Africa: Contemporary changes and new directions*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 133-141.

- van der Merwe, C.D. (2024). Contested heritage(s) – The case(s) of the Battle of Blood River (16th December 1838), Dundee and Nquthu, South Africa. *Modern Geográfia*, 19 (2), 109-125.
- van Eeden, J. (2011). Surveying the 'empty land' in selected South African landscape postcards. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 13, 600-612.
- Van Houtum, H. (2005). The geopolitics of borders and boundaries. *Geopolitics*, 10 (4), 672-679.
- Van Sant, L., Hennessy, E., Domosh, M., Arefin, M.R., McClintock, M., & Mollett, S. (2020). Historical geographies of, and for, the present. *Progress in Human Geography*, 44 (1), 168-188.
- Walton, J. K. (2005). Introduction. In: J.K. Walton (Ed.), *Histories of tourism: Representation, identity and conflict*. Clevedon, UK: Channel View, 1-18.
- Wideman, T.J. (2023). Archives and care: Caring archival research practices in geography. *The Canadian Geographer*, 67 (1), 394-406.
- Wigley, A. (2014). Marketing cold war tourism in the Belgian Congo: A study in colonial propaganda 1945-1960. MA (History) dissertation, Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa.
- Wigley, A. (2015). Against the wind: The role of Belgian colonial tourism marketing in resisting pressure to decolonise from Africa. *Journal of Tourism History*, 7 (3), 193-209.
- Ziarkowski, D. (2017). The oldest Polish guidebooks of the 19th century in the European context. In: K. Cermakova & J. Rotschedl (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th Arts and Humanities conference*. Prague, Czech Republic: International Institute of Social and Economic Sciences, 148-159.
- Ziarkowski, D. (2021). Who could afford to buy a guidebook: Socioeconomic determinants of the development of tourism in the Polish lands in the 19th century. *European Research Studies Journal*, 24 (4B), 331-343.
- Žvanut, A.P., & Vodeb, K. (2023). Marketing strategies in cross-border tourism destinations: A literature review. *Academica Turistica*, 16 (3), 313-328.

Submitted:
January 22, 2024

Revised:
February 20, 2024

Accepted and published online:
March 21, 2024