

‘This Mecca for the Pilgrims of Pleasure’:
Tourism, Modernity, and Victorian London, 1840-1900

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the
University of Oxford

Joseph Jeffrey De Sapio

St. Hilda's College
University of Oxford

Abstract of thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**Thesis Title:****‘This Mecca for the Pilgrims of Pleasure’: Tourism, Modernity,
and Victorian London, 1840-1900.****Joseph De Sapio – St. Hilda’s College****Trinity Term, 2011.**

This dissertation argues that during the nineteenth century, the journey to London revealed a world undergoing systemic change as industrialisation steadily eroded the traditional rhythms of the countryside in favour of urban modernity; indeed, London is regarded as a synecdoche for the forces shaping the wider world. This work uses tourist narratives to London as investigative tools to examine the ways in which individuals comprehend the modern changes occurring around them, as represented by the British capital, and does so in a comparative fashion, investigating the British Empire, the United States, Britain itself, and continental Europe. In so doing, it addresses two questions: first, whether one’s acceptance or rejection of modernity was predicated upon specific social and national preconditions; and second, whether the idea of nineteenth-century modernity was itself a non-universal construction dependent upon a variety of socio-cultural outlooks. The evidence for this study is drawn from the published and unpublished narratives of tourists from the four different contexts mentioned above, and divided into four chapters to focus upon each group. This study is grounded in a theoretical context which establishes a correlation between the methods used to interpret the city’s spaces, and the methods used to interpret modernity more generally. I conclude that the changes occurring from the interaction between global modernity and local culture were regarded with ambivalence and uncertainty, judgments influenced by London’s impact on the visitors mentioned above. The city gives a physical dimension to the travellers’ imagined fears, benefits, or concerns over future progress. Victorian London is thus one focus for a transformation affecting large segments of the nineteenth-century world, illustrating that modern industrial changes were ultimately perceived as being ambiguous and ambivalent forces.

Long abstract of thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis Title:

**‘This Mecca for the Pilgrims of Pleasure’: Tourism, Modernity,
and Victorian London, 1840-1900.**

Joseph De Sapio – St. Hilda’s College

Trinity Term, 2011.

Through an examination of travel narratives to Victorian London, held to be one of the major centres of both modern expansion and historical tradition, this work shall argue that the city had an impact, both on an individual and collective level, in shaping not only the ways in which contemporary technological and social changes were understood, but also in influencing the development of a conceptual framework which might explain and direct any future progress. In drawing together the British Empire, the United States, Britain, and continental Europe, I have emphasised the increasingly networked nature of the nineteenth-century world, and have translated the debate on modern development into a global phenomenon.¹ In doing so, this work undertakes several objectives: it brings together the various histories of travel to London to produce a coherent, global image of the phenomenon; and it produces a synthesis between the literature of travel and its production of meanings, with that of nineteenth-century globalisation.

The main theoretical arguments advanced in this work extend the thinking of current travel literature on identity and modernity. Importantly, travel is the mechanism by which individuals (or collectives) evaluate both London as modernity (or anti-modernity), and relate it to their own cultures. First, preconceptions occur within the travellers’ home

¹ The literature has revealed that in many instances, the same questions surrounding industrialisation, urbanisation, and social change were occurring in disparate places. See for instance D. Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); A.D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976); S. Blumin, ‘Explaining the New Metropolis: Perception, Depiction, and Analysis in Mid-Nineteenth-Century New York City’, *Journal of Urban History*, 11 (1984): 9-38, for discussions surrounding modernity throughout the Empire, in India, and the United States, respectively.

cultures, shaped by global impacts on local institutions, and ultimately forming images or ideas about London as the prime example of modern change. These preconceptions can be shaped by literature, pictures, stories, or the presence of formal British institutions, yet remain subject to modification by the prevailing influences of the home culture. This idea forms one of the founding themes in the production of meaning: on their trip, travellers marry these preconditions together with the images and messages being transmitted by the city's sites (i.e., the Abbey, the Tower, etc). For this work, the meaning of the city is generated from the confluence of the visitor's mental pictures and the reality of the physical system.

In addition to complementing and unifying existing works, this study also intends to more fully flesh out domestic British travel to London beyond the traditional anchor of the Great Exhibition. While the 1851 Exhibition is as useful as a microcosm of the wider forces of globalisation, industrialisation, and urban and social change,² travel to London occurs constantly for the remainder of the century, and it is the impressions and perspectives of these everyday travellers which reveal the true depth of feeling for the changes sweeping their country. The city is a subjective and discursive environment, in a way which other recreational options (the seaside, Cook's Tour) are not, and this fact promises an authenticity of reaction: the 'culture' of the city is no superficial experience, as Dean MacCannell might argue, but rather makes no attempt to disguise both the wonders and shortcomings of industrial modernity. Finally, as the nineteenth-century witnessed the foundation or expansion of many countries that would later play significant roles in the twentieth century, understanding how these societies' use of and views on

² Especially as represented by P. Young, *Globalization and the Great Exhibition: the Victorian New World Order* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) and J. Auerbach and P. Hoffenberg, *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

modernity or anti-modernity influenced their early development also helps to shed light on national actions taken much later on.³

The evidence for this conclusion is drawn from a variety of areas. Comprising the bulk of the sources are published and unpublished travel narratives. These are exclusively drawn from middle-class travellers, as it is they who often formed the backbone of early mass tourism. Working-class sources are scarce, and do not offer the geographical or philosophical range required to critique socio-cultural change. To establish cultural contexts (both home and receiving), a variety of newspaper and literary sources have similarly been consulted. Yet while this runs the risk of biasing my results in favour of bourgeois urbanites, it is those individuals who eventually assume the ability to influence and direct public ideas about modernity and tradition. The ways in which their travel experiences affect their understanding of the contemporary world is fundamental to viewing how this collective of experience charts their future development. The differences between colonial, American, or other visitors' ideas and ideals thus inform a greater narrative than mere travel publications, and this therefore explains the structure of this work.

The first chapter centres on the experience of individuals from throughout the British Empire, here represented by Canada, Australia, and India. The main focus of this chapter is in differentiating the value of London to different imperial contexts. Importantly, perceptions of London seem directly tied to the degree of a British 'footprint' in the colony – if tangible, formal British connections (i.e., military garrisons and icons of metropolitan government) are weak, as in the self-governing colonies, individuals from these areas perceive the city's value on the basis of its historical (anti-modern) legacy; London represents the strands of tradition connecting self-governing colonies and the

³ There is an excellent example of this by W.I. Morton in *The Canadian Identity* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961) as he places the actions of mid-twentieth-century Canada within a historical continuity of Whiggish liberalism and British imperial identity.

British monarchy. On the other hand, where the formal British ‘footprint’ is stronger, as in India, the voyage to London is instead visualised as an education in modernity which benefits the Indian traveller once they return home. By presenting this dichotomy in the first chapter, I wish to draw attention to the theme that modernity was not universal, but affected by a variety of socio-cultural factors. As such, this chapter concludes that white settler colonists wished to frame future colonial growth in terms of British historical legacies, to fashion for themselves a stable foundation of tradition from which to construct their own modernities, while Indian travellers appropriated the forms and formations of British imperial modernity to improve their own circumstances.

The second chapter details the relationship between American travellers and London. Importantly, tourists from the United States take on a dynamic, appraising role. London is a synecdoche for modern, global power. This section concentrates on London as a ‘traditional’ example of a modern city, placing emphasis on the value of modern technological and social innovations. While Britain is sometimes rendered in disparaging tones, British inventions and institutions nevertheless serve both as a warning on what to avoid as easily as a taste of progress to come. Yet these innovations are appropriated as mirrors for American conceptions of national progress and identity; what it means to be an American is explicitly connected with the themes of expansion and exceptionalism. Importantly, this stance separates my vision of London from that found in the secondary literature; established writers concentrate on the value of British history as a racial ‘Anglo-Saxon’ consolation in the post-1865 decades. Instead, I suggest here that London draws formulations of American modernity to the forefront of travel narratives, a vision which is often linked with greater philosophical concerns of the frontier and the somewhat mythical idea of Manifest Destiny within American national consciousness. The result is a chapter

which promotes the image of modern London as both a rival and an ally in future American thought.

The third chapter investigates British domestic tourism to London, which acquires a distinctive tone separate from the first two sections. This chapter fulfils two objectives: it examines the relationship of the modern city to its own national context; and, by focussing on domestic visitation to the capital, generates an original study which seeks to complement examinations of other aspects of Victorian tourism (i.e., to the seaside or abroad). The importance of this chapter is that British visitors appear to conceive of modernity in London in terms of consumption, efficiency, and prestige, similar to the idea of Thorstein Veblen's 'conspicuous consumption'. Whether arriving from Wales, Scotland, or provincial England, travellers understand London as a physical example of the increasing comfort and choice that industrialisation has brought to British society. One of the distinctions which separates this section from the others is that overall, modernity is represented as something not to be feared, but to be welcomed, a sensuous experience of spectacles and images. In differentiating this aspect of British tourism from that of the seaside or abroad, I conclude that the experience of the modern city is more authentic, unabashedly connecting the traveller with squalor, poverty, and danger if they happen to witness such things. It is this aspect of realism which ultimately translates the world of the city into a microcosm of British society more generally.

The final section furnishes an interesting comparison for this study by providing a vision of London from continental European visitors which is at odds with each of the previous sections. London is caricatured as an example of British industrialism run to extremes, with a corresponding regimentation of urban relationships, and degeneration of the citizens and their buildings. Visitors from the Continent make the idea of differentiated modernity explicit; they equate urban modernity with bourgeois class-consciousness,

grand imperial boulevards, and cultural (artistic) production. London, visualised as lacking these elements, thus fares poorly in the eyes of continental travellers. This section identifies the way in which cultural differences affect understandings of change in the nineteenth century, including urbanisation and industrialisation. Much of the response to these changes stem from existing socio-cultural influences (for instance, with autocratic regimes centralising industrial production for tighter control). The perceived difference between London and its continental counterparts stems not only from London's physical environment, but in a wider sense revolve around the value of the individual within the modern nation-state. London is understood to be the triumph of individualism over the State; continental cities are felt to signal the opposite – that in straight lanes and hundreds of apartment blocks the individual is de-emphasised in favour of the collective. Thus, the political economy represented by modern London is regarded as something of a threat to the established order of continental societies, an undesirable future path which is seen as dehumanising and alienating.

To conclude, the nineteenth century world is thus interconnected and integrated to a great degree, offering not one, but a variety of competing and different modernities. The presence of modern networks of economics, trade, or culture which connect disparate regions, cities, and peoples is, paradoxically, the mechanism by which a corresponding anti-modernity is voiced. Steamships and railways convey thousands of passengers to London, where they make of the sights what they will, according to their own experiences with such things. In hindsight, the anti-modernists, as with the Luddites some decades earlier, are ultimately minimised; the new industry is a truly global event, sweeping populations from Australia to Russia in its wake. Yet it is not entirely fair to declare modernists the victors: the (often ignorant) belief in unchecked technological progress would find deadly expression on the battlefields of Western Europe just over a decade after

our period ended. What is clear, however, as this work highlights, is that there is no easy resolution between the two sides. The squalid nature of most urban systems and their corresponding breakdown of the links between man and nature prompted many to assume that an industrial society would undoubtedly dissolve human relationships before too long. Yet new information and transportation technologies, and advances into public health and medicine were extremely useful tools aiding those same societies. Still, within the span of three generations, the entire landscape had changed irrevocably. Indeed, to paraphrase Eric Hobsbawm, when discussing industrialisation and urbanisation, it is perhaps more appropriate to term the nineteenth century ‘the Age of Ambivalence.’

Table of Contents

Introduction:

Tourism, Modernity, and the City2

Chapter 1:

'The Bonds of Empire and Imperial Fraternity': the Colonial Experience of London48

Chapter 2:

'How differently we go ahead in America!': the American Experience of London.....91

Chapter 3:

'A Kingdom in Itself': the British Experience of London128

Chapter 4:

'England has no greatness left save her industry': the Continental Experience of London168

Conclusion:

'The Vast Curiosity Shop of All the World': London and Globalisation207

Bibliography231

Introduction

Tourism, Modernity, and the City

Introduction

This work is about travel. Travel as a fundamentally connective phenomenon, bringing together individuals and groups across geographical and cultural distances. Travel as also a phenomenon of identification, whether prompting the articulation of self-identity or the definition of a foreign ‘other’. Travel finally as a mechanism by which knowledge and authority are constructed, displayed, and deployed in response to specific socio-cultural circumstances. As the traveller visits new and unfamiliar terrains, their perception of their place within both their home culture and the local receiving culture is sharpened and informed through a process of reflection and comparison.¹ At its heart, then, this work comprehends travel to be a rational and engaging process intended to anchor a traveller within progressively-greater frameworks of existence: local, national, and global.

This work is also about modernity. Travel is an inherently modern act. It assumes a degree of cosmopolitanism to navigate unfamiliar environments. It also demands the proliferation of the implements of modernity: monetary exchange, suitable lodgings, transportation networks, and the presence of cultural intermediaries for communication and instruction.² With the expansion of these features throughout the nineteenth century, the travel experience underwent a structural alteration from its restrictive and often haphazard beginnings into a regulated, commercial, and democratic institution. The

¹ M. Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Palgrave, New York, 2001), p. 10.

² This view is fundamental to the modern travel experience, and is outlined in N. Wang, *Tourism and Modernity: a Sociological Analysis* (Elsevier, Oxford, 2000), pp. 17-8; J. Simmons, ‘Railways, Hotels and Tourism in Great Britain, 1839-1914’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19, 2 (1984), 201-22; M. Heafford, ‘Between Grand Tour and Tourism: British Travellers to Switzerland in a Period of Transition, 1814-1860’, *Journal of Transport History*, 27, 1 (2006), 25-47; and C. Hosgood, ‘The “Knights of the Road”: Commercial Travellers and the Culture of the Commercial Room in late-Victorian and Edwardian England’, *Victorian Studies*, 37, 4 (1994), 519-47.

replacement of the carriage and the sail by the railway and the steamship, and of the local expert by the mass-produced guidebook, are two of the most visible results of this transformation. Yet as the medium changed, so too did the meaning: Romantic and rapturous landscapes gave way to the stark realism of industrialisation and urbanisation.³ Indeed, the most important time to witness the maturing of the travel phenomenon was the half-century between 1850 and 1900, for it was the first to subject large numbers of people to these pressures.

Finally, this work is about London. As the capital of Britain's large territorial and commercial empire, London was a natural representative not only for British modernity, but also the wider patterns of circulation girding the nineteenth-century globe. For many visitors, the metropolis functioned on a symbolic level as the 'fount of all standards'⁴ against which their own experiences might be judged. London's size and status thus made it the primary destination for the emerging phenomenon of mass tourism. Indeed, 'mass' is an important qualifier: strictly speaking, tourism to Britain was not a particularly new phenomenon. By the sixteenth century, and probably earlier, the number of 'overseas' visitors in Britain attracted only little comment.⁵ 'Strangers and Travellers are no novelties to them,' William Camden wrote in his survey *Britannia* (1586), 'the roads betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Newcastle* being as much frequented by such (of all Nations) as almost any

³ A. Potts, 'Picturing the Metropolis: Images of London in the Nineteenth Century', *History Workshop*, 26 (1988), 28-34; and I. Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Random House, London, 1990), pp. 6, 23.

⁴ S. Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880-1939* (Frank Cass, London, 2000), p. 35.

⁵ K. Robbins, *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness* (Longman's, New York, 1998), p. 8. Robbins notes that by this time, London was already an important cosmopolitan centre: 'Whether or not English people actually visited it, London's buildings and the wealth of its leading citizens were fabled across the country. It was already a magnet which, for better or worse, attracted visitors from all over 'Britain', not just England, and from continental Europe, where no other city had quite arrogated to itself such central importance within the state.'

others in the Kingdom.’⁶ A contemporary of Camden, John Stow, the first chronicler of London, penned the attraction of the city in 1598:

I think that there is no city in which more approved customs are observed – in attending churches, honouring God’s ordinances, Keeping festivals, giving alms, receiving strangers, confirming espousals, contracting marriages, celebrating weddings, preparing entertainments, welcoming guests, and also in the arrangement of the funeral ceremonies and the burial of the dead.⁷

Yet these remained essentially small-scale visits. In Britain, the early nineteenth-century explosion of railways and cheap tickets offered by agents such as Thomas Cook finally brought the tour – whether day-trip or a longer stay – within the reach of millions.⁸ The resulting freedom of mobility can rightly be described as its own revolution: a revolution of movement. As Fred Inglis concluded, ‘the meaning of the tour is mobility.’⁹ The growth of inexpensive railway travel throughout Britain during the 1840s, and ocean-going steamships in the 1860s, made the capital a natural focus for transatlantic travellers: ‘There is no place in the world where there is so much amusement and enjoyment to be had, at a reasonable rate, as in London,’ noted a tourist guide by 1852, ‘...such unlimited sight-seeing, -such delightful novelty, -such perfect freedom and independence of action.’¹⁰ In the wake of the Great Exhibition of 1851, London’s popularity as a tourist destination had been cemented. Between May and October of that year, no less than six million individuals poured through the Crystal Palace, marvelling at the ingenuity of modern industrialism as demonstrated by the participants. All of these factors meant that by the middle of the 1850s, ‘...the more London emerged as the centre of...entertainment,

⁶ W. Camden, *Britannia, or, a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland, Together with the Adjacent Islands*, trans. Edmund Gibson (2 vols., Ware, et al., London, 1753), ii, p. 1102.

⁷ J. Stow, *A Survey of London Written in the Year 1598*, ed. William Thomas (Whittaker, London, 1842), p. 213.

⁸ F. Inglis, *The Delicious History of the Holiday* (Routledge, London, 2000), p. 47; and J. Simmons, ‘Railways, Hotels and Tourism in Great Britain, 1839-1914’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19, 2 (1984), 203.

⁹ Inglis, *Delicious History*, p. 35.

¹⁰ *Hints to Railway Travellers, and Country Visitors to London, by an Old Stager* (Bradbury & Evans, London, 1852), pp. 2-3.

the more it attracted visitors from other parts of the country and from abroad.’¹¹ By the end of the century, Londoners and Britons alike could decry the influx of visitors with annual regularity. Visiting the city himself in 1906, Robert Machray found it difficult to get around, for ‘London...attracts at this time vast numbers of people from all quarters of the globe - foreigners of every tongue and colonials - and they are always very keen to see everything.’¹²

Indeed, London has long played a significant role as a mediator of global circulation. Vast networks, both formal and informal,¹³ connected the metropolis not only to the empire, but to the United States and continental Europe. Transfers of information, technology, cultural products, and populations ensured that examples of British modernity were widely available in a variety of disparate settings, whether irrigation in India, railway engineers in South America, literature in the United States, architectural magazines in New Zealand, or legal codification in Malaya.¹⁴ The spread of these influences is not to suggest an alignment of the emerging global order with British interests, but instead reveals that the transformative nature of industrial modernity was not confined to Britain or the West, but was throughout the nineteenth century a force engendering change and debate on a global scale.

¹¹ T.C. Barker and M. Robbins, *A History of London Transport: Passenger Travel and the Development of the Metropolis* (2 vols., George Allen & Unwin, London, 1975), i, p. 207. Indeed, visitor numbers remained high even after the Exhibitions. For example, at the South Kensington Museum, the *Bayswater Chronicle* reported that in ‘...the week ending 31st December 1864, the visitors have been as follows: - Christmas Week (Free) open from 10 am to 10 pm, 35,984. Total, 35,984. From the opening of the Museum, 5,036,543.’ ‘Visitors to the South Kensington Museum,’ *Bayswater Chronicle*, 7 Jan. 1865.

¹² R. Machray, *The Night Side of London* (T. Werner Laurie, London, 1906), p. 66.

¹³ M. Lynn, ‘British Policy, Trade, and Informal Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, in A. Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), p. 101.

¹⁴ Although there are many examples, see D. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981); E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (Abacus, London, 2009), pp. 72-3; J. Hoppin, *Old England: its Scenery, Art, and People* (Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1867), pp. v-vi; J. Griffiths, ‘Were there Municipal Networks in the British World, c.1890-1939?’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37, 4 (2009), 575-97; L.H. Lees, ‘Being British in Malaya, 1890-1940’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 77; and T. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2008), pp. 23, 45.

Thus by the nineteenth century, the journey to London revealed a world undergoing systemic change as industrialisation steadily eroded the traditional rhythms of the countryside in favour of metropolitanisation. This work uses tourist narratives to London as investigative tools to examine the perceived impact of modernity, as represented by the British metropolis, on individual and collective conceptions of themselves and their future development. The evidence for this study is drawn from the published and unpublished narratives of tourists from four different contexts: imperial subjects, Americans, Britons, and continental Europeans. They represent exclusively the bourgeois class; this is partly by design, but also partially by necessity. Nineteenth-century working-class travel narratives are virtually non-existent, and would in any case be of limited value as the prevalent form of working-class ‘tour’ was limited to day-trips to local attractions even until the twentieth century.¹⁵ By contrast, the bourgeois narratives span much greater distances, and usually incorporate a range of cultural and social contexts. Moreover, in many instances throughout this work, these tourists are individuals who often occupy relatively privileged positions in their particular societies: journalists, bishops, authors, political figures, engineers, and industrialists, among others, all of whom had the power to influence, if not outright shape, public debates surrounding modernism and future progress.¹⁶ Indeed, this forms an interesting dynamic between those who publish their narratives, and those who abstain. As some historians have noted, publication of travel accounts was often a manner of demonstrating one’s authority within such debates; those who had witnessed competing or rival systems felt confident in avoiding the rocks and shoals thought to plague foreign

¹⁵ See S. Barton, *Working-class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2005) for greater elucidation on what comprised working-class leisure and tourism.

¹⁶ Indeed, it has been suggested by Erik Cohen that those who were more capable of critically examining their own lives and those of others found greater appeal in travel as a way of achieving this criticism; it is therefore no surprise to find that the most ardent travellers are those who are responsible in some way for social criticism – writers, journalists, preachers, and the like. See E. Cohen, *Contemporary Tourism: Diversity and Change* (Elsevier, Oxford, 2004), p. 106.

development.¹⁷ Yet beyond this, the attraction and inclusion of middle-class sources permits the historian to answer two important questions which serve as the foundation for this work: first, how was this process of change understood by the traveller; and second, how was this understanding used to define and shape further development? The answers to these questions reveal much about the ability of societies to adapt to quickly-changing contexts, creating usable pasts or futures on which to base their trajectories of development. Furthermore, they permit the historian to view the reactions of societies in collision and competition as the pressures of an increasingly metropolitan and interconnected world produce effects at a great distance from the centres of power.¹⁸

Along with the sources, the specific focus on the second half of the nineteenth century (although there is at times spillover beyond these boundaries) is chosen to address these questions, being the most dynamic period of modern expansion, tailing the First Industrial Revolution and beginning the Second. The fifty years between 1850 and 1900 witnessed the creation of many social, technological, economic and political structures and institutions which would form the basis for twentieth-century society. Indeed, Vaclav Smil has recently argued in *Creating the Twentieth Century* (2005) that the same period witnessed not only the birth of modern technologies, but of the popular idea of modernity more generally. In the span of three generations, people became aware of the process of change as being both widespread and inevitable.¹⁹ What Smil called the ‘greatest technical discontinuity in history’ transformed society from being fundamentally dependent on ‘biospheric services’ – natural processes and materials – into one in which scientific

¹⁷ W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994), pp. 21-4 and 55-71; and see T.F. Wright, ‘The Results of Locomotion: Bayard Taylor and the Travel Lecture in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century United States’, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 14, 2 (2010), 111-34; and F.R. Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1964), p. 127.

¹⁸ A. Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Polity, Cambridge, 1991), pp. 22-3.

¹⁹ V. Smil, *Creating the Twentieth Century: Technical Innovations of 1867-1914 and their lasting impact* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005), pp. 307-9.

experimentation created or manipulated artificial and manufactured processes to greatly increase motive power, crop yields, structural materials, or other advancements.²⁰

Certainly, London at the 1851 Great Exhibition appeared to announce not only the new industrial era, but that the natural world would soon be enslaved to the rational, calculating, and improving desires of mankind's new implements. Both Jeffrey Auerbach and Paul Young have argued that the Great Exhibition symbolised 'a vision of the world as a stage (providentially) designed to house the rational and emancipator acts of Economic Man.'²¹ Within the spectacle of the Crystal Palace and subsequent exhibitions, the role of industry and science became an ever-more-visible part of society.²²

Indeed, the Great Exhibition in many ways forms a useful analogy for the British Empire: an area representing a global system throughout which took place the daily interactions between individuals, groups, and whole nations. The travel experience was similarly interactive: for instance, tourists from the empire routinely met other imperial subjects, or American, French, or Chinese citizens as they went abroad. Investigation of tourism, a topic defined by mobility and contact with others, must necessarily depend upon a comparative framework which places cultural and social differences at the forefront of any analysis. The differences referred to here are not merely those between the home culture and the receiving culture, but also between one home culture and another. Such an approach, given greater scope below, is useful for more clearly viewing not only the

²⁰ Smil, *Creating the Twentieth Century*, pp. 5-6.

²¹ P. Young, *Globalization and the Great Exhibition: the Victorian New World Order* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009), p. 59; and see J. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: a Nation on Display* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999). Such a perspective was still dominant at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition in London in 1886; see P. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001), pp. 132-6.

²² As Alexander Geppert has argued, the museum or exhibition was, in its urban context, a 'microcosm of national self-representation' which was responsible for 'condensing and catalyzing' the various meanings and images of the nation into manageable portions. A.T.C. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010), p. 221. See also the work done by Katja Zelljadt, 'Presenting and Consuming the Past: Old Berlin at the Industrial Exhibition of 1896', *Journal of Urban History*, 31 (2005), 307.

specific factors influencing the tourist gaze, but which, when set against other tourist backgrounds, can also provide an insight into a larger imagined community. Moreover, as there remains no full-length consideration of British domestic tourism to London, arguably a distinct and often different environment than provincial Britain, this study shall take up that mantle as well.

Yet this poses significant challenges in itself, especially in a British context. ‘The history of Victorian tourism has not been studied much’, Jack Simmons noted in 1991. ‘The obstacles in the way of any full investigation of it seem insurmountable.’²³ While the former statement has since been quashed by two decades of scholarly investigation, the latter judgment remains true, especially when considering urban tourism, and even rarer within that select field, tourism to London. The difficulties of which Simmons spoke are greatly magnified in an urban setting: the scale of the city, in contrast with the genteel sociability of the seaside, gave visitors an anonymity which makes the availability of surviving accounts sporadic. Compounding this hindrance, the variety of options with respect to transport, lodging, and leisure, while providing a more democratic experience than other forms of tourism, combined to make accurately modelling the nineteenth-century visit a frustrating, if not futile, activity.

Given such obstructions, perhaps the question should not be why has Victorian London escaped notice, but why is it now important to this work? The choice of London – as opposed to New York, Paris, or Berlin – is crucial to understanding both the immediate forms of nineteenth-century modernity and its pervasiveness. Between 1850 and 1900, it was British modernity which set the pattern for much of the world’s transportation, production, and consumption habits and styles.²⁴ More generally, London had been, for

²³ J. Simmons, *The Victorian Railway* (Thames & Hudson, London, 1991), p. 292.

²⁴ G. Magee and A.S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods, and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010), pp. 118-120; E. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire from 1750 to the Present Day* (Penguin, London, 1990), pp. 134-7; P.J. McGowan and

much of the nineteenth century, a synecdoche for the wider forces of industrialism, capitalism, and imperialism which shaped not only the British landscape, but, through the linkages of the empire, a significant portion of the world. Beyond these influences, a variety of cultural and social networks also emanated outwards from the British metropolis.²⁵ Elements of British architecture and décor, for example, were incorporated into the households of Indian civil servants.²⁶ Simon Potter, writing in an Australian context, noted that print media in that colony allowed ‘the development of a public sphere in both South Australia and New Zealand. Settlers were thus able to articulate their interests, challenge and constrain the actions of colonial governors, and make claims to the ‘Britishness’, and hence respectability, of their actions.’²⁷ In her study on settler-native interaction in late-century Malaya, Lynn Hollen Lees argued that it was the mechanism of British subjecthood – and the concurrent awareness (and pride) on the part of the native that they enjoyed the same legal status as the Queen – which exercised a strong influence upon the Malays to maintain the administrative (i.e. British) status quo.²⁸ London was, by virtue of this reach, the most visible example of an increasingly interconnected world in the late nineteenth century.

Why (or how) did the city come to be associated with modernity? Richard Dennis has recently made much of this idea that modern cities were those which interfaced the citizen to many different spheres of global activity. Modern cities, he argued, ‘were not

B. Kordan, ‘Imperialism in World-System Perspective: Britain, 1870-1914’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 25, 1 (1981), 49-50; and see more generally R.C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009). Although this leadership underwent a sustained period of relative decline, of course, in the post-1870 decades, as American and German manufactures extracted a greater market share.

²⁵ C.A. Bayly has argued that cities in the nineteenth century became not only the centres of cultural, material, and technological production, which then spread outward to the world, but also that they also became worlds-in-miniature, bringing exotic processes, materials, and people into a compressed urban environment. C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Blackwell, Oxford, 2004), pp. 186-8 and 367-70.

²⁶ R. Jones, *Interiors of Empire: Objects, Space and Identity within the Indian Subcontinent, c.1800-1947* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2007), p. 20.

²⁷ S.J. Potter (ed.), *Imperial Communications: Australia, Britain, and the British Empire, c.1830-50* (King’s College Australia Centre, London, 2005), p. 3.

²⁸ L.H. Lees, ‘Being British in Malaya, 1890-1940’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 79-81.

only industrial cities, but places with major administrative, commercial, financial, intellectual, artistic and recreational functions.²⁹ Importantly, however, for Dennis the modern city was not merely an entity which signified a break with the past, but a collection of spaces in which existed a dialogue between modernity and tradition (or rejection), often in an ambivalent relationship.³⁰ As John Urry has shown, this relationship could be quite ambiguous indeed; sometimes the modern city maintained its links with historical monuments and traditional culture precisely to disguise modern changes: ‘The protection of the past conceals the destruction of the present...conceals social and spatial inequalities, masks a shallow commercialism and consumerism, and may in part at least destroy elements of the buildings or artefacts supposedly being conserved.’³¹

More recently, modern cities are those which have been associated with the alteration of spatial and temporal relationships, with the progression of consumption and domestic comforts, with the breakdown in sexual and gendered boundaries, and with the diffusion of efficient technological and economic forms and processes.³² At the heart of each of these factors, however, has been the idea of a change or alteration from a previous state. Patrick Geddes, writing in 1915, argued that when it came to cities, modernity was always a destabilising influence upon existing structures (in his example, spatial relationships and social structures). Industrialisation had turned the rural town into the ‘paleotechnic’ city: from a clean, organic site dominated by a central cathedral or castle, into a regimented congeries of ‘growing infinitudes of mean streets, mean houses, mean

²⁹ R. Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008), p. 24.

³⁰ Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, pp. 1, 35-6.

³¹ J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd edn (Sage, London, 2002), p. 98.

³² There are too many to list, but for works that capture the idea of the city as a changing environment, see R. Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization* (Penguin, London, 2002), pp. 324-37; Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, pp. 29-51; S. Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2001), pp. 39-45; the city as a collection of changing processes and visions forms the central thesis of Lynda Nead's *Victorian Babylon: People, Street and Images in Nineteenth Century London* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2000); and L.R. Ford, *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996), pp. 186-224.

back-yards, relieved more or less by bigger ones, too often duller still.³³ Yet the future 'neotechnic' city promised to alter this design once more; even these negativities would give way from the labouring grind of nineteenth-century life into 'potentialities of wealth and leisure beyond past Utopian dreams.'³⁴ Modern progress did not necessarily have to proceed in a generally positive direction; it merely had to change existing paradigms in some fashion.³⁵ Thus, for all of its ongoing changes in a compressed environment, throughout the nineteenth century, the idea of modernity was most closely associated with the city, and this study is therefore founded on the assumption that the Victorian city was the archetypal example of the modern forces which were shaping the Western world. As one anonymous writer in *The Speaker* put it in 1892,

It is the greatest of the world's cities. Here, more than anywhere else on the face of the globe, one can actually feel the clash of the contending forces which decide the fortunes of mankind. Here men may be actors in, as well as spectators of, the battle of destiny. Here are the headquarters of the art, the literature, the science of our race. No man really knows the full joy of social life who has never lived in London.³⁶

The city was significant as, in Andrew Lees' words, for 'bringing general changes in the structure of society and the quality of life into sharp and specific focus.'³⁷ Regardless of whether or not it generated positive or negative criticism, and there are many examples of

³³ P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (Williams & Norgate, London, 1915), p. 69. As Geddes uses them, the terms 'paleotechnic' and 'neotechnic' refer to ages of industrialisation: 'old technology' (steam trains and ships, the telegraph, etc), and 'new technology' (electricity and fuel-oil, automobiles, the telephone, etc.), respectively, thus differentiating the nineteenth century from the twentieth by means of technological boundaries.

³⁴ Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, p. 73. Lewis Mumford, Geddes' one-time student, takes this argument further in his works *Technics and Civilization* (1934) and *The Culture of Cities* (1938). For Mumford, the modern city evolved through a series of phases, each further distancing individuals from one another, and in which the value of modern change would become so inflated that the neotechnic city would ultimately become unsustainable and collapse. See for instance, L. Mumford, 'The Rise and Fall of Megalopolis', *The Culture of Cities* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1938), pp. 223-99.

³⁵ Such a narrow view forms the foundation for much of the work on urban systems done throughout the 1960s. Asa Briggs' *Victorian Cities* (Odhams, London, 1963) and Jane Jacobs' *The Economy of Cities* (Random House, New York, 1969) are illustrative of this mode of thought, perceiving urban modernity as the linear progression of population density, economic growth, and/or industrial output.

³⁶ Anon., 'The Bitter Cry of Fog-Bound London', *The Speaker*, 5 (2 Jan. 1892), 4.

³⁷ A. Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1985), p. 306.

both throughout this work, the city was a visible and powerful reminder of the progress, and the ills, that convulsed nineteenth-century society.

To provide an immediate example, most of the imperial visitors under examination here explicitly connected London and Britain with modern progress. Those travellers from the empire particularly invoked the language of modernity to not only describe London's physical makeup and its place in world affairs, but appropriated the term as a method of differentiating themselves within a racial and imperial hierarchy. Imperial historians Cecilia Morgan, Andrew Hassam, and Angela Woollacott come closest towards the approach used here. They superbly articulate the authority of the colonial tourist in constructing the tour to Britain as a defining moment for reinforcing modern national identities.³⁸ Indeed, as Canadian visitor W.H. Warren exclaimed during his 1899 visit, London was 'the great centre of civilisation...this modern Babylon!'³⁹ His visit to *the city*, by extension, privileged him as a modern traveller, confident and comfortable at the centre of nineteenth-century 'civilisation', and thus elevated his status to something more than merely colonial. In the introduction to their work *Imperial Cities*, Felix Driver and David Gilbert termed this the 'rhetoric of modernity' which united the 'experience of urban modernity and of empire' in London.⁴⁰ The British capital, in modernising itself, modernised its visitors in turn.

It was not, however, only modernity which made London unique. New York, for instance, was widely regarded as an example of technological ingenuity, with its emerging skyscrapers and office blocks, enormous department stores, and elevated railway system.

³⁸ C. Morgan, *Happy Holiday: English-Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2008), pp. 5-9, 181; A. Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), pp. 31-40, 159; and A. Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes: Colonial Perceptions of Imperial Britain* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2000), p. 27.

³⁹ W.H. Warren, *Touring in Britain, or, Brief Sketches of a Recent Visit to England and Scotland* (Paterson & Co., St. John, 1899), p. 3.

⁴⁰ F. Driver and D. Gilbert, 'Imperial Cities: Overlapping Territories, Intertwined Histories', in F. Driver and D. Gilbert, (eds.), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display, and Identity* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2001), pp. 3-4.

Indeed, recent work by David Gilbert and Claire Hancock has shown that late-century tourism to New York City fit within an earlier tradition linking cities with progress.⁴¹ Yet while the spectacle of modernity was on full display, there was a subtle undercurrent of artificiality about it: New York City appeared to lack history; everything, it seemed, was *too new*. William Smith, an English traveller to New York in 1892, demonstrates just such a finding:

Proceeding on our way, we cannot but notice the many varieties of street architecture, for, although new enough, they are worthy of admiration. There is certainly sufficient variety in styles and material to suit all tastes – edifices in marble, in iron, in freestone, in granite, in brick; edifices in the Egyptian, in the Greek, in the Norman, in the Gothic, in the Renaissance, in the Italian, and in unknown styles.⁴²

While London too possessed multifarious architectural styles, the British metropolis legitimated its own progress through the presence of ancient and medieval historical offerings. London's history was immediately visible, blending the superiority of the present age with the lessons of past eras.

Paris, on the other hand, is similar to London in its blend of old and new – especially after its reconstruction by Baron Haussmann throughout the 1860s – and its popularity as a tourist destination. Yet while Paris was London's closest rival for most of the nineteenth century, it was much smaller, and lacked the ability to shape events in the same way as the British capital, especially in the aftermath of the disastrous Franco-Prussian War.⁴³ Paris' image, or 'brand' if one prefers, revolved around *haute couture*, boulevard life, and literary and philosophical debate, but London was where the work of the world went on. As one Indian traveller, G.P. Pillai, pronounced in 1897, 'London for

⁴¹ D. Gilbert and C. Hancock, 'New York City and the Transatlantic Imagination: French and English Tourism and the Spectacle of the Modern Metropolis, 1893-1939', *Journal of Urban History*, 33 (2006), 78.

⁴² W. Smith, *A Yorkshireman's Trip to the United States and Canada* (Longman's, Green & Co., London, 1892), p. 28.

⁴³ S. Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, 2nd edn (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001), pp. 6-8. While concerned mainly with London's facilitation of transnational finance, Sassen notes in her introduction that the mark of a global city was its capacity for global control of markets and flows, not the projection of global power (which she defines as a State-backed military).

labour, Paris for pleasure.’⁴⁴ London, too, possessed the elements of high culture, especially after the expansion of the South Kensington ‘Albertopolis’ and museum district. Moreover, given its global reach, the British metropolis had the potential to bring the individual into contact with any one of various exotic cultures. Thus, the tourist, moving between spatial and cultural boundaries, witnessed firsthand the increasing dynamism of industrialisation, reflected upon the forces of modernism and wondered what their own place was to be within such a world.

Nineteenth-Century Modernity and Cultural Change

I want to begin my argument by developing the context for travel, and the ways in which the home environment shaped the traveller. Importantly, this is bound up with the idea of globalisation and cultural interactions between local and global forces. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the process of globalisation resulted in not one universal, Western modernity, but many separate and distinct types.⁴⁵ As the modern innovations normally associated with the Industrial Revolution – changes in the technological, political, social, and economic institutions of Europe and North America – expanded into new and often disparate environments through a variety of mechanisms, they became subject to modification by the proclivities of the receiving culture. These environments blended Western modernities with their own cultural mores to produce something useful to the local culture, resisting the implantation of a universalising Western narrative. The

⁴⁴ G.P. Pillai, *London and Paris through Indian Spectacles* (The Vijayanti Press, Madras, 1897), p. 78.

⁴⁵ Modernity has been criticised, most recently by Lynn Thomas and Dipesh Chakrabarty, as ultimately privileging one civilisation at the expense of another. Thomas, for instance, contends that modernity is an ‘ambivalent and multiplying’ concept in which the core concepts are so expansive and varied that the term is essentially meaningless. Chakrabarty, on the other hand, rejects modernity on the basis of ‘discomfort about periodization based on a Eurocentric idea of modernity.’ The French philosopher Bruno Latour, writing his critique of modernity in the wake of the demise of the Soviet Union, felt that modernity could, in fact, never exist so long as there was a continuity of ‘barbarism’ between the present and the past. To truly be modern implied an ascent into pure rationality, ‘the total separation of humans and nonhumans’ (i.e., the external challenges of the ‘natural’ world). Such claims broadly account for the rejection of modernity theory by some social historians over the last thirty years. L.M. Thomas, ‘Modernity’s Failings, Political Claims, and Intermediate Concepts’, *American Historical Review*, vol. 116, no. 3 (2011), 732, 737; D. Chakrabarty, ‘The Muddle of Modernity’, *American Historical Review*, vol. 116, no. 3 (2011), 663; and B. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, C. Porter, trans. (Harvester, New York, 1993), p. 37.

result was an expression of modernity different from that of the West, but which had in many instances Western institutions as their foundations. It is these varying modernities which form one of the core assumptions of this study, as it is from these blendings that tourists not only question their place within this process of change, but from which they also receive their images of Britain and the British, mediated through the local lens of their home culture.

The foundation point for the beginning of globalisation is generally held to be the sixteenth century.⁴⁶ The maritime explorations of Spain, Portugal, France, and Britain began in this period to draw North and South America, south-eastern Asia, and southwest Africa into a coherent, if Eurocentric narrative. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that true mass globalisation is recognised as having a substantial impact on both home and receiving cultures.⁴⁷ While the variety of formal and informal influences has been mentioned above, the salient feature surrounding these contacts is the fact that they were neither universalising nor homogenising forces. Often, as in colonised India or Algeria, the native culture modified – perhaps grafted would be a more appropriate term – British or French institutions alongside their own.⁴⁸ The Israeli sociologist S.N. Eisenstadt argued at length for just such a situation in an essay in 2003

⁴⁶ For instance, as with Robert Allen's assertion that the Industrial Revolution had its roots in the development of commercial and imperial systems during these centuries. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution*, p. 107.

⁴⁷ Much of this argument is summarised in J. Boli and F.J. Lechner, 'Globalization and World Culture', in N. Smelser and P. Baltes, (eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences* (16 vols., Elsevier, Amsterdam, 2001), ix, pp. 6261-6; see also A. Appradurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2002), p. 28; D. Washbrook, 'From Comparative Sociology to Global History: Britain and India in the Pre-history of Modernity', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 40, 4 (1997), 433; I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840s* (Academic Press, London, 1989), pp. 140-5; and C. Hall and S.O. Rose (eds.), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006), p. 21.

⁴⁸ D. Cherry, 'Algeria In and Out of the Frame: Visuality and Cultural Tourism in the Nineteenth Century', in D. Crouch and N. Lübbren, (eds.), *Visual Culture and Tourism* (Berg, Oxford, 2003), pp. 55-6; R. Dunch, 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity', *History and Theory*, 41 (2002), 318-9; Washbrook, 'From Comparative Sociology to Global History', 433-4; U. Hannerz, 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture', *Theory, Culture, Society*, 7 (1990), 250.

Several economic, political, ideological, almost worldwide systems – all of them multi-centered and heterogeneous – emerged, each generating its own dynamics, its continual changes in constant relations to others. The interrelations among them have never been ‘static’ or unchanging, and the dynamics of these new international frameworks or settings gave rise to continuous changes in these societies... As a result of this, a great variety of modern or modernizing societies sharing many common characteristics, but also evincing great differences among themselves, developed out of these responses and continual interactions.⁴⁹

Furthermore, Eisenstadt continued on to state that supposed Western universality over other types of modernity is a fallacy; he noted that where Western modernity came into contact with ‘lesser’ societies, there occurred a fusion between Western and indigenous modernities, not a single dominant cultural or institutional framework: ‘Truly enough, many of the basic premises and symbols of Western modernity as well as its institutions - representative, legal, and administrative – have become indeed seemingly accepted within these civilizations, but at the same time far-reaching transformations and challenges have taken place and new problems have arisen.’⁵⁰ Indeed, as Edward Said wrote in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), even foreign cultures were themselves a mix of competing influences and modernities: ‘Far from being unitary or monolithic or autonomous things, cultures actually assume more ‘foreign’ elements, alternatives, differences, than they consciously exclude.’⁵¹ There was no culture, Said believed, which was not always a hybridised collection of turbulent interests.

Indeed, such blending even occurred in those societies we typically associate with Western civilisation – no society under consideration in this work remains immune to a multitude of influences, and these only grew as the century wore on. Throughout most Western nations, the presence of ethnic, racial, or national mixing was clearly visible, whether integrating large immigrant populations of Irish, Scottish, German or Italian settlers, Six Nations or Aboriginal indigenous groups, former slaves, or even

⁴⁹ S.N. Eisenstadt, *Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities* (2 vols., Brill, Leiden, 2003), ii, p. 520.

⁵⁰ Eisenstadt, *Comparative Civilizations*, ii, p. 525.

⁵¹ E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (Chatto & Windus, London, 1993), p. 15.

accommodating non-white subjects from around the empire back in Britain. Even ostensibly homogenised 'British' culture is made up of a variety of inputs from English, Welsh, Irish, and Scottish contexts, that is, if one may even speak of a pan-British culture.⁵² While there existed dominant socio-cultural forms throughout all of these areas, there was never a total degree of homogenisation among the various populations.

This is the context – the local narratives – into which images of Britain, London, and the empire were inserted, through what have been called 'intensified circuits' connecting the various nodal points within the global web. These circuits are comprised of both the formal institutions of political and economic control (the city and the state) and the informal connections between lesser actors (firms and corporations).⁵³ Throughout our study, these agencies appear now and again, usually mentioned in the background of the tourist sources. British literature, the common institutions of monarchy or empire, religious connections, furniture, railways, and agriculture, to name but a few, were the circuits by which British influence – or at least, popular culture – came to be present within, and across, disparate geographical regions. As the French economist Jèrôme-Adolphe Blanqui understood in 1885, industrialisation bred globalisation: 'There is no longer today a single village which does not participate directly or indirectly in the benefits of industrial civilization.'⁵⁴ William Reade's 1873 account of the fictional Mr. Archibald Potter best illustrates the lengths to which this influence could extend. Potter was the anti-urbanite, who 'fell into fits of nervous irritation' at the sight of bright colours or loud

⁵² Robbins, *Great Britain*, pp. 5, 213-4; and see R. Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700-1947* (Pluto, London, 1986), pp. 55-7.

⁵³ J.V. Beaverstock, M.A. Doel, P.J. Hubbard, and P.J. Taylor, 'Attending to the World: Competition, Cooperation, and Connectivity in the World City Network', *Global Networks*, 2, 2 (2002), 112-20; perhaps Richard Cobden said it best in 1836, noting that '...our steam boats...and our miraculous railroads, that are the talk of all nations, are the advertisements and vouchers for the value of our enlightened institutions.' R. Cobden, *The Political Writings of Richard Cobden*, 4th edn (2 vols., William Ridgeway, London, 1867), i, p. 46.

⁵⁴ J.A. Blanqui, *The History of Political Economy in Europe*, trans. E. Leonard (Putnam, London, 1885), p. 547.

noises.⁵⁵ The most discordant sights to Potter, however, were omnipresent advertisements for Holloway's Pills. In London, he could not escape their reach:

Yet, see it he did at every hour of the day, in every newspaper he read, in every omnibus he entered, at every railway station, on every hoarding and blind wall. He looked down as he walked and found it written on the paving stones; he shut himself up at home and it came to him as a prospectus by the post, and dropped out of books which were brought from the circulating library.⁵⁶

Eventually unable to stand such bombardment, Potter vows to escape to another country to free himself of the reach of Holloway's Pills. But the Pills have spread before him: '[o]n the Pyramids of Egypt and the Rocky Mountains, in the tea-houses of China and the bazaars of Hindostan, posters or inscriptions announced the triumphs which had been accomplished by the pills.'⁵⁷ In a desperate attempt to find solace, Potter finally ventures deep into the African jungle through Sierra Leone, becoming a member of an isolated and simple tribe. Relaxed at last, Potter uses his money to import items from home and spread his generosity to the villagers. Ordering a parcel of boots from the coast, he 'found that the boots were folded up in some red paper, and as he took them out of this he saw in large letters *Holloway's Pills*, and instantly swooned away.'⁵⁸ Potter falls into a state of melancholy depression, relieved at last, ironically, by taking Holloway's Pills.⁵⁹

Felix Driver, studying the same passage in 2004, contemplates the story as an exploration into the process of comprehension, dissemination, and quantification of the travel experience. Driver uses Reade's framing work *The African Sketch-book* as a vehicle to discuss what he terms 'the culture of exploration'.⁶⁰ Varying fluidly between romantic adventure and scientific endeavour, Driver contends that this culture fell prey to an increasingly metropolitan presence injected into the field over the course of the century.

⁵⁵ W.W. Reade, *The African Sketch-Book* (2 vols., Smith, Elder, & Co., London, 1873), i, p. 172.

⁵⁶ Reade, *African Sketch-Book*, i, p. 173.

⁵⁷ Reade, *African Sketch-Book*, i, p. 173.

⁵⁸ Reade, *African Sketch-Book*, i, p. 180.

⁵⁹ Reade, *African Sketch-Book*, i, pp. 198-9.

⁶⁰ F. Driver, 'Distance and Disturbance: Travel, Exploration and Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), 75.

Adventure gave way to rational observation with appropriately-furnished instruments brought from the city and which imposed the 'space of the cabinet' onto nature.⁶¹ In this way, Archibald Potter and Holloway's Pills are symptoms of the metropolitanisation of the travel experience. But Driver's analysis minimises the impact of the story from the standpoint of globalisation. Potter's tiny African village, surrounded by the paraphernalia of the city, is faced with the same choices as any citizen or subject of an industrialised country: sacrifice existing social bonds in favour of the implements of modernity, or maintain their close-knit tradition. It is to Potter's (and Reade's, no doubt⁶²) consternation that the 'world of cultural difference was being contaminated by the world market.'⁶³ Ford Madox Ford, writing *The Soul of London* (1905) similarly positioned this global reach as an inevitable phenomenon of the modern age: 'We live in spacious times. Humanity is on the march somewhere, tomorrow the ultimate questions shall be solved and the soul of man assuaged.'⁶⁴ Ford's description of the early twentieth century as 'spacious' is telling: the modern world-market knew no boundaries, and thus tended to shrink the importance of any one city or system; in consequence of which London had become 'a mere bazaar, a mere market.'⁶⁵ It is this world-market which surrounds and informs the visitors examined in this study, but Ford's assertion is incorrect: as the market grew, London's presence as the hub of economic activity only increased its importance within (and indeed, without) the modern system, not *vice versa*.

With this in mind, it is logical to suggest that when we marry these various processes influencing visions of society and modernity together with the phenomenon of travel, it becomes apparent that the image of Britain – and of London as *the* modern city –

⁶¹ Driver, 'Distance and Disturbance', 82.

⁶² Driver, 'Distance and Disturbance', 78. He contends that this story is a semi-biographical experience of Reade's own visits to Africa.

⁶³ Driver, 'Distance and Disturbance', 78.

⁶⁴ F.M. Ford, *The Soul of London: a Survey of a Modern City* (Alston Rivers, London, 1905), p. 59.

⁶⁵ Ford, *Soul of London*, p. 168.

held in the traveller's mind was formed and shaped by these nebulous influences long before the traveller departed. To furnish an example, consider the words of Catherine Helen Spence, an English expatriate living in Australia, writing of England in 1866:

Our knowledge has been hitherto derived from books and newspapers, or from conversations with new-comers or friends who have been on a visit to England, and is necessarily very incomplete; but at the same time we are of the old stock, born in Britain, and with a love and reverence for it greater than any American can possibly have.⁶⁶

Such sentiments lingered on: almost a century later, the Tasmanian Christopher Koch, looking back at his own experience of visiting London in 1955 would wistfully recall his anticipation to see this mythologised Britain, unconsciously echoing Spence:

No English man or woman will ever be able to experience what a colonial Australian or New Zealander of British descent felt about England. We were subjects of no mortal country; hidden in our unconscious was a kingdom of Faery: a Britain that could never exist outside the pages of Hardy, Kenneth Grahame, Dickens and Beatrix Potter; and yet it was a country we confidently set out to discover.⁶⁷

Indeed, throughout the literature, nineteenth-century travellers' conceptions of Britain have been shown to have been constructed in response to the prevailing socio-cultural trends affecting a particular society.⁶⁸ Cecilia Morgan has highlighted the importance of British history to late-nineteenth-century Canadians intent upon industrialisation; Allison Lockwood has illustrated the value of British economic, political, and historical institutions in providing some consolation for the Americans after their civil war.⁶⁹ As useful as these conceptions of Britain sound, however, they themselves were

⁶⁶ C.H. Spence, *Cornhill Magazine*, 13 (1866); quote reprinted in R. Pesman, D. Walker and R. White (eds.), *The Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006), p. 8.

⁶⁷ C. Koch, *Crossing the Gap* (1987), quote reprinted in Pesman, Walker and White, *Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing*, p. 205.

⁶⁸ Celia Lury, in her examination of the objects of travel – postcards, souvenirs, etc., has argued that these objects possessed a significance as cultural agents even far removed from their original sources, directing tourist destinations and impressions of sites; the object 'also has the capacity to influence not only the preferred destinations of the tourist but also the nature of the tourist practises undertaken once the tourist arrives.' I wish to suggest here that ideas, while intangible, function in the same way, acting as influences of a culture even far removed from the original source. See C. Lury, 'The Objects of Travel', in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds.), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (Routledge, London, 1997), p. 77.

⁶⁹ Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, pp. 161-2; A. Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims: the American Traveller in Great Britain, 1800-1914* (Cornwall Books, New York, 1981), pp. 287-8.

subject to significant modification by other members of Canadian and American society. French-Canadian visitors generally felt no sense of loyalty to the monarchy, expressing their devotion instead to France, and positioning Britain as something of an interloper (though a useful one). In the United States, the American myth of independence against a tyrannical British regime received a new infusion of life as Britain was seen to support the Confederate cause during the 1861-65 war. For French-Canadians visiting London, their views were therefore greatly muted when compared to those of English-Canadians,⁷⁰ while some American visitors actively approached Britain as an indication of what was wrong with the Old World, and what the New had gotten right.⁷¹

To summarise, then, it is therefore these culturally and socially influenced conceptions of Britain and London which will determine how the city and its sites (as exemplars of modernity) are judged. As these criteria are socially constructed, it logically follows that so too are the resulting definitions of modernity to which visitors end up holding London.⁷² This explains the differentiation along social and national lines (which shall be discussed below). Crucially, however, as nineteenth-century societies were thus seen to be changing in response to the tension between traditional and modern elements, so too was the visitor's idea of modernity felt to include not only benefits, but also pitfalls and problems. This conclusion leads us into the next round of questions, namely, how did the travel phenomenon permit visitors to critique not only the foreign 'other', but also themselves; how did tourists perceive both the city and modernity, and what meanings did

⁷⁰ As French Canadian Francois-Xavier Garneau reported after touring Westminster Abbey in the early 1830s, 'I seemed to be wandering amidst the great men of my homeland, and even if I was a British subject as a result of unfortunate events, I found some consolation in those Norman princes and knights, breastplated and lying on their tombs, among the glorious memories which will always be the heritage of their nation.' See F.-X. Garneau, *Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833* ([n.p.], Ottawa, 1986), p. 136; and C.M. Coates, 'French Canadians' Ambivalence towards the British Empire', in P. Buckner (ed.), *Canada and the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008), p. 192

⁷¹ Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, pp. 173-82; and though it is dated, see R.B. Mowat, *Americans in England* (George Harrap, London, 1935), pp. 186-201.

⁷² Cohen, *Contemporary Tourism*, p. 104.

they produce from the collision between the reality of urban life and their original preconceptions?

Travel as a Mechanism for Exploring Culture

Emerging from these discourses on globalisation and modernity, the phenomenon of travel offers a way for the individual or the group to engage in an examination and criticism of a foreign culture. In doing so, two results occur: the visitor is better informed about a wider array of societies and institutions – an important element of globalisation; and, the visitor uses this culture to reflect upon their own social and cultural institutions, measuring their development by a process of comparison. This approach to travel views the phenomenon as one of active education, extending the analyses of current literature which emphasise travel as a search for identity. Such a vision differentiates my analysis from the more traditional perspectives on travel, namely by those historians who see tourism as a search for entertainment and leisure. To put it bluntly, travel is the mechanism by which individuals or collectives evaluate London as an example of modernity (or anti-modernity), and relate these concepts both to themselves and to their own cultures.

What are the effects of these contested and varying influences? Importantly, the variety and amount of contacts, groups, and movements across and between these societies, occurring with greater rapidity and scope as global transportation networks are established, have been characterised as overwhelming and confusing. Anthony Giddens, examining the relationship between globalisation and modernity in *Modernity and Self-Identity* (1991), has argued that these influences became ‘disembedding mechanisms’ – that is, that they altered existing social structures and institutions to better adapt to the various modern realities confronting a society. However, an important feature of his analysis was the belief that modernity was seen as threatening, risky, and liable to subsume the individual, and thus new social structures were required which would reduce or

eliminate these risks.⁷³ Indeed, Giddens' assertion of modernity as disassociating the individual from their traditional institutions has been picked up by James Buzard in 1993. Buzard applied this idea to early nineteenth-century travel, finding that tourism itself, emblematic of modernity as it was, became a similar disembedding mechanism to those regions it touched (in his work, the Lake District and Switzerland). For Buzard, the tourist became the 'creature of modernity's creeping network' which threatened the established community, environment, and traditions.⁷⁴ Importantly, in both instances, it is the citizen who is left questioning their place in the new, unfamiliar order as change comes from behind and in front; ironically, as the tourist sets out to find themselves, they bring the same disorder to other areas.⁷⁵

More recently, the sociological work by Eric Cohen and Ning Wang have shown that modernity could be alienating and confusing. While Wang highlights travel as a way of combating this alienation through the 'appeal of distance',⁷⁶ Cohen ultimately feels that travel is a reflective activity which searches for the 'authentic' experience not of a foreign culture (necessarily) but also of one's own life in turbulent times:

Those who continue to identify unreflectively with one or another of the centers of modernity such as the work-ethic or the ethos of material and occupational achievement, are personally less alienated than those who are not so identified. Those who are disposed to reflect upon their life-situation are more aware of their alienation than those who do not tend to such contemplation...⁷⁷

The point to take away from this is that nineteenth-century globalisation can turn modernity into a seemingly threatening force which appears to sunder the traditional markers of a particular community. In order to understand for themselves how to respond to these changes, individuals undertook to travel and witness how foreign cultures had

⁷³ Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, pp. 20-32.

⁷⁴ J. Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), p. 32.

⁷⁵ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, pp. 21-32, 333-4.

⁷⁶ Wang, *Tourism and Modernity*, p. 18. Jafar Jafari likewise argues for an escape from the 'residual' culture of home, but finds that 'cultural baggage' accompanies the visitor anyway; see J. Jafari, 'Tourism Models: the Sociocultural Aspects', *Tourism Management*, 8 (1987), 153.

⁷⁷ Cohen, *Contemporary Tourism: Diversity*, p. 106. And see footnote seventeen for more information.

handled the issue. Indeed, this work similarly positions the travel experience as an agent of individual discovery, not only of foreign cultures, but, crucially and perhaps more importantly, of one's own position at home.⁷⁸ Thus, the linkages binding travel and modernity surpass the mere presence of infrastructure or economic systems. Travel emerges in response to the uncertainty of modernity, whereas this modernity in turn influences the ways in which the traveller understands their travels.

Indeed, the construction of the traveller's perspective takes us to the next point in the argument, for it is through a discussion of perspective that we can view the ways in which the traveller ultimately constructs their meaning of London. Constructing the tourist's perspective has proven to be a contentious debate: the standard work is usually held to be Dean MacCannell's 1976 work *The Tourist*, in which MacCannell argues that tourism is an act of escape from modernity. The critical portion of MacCannell's argument, however, is that despite actively searching for authentic representations, the visitor only ever experiences a superficial and ultimately romanticised version of a particular culture.⁷⁹ Importantly, MacCannell positioned this search for the authentic as the search for stability, the presence of 'an overarching...system...which makes of the entire world a single solitary unit.'⁸⁰ The tourist was therefore informed by an inquisitive mission which sought to democratise the experience of modernity. What is problematic about MacCannell's analysis, however, is its apparent belief that the meanings channelled by a particular culture or site are always inauthentic; indeed, more recent scholarship has challenged this perspective by arguing that authentic meanings were always present, but it

⁷⁸ 'Recalling and recounting personalized places and events is how humans construct the sequence of events in their lives, and progress from where they were before (i.e., before travel) to who they are now (worldly, sophisticated, global consumers). Continuity depends on memory of past experience. One's life history informs one's identity', C. Bell and J. Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime: Landscape, Tourism, and Identity* (Praeger, London, 2002), p. 146.

⁷⁹ D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Macmillan, London, 1976), p. 10. MacCannell is supported in this argument by Alan Clarke, 'The Power to Define: Meanings and Values in Cultural Tourism', in M. Robinson (ed.), *Expressions of Culture, Identity and Meaning in Tourism: Reflections on International Tourism* (The Centre for Travel and Tourism, Newcastle, 2000), pp. 28-32.

⁸⁰ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p. 16.

was the workings of the tourist's own preconceptions which privileged one particular understanding over another.

This argument forms the basis for John Urry's work, *The Tourist Gaze* (1990). Urry particularly felt that spaces and meanings are transmitted from the landscape, not the other way around. '[T]ourists are in a way semioticians' Urry wrote, 'reading the landscape for signifiers of certain pre-established notions or signs.'⁸¹ The key to Urry's argument here is the idea that the landscape actively transmits signals or meanings which the visitor is able to assimilate and comprehend. This does not absolve the visitor of his or her own active participation in the search for meaning, but it modifies the idea that tourism is primarily about entertainment,⁸² while disagreeing with MacCannell that the resulting experience is a superficial one. To bring some common ground into the debate, it seems prudent to conclude that the travel phenomenon always involves a degree of active criticism, either at one's home culture (as Urry would have it), or against the receiving culture from an outsider's perspective (to pacify MacCannell).

This study attempts to strike a balance, finding instead that both major patterns occur throughout the narratives. First, there is an initial process of cultural preconditioning. Nineteenth-century literature portrayed the city and modernity as an example of the new industrial society. However, the city's spaces play a significant role. London as a global city brought visitors into contact with other cultures and exotic products, forcing cosmopolitanism into their vision. This awareness prompts the

⁸¹ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, p. 13. Even more recently, Rudy Koshar has attempted to mediate between the two perspectives, arguing that what was visible to the tourist was a product of whether their gaze was active and scientific (as with MacCannell) or passive and entertaining (as with Urry). In this way, the primary importance in viewing another culture lay not with the visitor, but with those cultural forces which shaped their original interest. See R. Koshar, 'What Ought to be Seen: Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identity in Modern Germany and Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33, 3 (1998), 325.

⁸² Indeed, Buzard's *The Beaten Track* distinguishes between the 'tourist' and the 'traveller' as types who journey for entertainment or self-improvement, respectively. In particular, 'travellers' look down upon and denigrate the activities of 'tourists' as being superficial and unimportant. John Walton similarly argues for a rift between travellers and 'trippers', in 'British Tourism between Industrialization and Globalization', in H. Berghoff, (ed.), *The Making of Modern Tourism: the Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000* (Palgrave, London, 2002), pp. 113-5.

individual to position themselves (and their nation) within the world-system hierarchy. The result is that the tourist reconstructs their position through the acts of writing and publishing their travel narrative. This empowers them with the authority of experience, forcing a self-conscious acknowledgement of themselves on a greater stage than one's home society. Such an approach sees this study lend support to the arguments that travel is a search for identity, refuting the notion that travel is inauthentic and superficial – the visitor's experiences are, if only to themselves alone, perfectly legitimate, and moreover, it is this vision which permits them to reflect upon their own circumstances.⁸³

Tourists and the Production of Meaning

The production of meaning comprises the third step in the construction of my argument, and in some respects it is the most important element of the whole thesis. It is the production of meaning that allows the traveller to ultimately form a vision of nineteenth-century modernity, and to insert themselves within (or withdraw themselves from) this narrative of change. As we have seen above, debates over the productions of meaning remain a divisive subject in travel studies: the basic arguments centre upon asking whether meanings originate teleologically, that is, from the (external) travelling subject, or ontologically, from the (internal) physicality of the various sites. This study, however, attempts to take a more moderate approach, arguing instead that the production of meaning arises from a mediation between a traveller's cultural preconceptions (recall that this is generated from the interplay of specific socio-cultural modernities at home), and the semiotics inherent within the physical sites themselves. In other words, the 'real' meaning of the city, and of modernity more generally, is generated out of both the visitor's mind and the physical system. As London is therefore the centre from which British

⁸³ Indeed, I must agree with Cohen's assessment that even seemingly 'superficial' objects or displays of a foreign culture are themselves full of condensed meaning: 'Tourist-oriented products frequently acquire new meanings for the locals, as they become a diacritical mark of their ethnic or cultural identity, a vehicle of self-representation before an external public', Cohen, *Contemporary Tourism*, p. 113.

modernity is perceived to flow – even if this is not entirely accurate⁸⁴ – how do the capital’s modern or historic sites shape tourist impressions of the changes occurring within their own society? How do visitors translate their experience of modernity into a vision of themselves in a global community? The answers to these questions depend on the way in which visitors perceived urban modernity, the methods they used to interpret London with respect to their own imagined visions, and the ways in which they rendered these Londons in their narratives.

To begin, let us focus on the city and modernity – how did visitors associate the two, what forms did it take, and how did they impact the visitor’s relationship with the city? Here, the most recent scholarship presses a connection between the nineteenth-century city and the spectacle. As Nicholas Daly argued, mid-century Britons were experiencing a bombardment of the senses, with theatricals, literature, and architecture all illustrating a modernity which had to be experienced – touched or felt or sensed – to be understood. This was accomplished through the relationship between technology, sensation, and consumption, visible in such examples as the intricate glasswork of the Crystal Palace, which heralded an industrial and comfortable future.⁸⁵ As he noted, there was a ‘shift in Britain from self-definition in terms of production to self-definition in terms of consumption.’⁸⁶ The culture of modernity, then, demanded the sensation of the new, expressed through novel artistic, technological, and literary forms. As Daly found, such imagery was inherently self-reflective, featuring ‘self-conscious theorizations and

⁸⁴ Francis Sheppard, for instance, asserts that London lost its primacy of production in the 1870s to the north; F. Sheppard, ‘London and the Nation in the Nineteenth Century: the Prothero Lecture’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5, 35 (1985), 56.

⁸⁵ N. Daly, *Sensation and Modernity in the 1860s* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009), pp. 200-1; Daly’s argument has much in common with John Urry’s finding that the city is a spectacle to be experienced by all the senses, see J. Urry, ‘Sensing the City’, in S. Fainstein and D. Judd (eds.), *The Tourist City* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999), pp. 71-88.

⁸⁶ Daly, *Sensation and Modernity in the 1860s*, p. 5.

fantasies' about the changes facing British society.⁸⁷ To paraphrase Marshall McLuhan, this message existed across many mediums in the city.

Indeed, within the nineteenth-century city, these mediums of modernity were omnipresent: from the fancy lighting and plate glass in fashionable shops, to the rationality of the high culture in the theatres, the spectacle of the city promised a new era of consumption and sensation. Even Marshall Berman, in his appropriately-titled work *All That is Solid Melts into Air* ultimately conceived of modernity as a collection of spectacular and visual impressions in a flashy urban environment.⁸⁸ Given such a relationship, James Donald has noted that increasingly the 'modern consciousness became urban consciousness.'⁸⁹ Such an argument finds support in John Jervis' *Exploring the Modern* (1998). In particular, Jervis makes reference to the sensation of nineteenth-century urban forms, finding that

The city is where modernity happens; it is also where modernism happens. In the city, modernity imposes itself as project, but the city is also where the experience and consciousness of modernity coexist uneasily with this, collide with it, challenging our ability to 'represent' this modernity that we are immersed in...it is in the city that the tensions around project, theatricality and experience come to a head.⁹⁰

Jervis' urban modernity is similar to the spectacle of Daly's; it 'collides', 'challenges', or 'imposes' itself in uncertain and ambivalent ways. Importantly, modernity is something to be experienced in the streets, as it is created out of the confusing milieu of physical landscape and social meanings. But as Jervis argues, and as we shall return to momentarily, the essence of this urban modernity was not only its spectacle, but its individuality. Put simply, individual viewers determined for themselves what they thought

⁸⁷ Daly, *Sensation and Modernity in the 1860s*, p. 197.

⁸⁸ M. Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: the Experience of Modernity*, 3rd edn (Verso, London, 2010), pp. 149-52.

⁸⁹ J. Donald, 'Metropolis: the City as Text', in R. Bocoock and K. Thompson (eds.), *Social and Cultural Forms of Modernity* (Polity, Cambridge, 1992), p. 442.

⁹⁰ J. Jervis, *Exploring the Modern: Patterns of Western Culture and Civilization* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1998), pp. 65, 67.

was modern and what was not. In an urban framework, this resulted in what Jervis called the ‘everywhere and nowhere of modernity.’⁹¹

As urban modernity relies on the spectacle of new activities and new technologies to awe onlookers with a variety of sensuous experiences, the result is an idea of modernity as inconstant and transient. The city’s fabric is never stable; it is always in motion.

Referring to the British metropolis, for instance, Alan Robinson showed in *Imagining London* (2004) that ‘the salient feature of Victorian London was *mobility* [Robinson’s italics]’.⁹² For Robinson, the modern city was characterised not merely by the mobility of vehicles, capital, or populations, but of ideas and relationships.⁹³ The relationship between the individual and the city is a complex one involving the creation, perception, and comprehension of a variety of spectacular meanings in fluid and uncertain space.⁹⁴ In general, the scholarship surrounding cities and meaning is divided over the issue of whether this meaning is produced from the physical aspect of the city’s spaces, or from the social and cultural activities which occur within these spaces. The city is defined by the activities of its inhabitants, who in turn continually alter their urban spaces to reflect the new priorities and philosophies of modern times.⁹⁵ The erection of physical items – grand buildings, public monuments, or imperial imagery – is necessarily a human act of transforming one place into another. Any associated meanings are therefore intentionally

⁹¹ Jervis, *Exploring the Modern*, p. 86.

⁹² A. Robinson, *Imagining London, 1770-1900* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2004), p. 45.

⁹³ This argument forms the basis for David Harvey’s work *Paris: Capital of Modernity* (Routledge, New York, 2006), in which the mobility of talent through the French capital is central to experimentation with political, social, and cultural ideas, and in which the physical relationships between the citizen and the city are mutable and (thanks to Haussmann) often transitory.

⁹⁴ Jeremy Tambling has argued that the city ‘comprise[d] discontinuous spaces, which are perceived differently because they are seen in different speeds: walking, in the coach, or in the train, that which implied a new thing: that cities go with speed.’ J. Tambling, *Going Astray: Dickens and London* (Pearson, Harlow, 2009), p. 276.

⁹⁵ B. Highmore, *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2005), pp. 63-5; S. Gunn, ‘How Manchester is Amused: the Cultural Economy of the Industrial City, 1860-1920’, in M. Hessler and C. Zimmermann (eds.), *Creative Urban Milieus: Historical Perspectives on Culture, the Economy, and the City* (Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, 2008), pp. 101-18; and L. Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2000), p. 215.

constructed and transmitted by design. The creation of physical and social spaces becomes the language of the city; those doing the creating become, to an extent, semioticians responsible for shaping the meanings of this language, whether through an imperial monument, street theatre, or parkland. Recently, in their examinations of London as an imperial city, Jonathan Schneer and Tori Smith have pointed to the creation of Kingsway and Aldwych Streets and the Victoria Memorial as an example of this influence.⁹⁶ While Schneer felt that in London in 1900 '[i]t was impossible...to avoid the imperial subtext', he credits city planners and architects with the creation of this subtext, noting simply that 'London is a process.'⁹⁷ Indeed, the sociologist Henri Lefebvre understood this as the definition of urban space: what he termed 'rational space', that is the using of space for any activity, 'is not the outcome of a quality or property of human activity in general...it is itself the origin and source – not distantly but immediately, or rather inherently, of the rationality of activity....'⁹⁸ Urban space was the space of construction, destruction, memory, spectacle, and activity.

The modern city, of which nineteenth-century London is a particular example, is thus defined by the created meanings of its spaces and movements. What separates the Victorian capital from its Georgian or Tudor counterpart is the pace and scale at which these meanings are created, changed, or destroyed, and the size of the populations involved in these activities. The individual in the city is, therefore, no stranger to the spectacle of the modern; they are constantly assaulted by sounds, smells, and images on every street; the city is intrusive and discordant, and may also fatigue or overload the stroller's

⁹⁶ T. Smith, 'A Grand Work of Noble Conception: the Victoria Memorial and Imperial London', in Gilbert and Driver, *Imperial Cities*, pp. 21-39. In particular, the Memorial was designed to emphasise the 'theatricality' of London – the idea that the capital was a stage which changed with the vision of its people, (p. 26). See also K. Hill, *Culture and Class in English Public Museums, 1850-1914* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005), pp. 36-7 for another example of how the physical landscape of the museum channels middle-class rationality into the urban matrix.

⁹⁷ J. Schneer, *London 1900: the Imperial Metropolis* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999), pp. 93, 263.

⁹⁸ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Blackwell, Oxford, 2004), p. 72.

sensibilities.⁹⁹ As the Austrian visitor Max Schlesinger found during his 1853 visit to London, for instance,

Men with cocoa-nuts and dates, and women with oranges surrounded us with their carts. One man recommended his dog collar of all sizes, which he had formed in a chain around his neck; another person offered to mark our linen; a third produced his magic strops; others held out note-books, cutlery, prints, caricatures, exhibition-medals – all – all – all for one penny...The arches of the great bridges over the Thames were at one time free from advertisements...But at length the advertisements invaded even these, the last asylums of non-publicity....¹⁰⁰

Yet the individual in the system is an ambiguous and ambivalent presence; they are passive actors in a drama which proceeds around them, but it is they who witness these spectacles and others, and who construct associated meanings. The street walker occupies an indistinct place in the life of the city: as Deborah Parsons notes in her introduction to *Streetwalking the Metropolis* (2000), they are neither citizen, nor foreigner; a presence in the city, yet not *of* the city in a concrete fashion. Nevertheless, it is their vision of the activity within the urban environment which classifies, for them, whether the ‘imagined’ city is modern or not.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ In much of the scholarly literature, the tour has widely been viewed as the search for spectacle, not only terms of a romantic, picturesque landscape, but of new sensations more broadly. Much of John Walton’s work is concerned with this idea of seaside tourism as spectacle, as Ian Ousby does for the Lake District and Katherine Grenier and Alastair Durie do for Scotland. Peter Bailey’s works, while arguing that the Victorian middle classes attempted to channel their excess leisure time into respectable amusements, nevertheless agrees that even these quiet forms of recreation had their own spectacle about them, through large public museums and libraries. Certainly, the success behind Thomas Cook’s tours leads one to conclude that a significant portion of British society was interested in such new experiences. From the Great Exhibition to round-the-world trips, Cook’s tours have shown how this search for the spectacular encouraged travel both abroad and at home. See J.K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: a Social History, 1750-1914* (University of Leicester Press, Leicester, 1983), p. 157, and more generally his edited volume *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, and Conflict* (Channel View, Clevedon, 2005). For tourism and the spectacle of landscape, see I. Ousby, *The Englishman’s England: Taste, Travel, and the Rise of Tourism* (Random House, London, 1990), pp. 39, 56; C. Aitchison, N.E. MacLeod and S.J. Shaw, *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes: Social and Cultural Geographies* (Routledge, London, 2000), pp. 50-71; K.H. Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005), pp. 69-72; A Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: a History of Tourism in Scotland, 1780-1939* (Tuckwell, East Linton, NJ, 2003); and P. Bailey, ‘A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures: the Victorian Middle Classes and the Problem of Leisure’, *Victorian Studies*, 21, 1 (1977), 13, 23-6, and see by the same author, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (Methuen, London, 1987).

¹⁰⁰ M. Schlesinger, *Saunterings in and about London*, trans. O. Wenckstern (Nathaniel Cooke, London, 1853), p. 23.

¹⁰¹ D. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City, and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000), p. 1.

These thoughts thus allow us to move into defining the ways in which the meanings of the city were produced by visitors. The conflation between London's urban modernity and the traveller's own situation in the debate is conditioned by what Tanya Agathocleous has called 'cosmopolitan realism'. In her work *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination* (2011), Agathocleous has pointed to a literary tradition which conceived of cosmopolitan London as a representation of the wider world. This idea of cosmopolitanism was, she noted, a phenomenon which linked the city and everyone in it as actors in a wider play of national and international life (i.e., through globalisation). In this instance, the city serves as a cipher for the experiences of the world more generally: 'If the world as a whole could not be seen, it could be brought before the mind's eye through the observation of the city, conceived of as a world in miniature.'¹⁰² The prevalence of the city as an exemplar of a wider situation was a common trope throughout nineteenth-century literature, especially in Britain. Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, George Gissing, and Elizabeth Gaskell all used the commercial and industrial city as 'Britain-in-miniature' to better illustrate the changes affecting society. Nicholas Daly also explores this tradition of cosmopolitan modernity in his 2004 work *Literature, Technology, and Modernity*. Daly's argument is similar to that of Agathocleous, in that the presence of modern cities, technologies, and philosophies in literature and theatre combined to 'train' the reader in the new ways of industrial society, and to make the connection that they were but one cog in a much greater machine of progress.¹⁰³ Such works of British literature were immensely popular abroad, as were images and histories of Britain.¹⁰⁴

There is much in common between literary visions of the city and the framing devices used within tourist narratives. Each attempts to distil the essence of the city into

¹⁰² T. Agathocleous, *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011), p. 15.

¹⁰³ See N. Daly, *Literature, Technology, and Modernity, 1800-2000* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004).

¹⁰⁴ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 62; Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, p. 288.

manageable portions, focusing upon specific neighbourhoods, streets, buildings, or crowds in order to more accurately convey the author's own textual authority. Indeed, the connection between literature and tourism is so close that Nicola Watson felt the visitor should be called the 'reader-tourist'.¹⁰⁵ Travel and literature remake the image of a region or landscape in an imagined sense – in the mind of the tourist/reader, and thus the reader of the book becomes too a tourist, while the visitor in the landscape becomes the reader of a book. According to Watson, literature and travel writing are thus bound in a mutual attempt to describe the nature of the perceived world in constraining (textual) terms – a mutual interrelationship which sees both draw from each other – and helps explain how tourists imagine their reconstructed landscapes. Visitors to Scotland in the 1840s and 1850s were advised to take a copy of Walter Scott's works with them, while John Hassard's 1871 *Pickwickian Pilgrimage* cast the London ramble as a quest through Dickensian lore. As Watson noted, 'Victorians now saw the landscape associatively, in terms of historical narrative, in a spirit of romantic documentary. Historical anecdote and folk tradition entwined seductively with enchanting creatures of imagination.'¹⁰⁶ The landscape in the visitor's mind is something readable, with meanings both real and fictive.

Understanding the environment of the city itself shares much with the literary world. Robert Alter, in *Imagined Cities* (2005) comparing several prominent nineteenth-century literary figures, argues for the presence of 'experiential realism' as a common connection between otherwise disparate works. The city is represented as a phantasmagoria, 'a limited perception on transitory images, which are no more than shards

¹⁰⁵ N.J. Watson, 'Rambles in Literary London', in N.J. Watson (ed.), *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2009), p. 139. See also J. Borm, 'Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology' in G. Hooper and T. Youngs (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004), pp. 13-27 for the interplay between literary terminology and travel narratives.

¹⁰⁶ N.J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2006), p. 162. And see also B. Schaff, 'John Murray's *Handbooks to Italy*: Making Tourism Literary', *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*, pp. 106-18 for a discussion of the ways in which literary references were sought out by Murray's guidebooks as a way of enticing visitors to a location.

of an ungraspable whole...the urban world is never represented in and of itself.’¹⁰⁷ Put simply, the city is a collection of spectacles, of touch, sound, or vision, which never combine to form a comprehensive whole. Referencing both Flaubert and Dickens, Alter notes that ‘[b]oth writers have a sense that the very dimensions of the modern city dwarf the individual, threaten to subvert the exercise of human agency.’¹⁰⁸ The sense of isolation and scale prevents the visitor from truly *knowing* the city.

Such a trope is common throughout the tourist narratives.¹⁰⁹ Many visitors speak of their inability to fully grasp London, or advise their fellow-travellers to veer into unknown alleys and side streets to explore as much of the city’s fabric as possible. Some travellers, like the English preacher Richard Lovett, surrender at ever having a holistic view of the capital from any angle:

We may study the enormous figures that represent the population of London; we may know in square miles the area occupied by its palaces and mansions and hovels; we may cull whole galleries of pictures, either from the endless panorama of human life, with all its strange vicissitudes, or from the succession of famous buildings extending from the Tower of William the Norman, down to the great buildings of the Victorian era; we may scan the history of social development as expressed in Act after Act of Parliament passed with this object in view; and yet with those who think they know it best, and who have passed long years of their life in the very centre of its ceaseless struggle and turmoil, we shall have at last to admit, like John Bright, that in the sense of full and adequate knowledge, we know nothing about it.¹¹⁰

Yet even in Lovett’s ‘surrender’ there is an attempt to imprint upon the city a semblance of order, in this case, a temporal ordering of events and development which follows the historical record.

Indeed, Lovett’s passage is revealing for its attempts to impose order upon that which he himself acknowledged could not be ordered. Both tourist and literary

¹⁰⁷ R. Alter, *Imagined Cities: Urban Experience and the Language of the Novel* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2005), pp. 30, 41.

¹⁰⁸ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁹ P. Howe, ‘This World of Diamonds and Mud: Women Travellers in mid-nineteenth century London’, in P. Alter and R. Muhs (eds.), *Exilanten und andere Deutsche in Fontanes London* (Akademischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1999), p. 177.

¹¹⁰ R. Scott, *London Pictures: Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (The Religious Tract Society, London, 1890), p. 13.

conceptions of London indicate just such a tension between its somewhat organic topographical arrangement and the increasingly-sophisticated attempts to rationalise the entire system. Maps, guidebooks, and balloon-views have been cast as agents of a panoptic gaze, seeking to subjugate the entire system to the tourist's gaze.¹¹¹ Modernity had not just engineered a new city and showered it with new sensations, but in so doing had shattered the synoptic gaze of the viewer, leaving them to fill their pages with a collection of disjointed, quickly-gathered episodes in the life of London, rather than of London itself.

The point to be made here is that there was a correlation between the methods used to interpret the city's spaces, and the methods used to interpret modernity. Both systems are comprised of individuals making their way through the shifting morphologies of the physical and cultural landscapes. London, in its role as city, causes the visitor to question their place within the urban matrix. As the Indian preacher P.C. Mozoomdar found of London when he came to deliver sermons in 1884,

The swirling, jumping, bellowing, whistling population of London streets - the crashing, roaring, rumbling traffic. If the vocations, resolutions, desires, disappointments, pursuits, joys, miseries, sins and virtues of these eddying, ill-dressed, well-dressed, greasy and scented masses of men and women could be recorded, how many Babels will that make? If the contents of these shops, cellars, garrets, godowns, houses, carts, vehicles, and newspapers were recorded, what a universe of created vanities will that make. It is bewildering to observe all this - I am but an atom in the infinite Man.¹¹²

Mozoomdar comprehends the urban system as a maelstrom of experiences and emotions, and its scale and pace render him insignificant against such movements. The city sweeps him along in its rush, and Mozoomdar is left to his own devices. Yet some time later, while journeying across America, Mozoomdar presents his views on modernity more generally: 'The whole land seems to be replete with a gigantic Titanic life. The industry is immense, the wealth is immense, the life is inexhaustible. In half a century more America

¹¹¹ The best example of this is by Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, pp. 58-86; see also Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 31.

¹¹² P.C. Mozoomdar, *Sketches of a Tour Round the World* (S.K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta, 1884), pp. 24-5.

will cast its shadow over the whole habitable globe.’¹¹³ The language is the same: there is a sense of being caught up in a phenomenon which inexorably sweeps all before it, and one is reduced to insignificance.

The implications of this relationship between the city and the individual are important for this study. In the first place, criticism of the city – and there is much criticism of London by travellers – is in fact a critique against the wider political and social economy of Britain. Those travellers most disagreeable to London are often hostile to new innovations more generally.¹¹⁴ Certainly there was much to fear from nineteenth-century urban living: poor sanitation, the perceived threat of crime or disease, and the generally confined nature of the housing and neighbourhoods. All of this clashed with a romantic image of a pre-industrial landscape in which the ties of community were thought to be stronger in a village setting. The city was the epitome of decay, not only of physical conditions, but of one’s moral and spiritual standing. The sanitation reformer Edwin Chadwick, in his 1842 *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* connected the physical conditions of the modern city with a moral degeneracy, finding that ‘the noxious physical causes the moral depravity and the predominance of bad passions which impede amendment.’¹¹⁵ Negative criticism by various travellers, especially prevalent among continental Europeans (which shall be discussed momentarily), thus had these images and thoughts as its foundation, and their subsequent caricaturing of the city must be seen not as purely anti-urban bias, but instead as a rejection of modern industry’s effects upon society.

The second important implication is that as the visitor accepts or rejects the city’s spaces (as exemplars of modernity), they are situating themselves with respect to

¹¹³ Mozoomdar, *Sketches of a Tour Round the World*, p. 59.

¹¹⁴ Perhaps, most notably, with the examples of William Drew and Mark Trafton, both American visitors to London in the early 1850s (see Chapter Two).

¹¹⁵ E. Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (W. Clowes, London, 1843), p. 121.

modernity itself. Eva-Marie Kröller has, for instance, expressed the belief that many Canadian visitors returned home with a profound sense of ‘disillusionment’ as the large, confusing streets of the capital fell short of romantic images of British history or literature.¹¹⁶ Much in London was too new; modern projects were erasing the traces of the bonds which linked Britain and Canada, while Canadian visitors perceived themselves to be marginalised both individually and collectively by Britain’s cooperation (or competition) with the United States.¹¹⁷ This allowed them to articulate a future based within uniquely Canadian conceptions of modernity, while still retaining the historical legacy of a British past.

Finally, the tour itself allowed visitors to articulate and explore identities otherwise marginalised within their home cultures: it offered opportunities to define gendered, social, and racial boundaries. London’s anonymity, and the ambivalent way in which foreign (especially imperial) visitors were integrated within British social circles (often not at all) permitted these travellers to push geographic and social limits which would have been unthinkable for domestic Britons. Put simply by the Australian writer Ada Holman in 1913, ‘[i]n London one may be remarkable without being remarked.’¹¹⁸ Regarding travelers from non-white regions, historians of South Asian and African visitors to London have shown similar ambivalence.¹¹⁹ While ostensibly circumscribed by racial hierarchies,

¹¹⁶ E.-M. Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851-1900* (University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1987), p. 111.

¹¹⁷ Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, p. 184; as one Canadian visitor, Emily Ferguson, noted in 1902, the British view of Canada was ‘a small community of fourth-rate, half-educated people, where local politics of the meanest kind engross the men, and petty gossip and household affairs the women...They look upon us as more akin to the Americans than the British.’ E. Ferguson, *The Impressions of Janey Canuck Abroad* ([n.p.], Toronto, 1902), p. 5.

¹¹⁸ A. Holman, *My Wander Year: Some Jottings in a Year’s Travel* (William Brooks, Sydney, 1913), p. 23.

¹¹⁹ For brief examples from around the Empire see S. Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, pp. 55-6; C. Morgan, ‘A Wigwam to Westminster: Performing Mohawk Identity in Imperial Britain, 1890s-1990s’, *Gender and History*, 15, 2 (2003), 320; N. Parsons, *King Khama, Emperor Joe, and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998), pp. 104-5; T. Parsons, ‘African Participation in the British Empire’, in P.D. Morgan and S. Hawkins (eds.), *Black Experience and the Empire* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006), p. 258; and D. Killingray, ‘A Good West Indian, a Good African, and, in Short, a Good Britisher’: Black and British in a Colour-Conscious Empire, 1760-1950’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 3, 36 (2008), 363-5.

in practise there appears to be the same freedom of movement granted to, say, Indian visitors as American and Canadian ones. As Saul Dubow has shown, Britishness was not a binary, racial characteristic: in South Africa, for instance, natives and Africans could easily buy into the 'British' ranks and assimilate themselves with few problems. One's self-identification as British was '...better seen as a field of cultural, political and symbolic attachments which includes the rights, claims and aspirations of subject-citizens as well as citizen-subjects,' or what Dubow describes as 'non-Britons' and 'neo-Britons'.¹²⁰ Such neo-Britons escape the traditional British-through-descent classification, becoming pro-British sympathisers through a desire to see the continued maintenance of the material and political systems that ensured their particular social stations.

Thus, the argument at the crux of this study is that tourists are as much urban actors responsible for understanding and creating the meanings of the city as are the city's spaces responsible for transmitting signs and codes, but, in contrast to the residential citizen, tourists attempt to seek out the spectacular. In this vein, the imagined city within the tourist narratives becomes as meaningful a representation as the physical system itself: it is equally defined by the activities and processes occurring within the urban system, and, like the erection of public buildings or monuments, is part of the language of the city.

Traditions and Legacies

While conceptions of modernity form the dominant theme in this work, this should not be read as the failure of historical traditions and customs to adapt and flourish over the course of the century. Indeed, historic traditions often play a vital role in defining one's individual and national identity, and where this occurs, the voyage to London serves as a method of reinforcing such beliefs. As William Stowe observed, the presence of such customs created what he called 'culturally determined patterns of actions and

¹²⁰ S. Dubow, 'How British was the British World? The Case of South Africa', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37, 1 (2009), 3.

interpretations',¹²¹ which imbued the tour with the overtones of a secular pilgrimage.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the narratives written by white, imperial, settler-colonists from Canada and Australia. As the Scottish-Canadian traveller Robert Shields found when he travelled to Britain in 1900, he

had hardly spent twenty-four hours in England before I made a journey to Windsor Castle. Why should a loyal and patriotic Canadian not do so? Nowhere in Her Majesty's broad domains is there a people more loyal to the British Throne than in Canada...[yet] it was not the personal interest alone which moved me to make my first visit on English soil to Windsor Castle and Her Majesty Queen Victoria. This visit to Windsor Castle may therefore well serve as the starting point of my pilgrimage to other places famed in history and literature....¹²²

Importantly, Shields' identification of a patriotic Canadian as one who cherishes the connection to Britain, the monarchy, and Britain's historic and cultural achievements foregrounds the British-Canadian tradition as the most significant aspect of his visit.

While Shields focuses later upon modernity and its forms, there is always an awareness of the value of this connection to legitimise and explain contemporary Canadian development – a return to the theme of 'Greater Britain', proposed by Sir Charles Dilke in 1868. From a larger perspective, however, much has been made of the idea of an overarching 'Anglo-Saxon' tradition, which is used to explain the rise and success of not only Britain and its empire, but often included the United States as well. Such a tradition is understood as emerging from the thousand-year legacy of Britain's history, coupled with the century or so of American constitutional and commercial progress.¹²³ This Anglo-Saxon tradition, perceived as the birthright to every white, English-speaking individual, was often viewed as one of the epitomes of civilisation. As Arthur Balfour put it during a speech in Manchester in 1896: 'We have a domestic patriotism as Scotchmen or as Englishmen or as

¹²¹ Stowe, *Going Abroad*, p. 16.

¹²² R. Shields, *My Travels: Visits to Lands Far and Near, European, British, American and Canadian* (W. Briggs, Toronto, 1906), pp. 12, 15. Also note, for instance, the decision to use Gothic architecture for the Canadian Parliament building in Ottawa, establishing clear continuity with Westminster.

¹²³ A. Zwerdling, *Improvised Europeans: American Literary Expatriates and the Siege of London* (Basic Books, New York, 1998), pp. 24-6; D. Cole, 'The Problem of 'Nationalism' and 'Imperialism' in British Settlement Colonies', *Journal of British Studies*, 10, 2 (1971), 177-8; Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, pp. 17, 288-9.

Irishmen, or what you will. We have an imperial patriotism as citizens of the British Empire. But surely, in addition to that, we have also an Anglo-Saxon patriotism....¹²⁴ The role of traditional ties, then, created a usable past as a method of explaining and legitimising a modern present.¹²⁵

Yet in reading through the narratives there is also a sense of loss, coupled with a decision to, if not recapture, then to hold on to as many traditions as possible given their perceived erosion under the pressures of the urban environment. In his introduction to *The Invention of Tradition* (2000), Eric Hobsbawm describes this as a general failing of modernity. Tradition, he notes, was instrumental in maintaining communal ties and in providing a sense of identity. As the industrial landscape took shape, and severed the old bonds between individual and village, and individual and community, new traditions were invented which emphasised new bonds (individual and employer, for instance), but which ultimately never offered the same level of comfort. For Hobsbawm and many nineteenth-century travellers, the ideology of modernity – that urbanisation and labour commodification are fundamental to social and national progress – failed not because such ideas are negative in and of themselves, but rather because it severed longstanding and important identifiers without replacing them with anything substantial.¹²⁶ The result was a determination to maintain existing custom even at the expense of rejecting the significant gains in efficiency, mobility, and consumption brought by industrialisation. We find an example of this in the writing of poet Emily Constance Cook during her 1902 visit.

¹²⁴ Quote from C.S. Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement: the United States and Great Britain, 1783-1900* (Wiley, New York, 1974), p. 204.

¹²⁵ Billie Melman, in *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past 1800-1953* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006), has recently explained a similar phenomenon occurring in Britain as the ‘manufacture’ of the past ‘used by individuals, collectives, and institutions in relation to, and to make sense of, change in the modern urban environment and experience’ (p. 123). Duncan Bell has further argued that this appeal to shared Anglo-Saxon characteristics supplied ‘an anchor of permanence and constitutional fidelity’ across the Anglosphere. See D. Bell, ‘The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution, and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860-1900’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34, 1 (2006), 3.

¹²⁶ E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1-14.

Imagining herself in a time machine, Cook contrasted London of the present with London of the past:

First, in a few rapid revolutions of the wheel, would disappear the hideous criss-cross of electric wires overhead, the ugly tangle of suburban tram-lines, and the greater part of the hideous modern growth of suburbs...Another whirl of the machine, and every sign of a railway station would disappear, every repulsive engine shed and siding vanish...With yet a few more revolutions, the metropolis will shrink into inconceivably small dimensions, and the atmosphere of the city, losing its peculiar blue-grey mist, will gradually brighten and clear – a radiance, unknown to us children of a later day.¹²⁷

The comparison between the ‘radiance’ of the previous age with the grimy and dark atmosphere of modern London is telling: the city has, despite its ability to bring citizens into close proximity with one another, replaced community with disparate suburbs and fractured civic spaces with alienating railway lines.¹²⁸

It is only a short leap from such conceptions of historical tradition to a rejection of modernity entirely. London, despite its iconography of industrialism and consumption, appeared as a portent of social and cultural decline. This is a viewpoint which does not so much favour the role of tradition as it emphasises the destructiveness of industrialisation upon humanity, perhaps better termed here ‘anti-modernism’. Anti-modernism and anti-urbanism were especially prevalent among the narratives of cross-Channel visitors in the early and middle parts of the nineteenth century. French, German, Russian, and other travellers felt that London threatened an apocalyptic age of darkened slums and regimented relationships. Exaggerated though this conclusion was, it was nevertheless based upon the solid empirical evidence of Chadwick and Engels, and ‘confirmed’ throughout the 1840s and 1850s by visitors such as Flora Tristan and Fredericka Bremer.

¹²⁷ E.C. Cook, *Highways and Byways in London* (Macmillan, London, 1902), pp. 20-1.

¹²⁸ See G. Massard-Guilbaud, ‘The Genesis of an Urban Identity: The Quartier de la Gare in Clermont-Ferrand, 1850-1900’, *Journal of Urban History*, 25 (1999), 779-808 for a discussion of how the railway segregates and marginalises the communal landscape in an urban setting. Richard Sennett, in his excellent study *The Fall of Public Man* (Faber & Faber, London, 1993), considered that this segregation only ‘reinforced the importance accorded to the locality’, altering the relationships between citizen and city into dual-point structures (i.e., home and work), (p. 136).

The conflation of modernity with the poverty and disease of urban systems prompted quick denunciations of the British political economy and its treatment of everyday citizens:

Unless you have visited the manufacturing towns and seen the workers of Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Sheffield, Staffordshire etc., you cannot appreciate the physical suffering and moral degradation of this class of the population...there is no bond between the English worker and his master. If the employer has no work to offer, the worker dies of hunger; if he falls ill, he dies on his wretched straw pallet...if he is old, or crippled in an accident, he is dismissed and has to resort to begging, but then he has to be careful not to be arrested for vagrancy....¹²⁹

Andrew Lees, having done much work on this subject, nuances this rejection with the argument that while France and Germany experienced similar disruptions during their ascent to industrial power, the desire to maintain cultural and historical traditions permeated even the worst excesses.¹³⁰ Indeed, to use Paris as a counterpoint to London, nineteenth-century Parisian urban modernity was predominantly conceptualised in cultural terms.¹³¹ As Peter Hall argued, the improvements in Second Empire Paris ‘adhered to an absolutist, centralist tradition that went back to Louis XIV’ and which physically confirmed the primacy of the bourgeoisie by placing them and their traditional cultural requirements – cafes, galleries, and boulevards – close to the centre of power.¹³² London, diffused across suburbs and lacking in imperial grandeur, appeared instead to have divested itself of any corresponding versions of cultural iconography.

The role of traditionalism, or anti-modernity, is therefore significant in explaining why some visitors reacted ambivalently or negatively to Victorian London. Importantly, the urban environment is often responsible for shaping these reactions, and equally importantly, it is London that elicits such emotions as opposed to, for instance, Toronto for

¹²⁹ F. Tristan, *The London Journal of Flora Tristan*, trans. J. Hawkes (reprint, Virago, London, 1982), pp. 68, 70.

¹³⁰ Lees, *Cities Perceived*, p. 201; A. Lees, ‘Critics of Urban Society in Germany, 1815-1914’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40, 1 (1979), 62.

¹³¹ P.G. Nord, *Paris Shopkeepers and the Politics of Resentment* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986), pp. 132-7; P. Hall, *Cities in Civilization: Culture, Innovation, and the Urban Order* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1998), pp. 210-18, 705-21..

¹³² Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, p. 705; and see J.A. Winders, *European Culture since 1848: From Modern to Postmodern and Beyond* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 49-55 for a similar argument.

Canadians, or New York for Americans. Foreign travel has, in these cases, drawn the ambiguities of modernism into focus. This ties together the literature on travel with that of urban centres: while visitors arrive from their home cultures with specific images and ideas in mind, their experiences in the city, and the nature of London and its development solidifies these impressions into the definitive pictures of urban life which are depicted throughout the tourist narratives. More generally, by imagining themselves to be a (temporary) resident of London, the traveller in fact critiqued their own cultural progression, viewing it not from within, but as a citizen of the metropolis looking out. Indeed, this perspective serves as the foundation upon which this work proceeds, and which explains the following structural division.

In the first chapter, this work shall focus on the perception of London by travellers from around the empire, with an emphasis on Canadians, Australians, and Indians, who together comprised the majority of inter-imperial traffic to the metropolis. This section examines the value of British modernity in shaping the futures of these colonies. White settlers eventually reject further influence from London, choosing instead to define their approaches to their unique circumstances through the ideals of British historical precedent. Indian nationals, however, firmly view British technological and social modernity as the key to modernising India in a similar fashion. The value of modern London to the imperial subject is as evidence which informs underlying questions of future political, economic, and social progress in the colonies.

These themes are also found in American narratives, which form the basis of the second chapter. The United States occupies an indistinct position with respect to nineteenth-century Britain: the two are closely linked by cultural ties, yet often come to rivalry or quarrel. The visit to London in the post-Civil War decades becomes politicised into a reflection of Americanness. As the United States colonises its own frontier, and

emerges onto a global stage, the example set by Britain forms a useful template to further development, but causes American travellers to reject British modernity in favour of American 'goaheadativeness'.¹³³ Victorian London thus functioned as a mirror for Americans to reflect upon their own progress and future direction, which would similarly shape questions of a political and social nature in the post-1865 years.

The value of travel to London by the British themselves, however, is radically different from the types above, and is the subject of the third chapter. Here, London more visibly forms a synecdoche for the changes affecting Victorian society. Modernity, in the form of increased opportunities for travel and leisure, is praised as befitting a rational and confident society, but some commentators argued that London demonstrated that society was too industrialised, that old traditions and institutions were being eliminated. Given the rates of industrialisation and urbanisation which had already made their mark across Victorian Britain for quite some time, the concentration of consumption, leisure, transportation, and knowledge in London highlighted the changes in urban living which now characterised other large cities such as Manchester or Birmingham. The dialogue between modernity and traditionalism is, in some respects, at its strongest in this section, as the urban changes cause many to nostalgically lament the loss of the romantic, pre-industrial landscape.

Finally, the fourth chapter examines continental visitation to the British capital. Visitors from the Continent, where industrialisation occurred in a more leisurely and piecemeal fashion, predominantly view London in negative ways. The capital serves as a fascinating example of the British political economy, which is contrasted sharply with French or German urban life. These tourists conceive of London as a warning on the dangers of unchecked individualism. Yet their views are also suggestive of a

¹³³ This term is found throughout many of the American narratives, and is used as a catch-all to describe (what was seen as) uniquely American inventiveness and assertiveness in the face of obstacles.

differentiation of modernities: technological, cultural, social, and political. The contrasts between London and Paris (or Berlin, Vienna, or Rome) thus reveal the ideals to which continental cities aspired, and highlight London's failings (or successes) in this regard. Continental travellers thus valued modernity in London as a reinforcement of their own particular civic systems.

The division of this work into these sections thus reveals the importance of the home culture in establishing the preconceptions under which the travellers labour. For the majority of our visitors, they arrive with a common, almost nationally-based outlook, shaped and determined not only by their exposure to British imagery and literature, but which has been mediated by the larger pressures and relationships between competing countries or whole world-systems. As shall be seen in the following chapters, the result is that London alters or challenges these conceptions once the reality of the city meets the imagination of the traveller. In producing the meanings of the city, both the travellers and London are together constructing the future out of the present and the past.

Conclusion

Victorian London is thus a major focus for a debate which connected – and concerned – large segments of the nineteenth-century world, a global phenomenon unlike anything which had occurred before. The changes wrought by industrialism, capitalism, the limitation of monarchical prerogative, increased opportunities for travel or emigration, and other alterations, signalled a decisive shift in the pattern of life, in the types of activities in which an individual could engage, and the manner in which they could engage them. As Richard Dennis noted, there had been many 'modern' cities and periods before nineteenth-century London, but it was London's unprecedented development between 1800 and 1900 which delivered the true 'shock of the new' popularly associated with

conceptions of modernity.¹³⁴ International and domestic visitors to London understood that they were witnessing the introduction of a new industrial era, a ‘reign of steam’, according to one traveller.¹³⁵ The changes occurring in London were encouraging other metropolitan centres to adopt similar, and even superior, technologies and arrangements: Glasgow and Paris introduced their own underground railways in 1896 and 1900, respectively.

Yet ultimately the foundation for the entire phenomenon of travel to London must be the search for meaning – whether historical or modern – throughout the nineteenth century. Underneath the excursions to the Great Exhibition, or transatlantic voyages from North America, or once-in-a-lifetime journeys from further afield, the traveller is at the centre of a process which seeks to answer the question of what it means to be British, or imperial, or American, or modern, or some further variant. The role of the destination, which aids in the production of this meaning through its very otherness, is important to not only grounding any preconceived ideas about the ‘other’, but also for reflecting notions about one’s self and one’s culture. The visit to London, a popular and wide-ranging drawer of crowds, is the most visible example of this process, encapsulating all of the major themes of travel: tradition versus modernity, individual and national identity, technology, consumption, and leisure. At times characterised variously as a pilgrimage, a fact-finding mission, or as the fulfilment of youthful dreams, the trip to London was less a geographical exercise than an individual journey of discovery through quickly-changing social and cultural contexts.

¹³⁴ Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, p. 1.

¹³⁵ M. O’Rell, *John Bull and his Island* (Simpkin, Marshall & Co., London, 1884), p. 26.

Chapter One

‘The Bonds of Empire and Imperial Fraternity’: The Colonial Experience of London

Introduction

While visiting London in 1959, the Bengali writer Nirad Chaudhuri was both impressed and bewildered at the city’s size. Either walking or travelling by car, the streets appeared to go on forever. The bustling crowds and busy thoroughfares made it all but impossible to come to grips with the city geographically, and the post-war reconstruction efforts obscured much of its historic flavour. Penning his thoughts afterwards, Chaudhuri summarised his experience:

London is big and complex, and most visitors get lost in it, not only physically but also intellectually. Even the Londoner does, for he very often speaks only of particular features of London, and shrinks from summing it all up...one has to live in London to sense its personality; a man might spend a lifetime in it making daily discoveries, and yet his discoveries would not end; so you have to accept London in parts.¹

Chaudhuri’s appeal that it was possible to understand London only in pieces revealed a city that had expanded beyond the bounds of human experience. His urban narrative could only rest upon a few fleeting examples of city life before struggling to condense the remainder into manageable portions of understanding. Within this constraint, Chaudhuri’s experience of London centred on considerations of its historical past,² and its constant struggles with modernity. He saw this ceaseless clash between the forces of modernity and anti-modernity occurring not only throughout the city of the 1950s, but of London throughout all of its history:

London must be regarded as the base of a new mode of human existence, and that is what it has been in the last hundred years or so, and is today. It is a town which has broken out of the old classification of human habitations as rural and urban. It is no longer a historic city, although it has a long history. London is neither

¹ N.C. Chaudhuri, *A Passage to England* (Hogarth Press, London, 1959), p. 56.

² B. Mukhopahdyaya, ‘Writing Home, Writing Travel: The Poetics and Politics of Dwelling in Bengali Modernity’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44, 2 (2002), 293. Mukhopahdyaya states that Bengali travellers to London often experienced *déjà vu*, as the city was familiar through the wide availability of books and historical texts. Thus, he claims that Indian visitors to London wished to see the historical London of which they had read so much about, an about-face from nineteenth-century attitudes.

Westminster Abbey, nor the Tower, nor Lincoln's Inn Fields, nor St. Bartholomew-the-Great, not St. Paul's, nor Chelsea, nor even nineteenth-century Whitehall. Also, it is not of the Roman times, nor of the Middle Ages, nor of the Renaissance, nor of the Augustan Age, although it has monuments from every epoch. In spite of being overwhelmingly Victorian in appearance, it does not belong to the Victorian age as Paris belongs in some measure to the age of Baron Haussmann. It has absorbed all its past, near and distant, in its present.³

Yet Chaudhuri's mid-twentieth-century characterisation of London as a city devouring its own history in the name of progress would not be out of place if it were written a hundred years earlier. As we shall see, imperial visitors throughout the nineteenth century often positioned London to one side or another of this particular debate.

In fact, this debate was itself part of a phenomenon occurring throughout the empire. Questions of imperial and national identity functioned not only as important responses in a world where time and space between populations was collapsing, but by their very existence indicates the presence of this global process at work. Outshining any of the imperial capitals, London naturally magnified and focused the dialogue between modern and anti-modern attitudes. The imperial capital was, in the words of one historian, 'the fount of all standards, power, justice, art, taste, culture and career advancement, as well as the seat of imperial government.'⁴ For visiting imperial tourists, travel to the capital reflected not only a search for an imperial or national identity, but also a quest to understand their place – and their future – in a rapidly-shifting world of technological and social progress.

Indeed, the interplay between past and present is highly visible; these travellers framed their national rhetoric in terms relatable to British structures of society and power, and in so doing, fashioned for themselves a 'jumping-off' point from these lessons.

Britain's history, *Chambers's Journal* wrote in 1889, 'was at once the parent and the

³ Chaudhuri, *Passage to England*, pp. 62-3.

⁴ S. Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880-1930* (Frank Cass, London, 2000), p. 35.

schoolmaster of the present,⁵ benevolently instructive and implicitly moralising. From an intellectual perspective, the settler dominions were joined to Britain neither for economic necessity nor territorial aggrandisement, but positioned as logical conclusions to this historical continuity. ‘Our Empire is not an Empire at all’, the Oxford historian J.R. Seeley lectured in 1883, ‘[i]t does not consist of a congeries of nations held together by force, but in the main of one nation, as much as if it were no Empire but an ordinary state.’⁶ Travel to London on the part of the colonial subject was, in short, about using the didactic properties of the past to construct a better tomorrow.

This perspective complements many current viewpoints including hierarchies of power, race relations, colonial-metropolitan boundaries and imperial identities. As a whole, colonial tourism has ultimately sought to identify and explain the British Empire from the ‘ground up’.⁷ In doing so, these histories have crafted a new vision of the empire, one in which the informal connections of influence – literature, news, and cultural imagery – are grafted alongside the more traditional elements of economic and political power. Indeed, the experiences of those individuals at the peripheries of British rule were indicative of a series of formal and informal contacts that more realistically defined what the British Empire was and how far it could reach. Within the stories of the myriad few

⁵ Anon., ‘Conflicting Views of History’, *Chambers’s Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art*, 6, 271 (1889), 145.

⁶ J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (reprint, Boston: Roberts Bros., 1883), p. 51.

⁷ See for example C. Morgan, *Happy Holiday: English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2008) and E.-M. Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851-1900* (University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1987) for a discussion on Canadian tourism. The Indian experience is superbly accounted for by the trio of A. Burton in *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998), R. Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700-1947* (Pluto, London, 1986), and A.M. Wainwright’s ‘The Better Class of Indian’: *Social Rank, Imperial Identity and South Asians in Britain, 1858-1914* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008), among others. Finally, the role of Australian tourism in encouraging or sustaining Australian notions of nationhood and identity has been detailed in A. Woollacott’s *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001) and also in A. Hassam’s investigation on Australian reactions to British modernity *Through Australian Eyes: Colonial Perceptions of Imperial Britain* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2000).

who found their way to London, that ‘Mecca for the pilgrims of pleasure,’⁸ we find laid out the relative strengths of such informal contacts throughout the colonies. Moreover, these influences are powerful enough to affect the understanding that a visitor takes away from their London experience: visitors’ own experience of life in the colonies plays a role in constructing their subjective view of London. Their perception of British progress, and their own role within it, imbues London with certain instructive and cosmopolitan qualities. London’s examples of cultural, historical, technological or social institutions act as a synecdoche for the wider imperial debate on nineteenth-century progress.

Westminster Abbey, Parliament, the underground, and even the Metropolitan Police are all inserted into the visitor’s understanding of London as modern capital or historical temple.

In general, historians of colonial tourism to London have tended to emphasise the role of the visit as a search for either individual or collective identity: imperial visitors are described as characteristically anxious travellers, unsure of their place within the British metropole.⁹ Throughout these works, the focus on ‘imperial identity’ is omnipresent: the voyage to Britain is recounted as a transit through imperial spaces; the individual in London’s public sphere is not sightseeing, he or she is engaged in exploring the boundaries of an imperial exchange; and, crucially, all of this exposure to the globalising forces of the British Empire serves to grant the traveller a sense of identity within the colonial network.¹⁰ It is difficult indeed to find an aspect of travel to London in this period which does not acquire an imperial subtext in some fashion. Moreover, such a subtext is often linked with a broad modernising influence – to be ‘British’ is to have gas (or electric) lighting, clean streets, large cities, railways, and the social and physical infrastructure that produced such works. Mrs. Ireland, a Canadian teacher from Manitoba, visiting at the end

⁸ R.B. Nadkarni, *Journal of a Visit to Europe in 1896* (D.B. Taraporevala & Sons, Bombay, 1903), p. 24.

⁹ Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes: Colonial*, p. 43 and A. Woollacott, ‘The Colonial Flaneuse: Australian Women Negotiating Turn-of-the-century London,’ *Signs*, 25, 3 (2000), 771.

¹⁰ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*, pp. 147-9; and Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, pp. 9-10.

of our period provided an example of this link between Britain, the empire, and its modernity:

It was a great privilege for them to be in the centre of the Empire... Their country was big, Nature had been kind to it, but when they came here and saw the wonders that man had made, the engineering, the architecture - and the underground railways - they felt inclined to worship England.¹¹

It is on this point that this work builds upon established arguments. As we shall see below, equating British industrial capitalism with a progressive modernity – and the enactment of this industrial modernity across the empire led many to question their identity within rapidly changing societies. It was not enough to be ‘imperial’ or ‘Indian’ or even ‘British’ – these names alone did not explain how to react to the expansive reach of modern technological, social, and political forms; rather, it is through gaining an understanding of what it means to be modern that prompts many of the reactions we see occurring in this chapter. Rather than discarding traditions and customs, imperial visitors preferred to characterise modernity as an evolution – a state of transition from a British past into a Canadian, Australian, or Indian future.¹² As Fred Ney noted in the introduction to his 1910 travel account, the purpose of the teachers’ visit was, after all ‘[t]o give an insight into the Educational System of Great Britain...To strengthen the Bonds of Empire and Imperial Fraternity...To bring the people of Manitoba into closer touch and communion with the Motherland through the medium of the greatest factor of Empire - the Schoolroom.’¹³ Moreover the experience of the imperial visitor displayed a remarkable consensus that London, above all, was the place in which these various reckonings would take place. London thus begins this work as an entity with many faces. As Chaudhuri discovered on his 1959 visit, “I learned that beyond the London of history, and of my

¹¹ Quote reprinted in F. Ney (ed.), *Britishers in Britain: Being the Record of the Official Visit of Teachers from Manitoba to the Old Country, Summer 1910* (The Times Book Club, London, 1911), p. 71.

¹² ‘Canadian’ as used in this chapter refers almost exclusively to English-speaking Canadians, except where otherwise noted.

¹³ Ney, *Britishers in Britain*, p. 4.

previous knowledge, there was another London, of whose immensity and mass, gravitation and power, I was totally unaware.’¹⁴ This is reminiscent of a line from Australian novelist Louisa Mack’s book *An Australian Girl in London* (1902), in which the protagonist, Sylvia Leighton, reflects on the city since her arrival:

There's the London of shops and carriages, the bright pink London, the very most up-to-date London, Head Office of the Manufacture of Modernity. There's the London of Poets, a grey, mysterious, haunted London, full of souls and spirits, and dead people with long hair; the London that holds fame in its hands and tosses it out sometimes in the strangest places...There's the great big London, all buildings, and streets, and traffic, and suicides, and horrible tragedies. This is the London it doesn't do to think about too much. There's another London, but I haven't found it yet. It's the London I thought I was coming to.¹⁵

‘A World-Venice’: Networks, Empire and the Metropolis

How was London perceived throughout the empire? How were these distant images constructed? The presence of imperial networks in the late nineteenth century – and of the tourist’s position within them – provides the answers. Historians have sought to explain the similarities of experience and perception across the empire, factors which defy the somewhat isolationist approach of the traditional core-periphery models. Instead, the efforts of Simon Potter, Andrew Thompson, Tony Ballantyne and Saul Dubow have imbued the empire with a greater flexibility and fluidity, linked not only by ‘colonial-metropolitan circuits’¹⁶ (although these were still present), but rather by ‘points of contact.’¹⁷ Mapped alongside traditional military-political-economic considerations, these networks paralleled and shadowed the formal organisation of the empire: as Martin Lynn noted, ‘The naval officer in the Atlantic, the missionary in Africa, and the trader in China

¹⁴ Chaudhuri, *Passage to England*, p. 61.

¹⁵ L. Mack, *An Australian Girl in London* (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1902), pp. 130-1.

¹⁶ A. Lester, ‘Historical Geographies of British Colonization: New South Wales, New Zealand and the Cape in the Early Nineteenth Century’, in S.J. Potter (ed.), *Imperial Communications: Australia, Britain, and the British Empire, c.1830-50* (King’s College Australia Centre, London, 2005), p. 96.

¹⁷ J. Griffiths, ‘Were there Municipal Networks in the British World, c 1890-1939?’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37, 4 (2009), 576; and S. Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility and White South Africa, 1820-2000* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006), p. 16.

were as much agents of potential British influence as the colonial administrator in India.’¹⁸ The result, as characterised by Potter, gave the empire a web of ‘patterns of informal, integrative, competing, and constantly shifting interconnection.’¹⁹ At the head of the imperial family, London’s position was to mediate and contextualise such fluctuations firmly under the aegis of metropolitan oversight, as with the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in South Kensington.²⁰ A sense of the intra-imperial and metropolitan links is given by Goldwin Smith, who in 1888 found that ‘we are fast making one mind and one heart for the world.’²¹

In some ways, Smith may be the archetypal individual of the networked, modern empire. He was born in 1823, the son of Richard Pritchard Smith who would himself later become a railway promoter. Smith’s early life took him to Oxford and London, where he initially trained for the law before settling on a tentative career as an historian. While Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford between 1858 and 1866, Smith became disenchanted with the Tractarian movement, and was sufficiently sympathetic towards the Unionists among the American Civil War to renounce the chair, living for a time in New York, before ultimately shifting once more to Toronto where he eventually died in 1910. Throughout his North American ‘exile’, Smith returned several times to England, and became fascinated with the concept of Anglo-Saxon racial, though not political, unification.²² The concept underpinning such a belief was Smith’s idea that British history

¹⁸ M. Lynn, ‘British Policy, Trade, and Informal Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, in A. Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999), p. 101.

¹⁹ S.J. Potter, ‘Webs, Networks, and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Empire’, *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), 622.

²⁰ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, pp. 163-5; and P.H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001), p. 130.

²¹ G. Smith, *A Trip to England* (Macmillan, New York, 1892), p. 6.

²² R. Cook, ‘Smith, Goldwin’, *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, vol. XIII. Source: http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=7075 [Accessed 14 Jan. 2011].

stood as the hallmark of Anglo-Saxon heritage, and that it provided the necessary continuity for racial identification. As he claimed during his last voyage to England,

As an old country, England perhaps is naturally regarded first from the historical point of view, and especially by us of whose history she is the scene, whose monuments and the graves of whose ancestors she holds. It is an advantage which Canadians have over Americans that they have not broken with their history and cast of the influences, at one exalting and sober, which the record of a long and grand foretime exerts upon the mind of a community.²³

Yet while Smith's dream of a pan-global Anglo-Saxon unity never came to pass, of importance here was his ease of mobility through multiple, and often competing, networks of influence and identity, both on a national and global stage. Goldwin Smith was undoubtedly a product of the British metropole, yet his support for American Unionists and later relocation to North America reveal the presence, and the subsequent impact, of competing linkages to other world-systems and places, which, for him, ultimately centred on London.

For our tourists, the process was much the same. William Carter, an Australian municipal councillor in the province of Victoria, travelled in 1852 to England via Cape Horn and Rio de Janeiro. Carter's handwritten diary of life aboard ship makes little mention of the outside world during the four-month journey, but several incidents do illustrate the presence of national and imperial systems infringing upon local identities. Leaving Melbourne, their ship sailed in company with an American schooner for several hours. Even in the great expanse of the Pacific Ocean, he anchored himself to the metropole, writing that 'we are now more than 13 hours before Greenwich time.'²⁴ After weeks of travel, they round the Horn to sail up the east coast of South America. At Bahia, in Brazil, they are greeted by an Irish customs agent who informs them of the news from

²³ Smith, *A Trip to England*, p. 6.

²⁴ State Library of Victoria, MS 12390 (W. Carter, *Diary of a Voyage from Melbourne to London*, 1852-56), pp. 5, 12. Compare this with W. Fox's 1882 journey, in which he notes that the ship is 'about 20 hours behind Melbourne time', State Library of Victoria, MS 8985 (*Diary of William R. Fox*, 2 July 1882), p. 6.

the metropolis: ‘Napoleon Emperor, his Marriage the latest we heard from England.’²⁵

The harbour town is itself rendered as a confusion milieu of clashing cultures and styles; there were

lots of shops of every description, but such a small stock in them, the drapers consist of English, and French goods mostly, no Windows, all open to the Street, Shoemakers, Tailors, Saddlers, and Pastry Cooks, who mostly sell all sorts of Cooling drinks, which they make very delicious, Coffee shops and Cigar makers out of number.²⁶

The presence of indigenous natives only served to reinforce Carter’s belief in his own implicit superiority; an awareness of his location within a greater hierarchy defined by racial and imperial markers. On the Portuguese-speaking natives, he wrote ‘all we could get out of them was “No Spak da Anglese”...it seemed they had all just learned this much and no more.’²⁷ Carter’s words also reveal that despite the presence of many different points of formal and informal contact, the networks between them remained defined by a hierarchy of imperial order – here, Carter is positioned as racially and ethnically superior to the Brazilian natives. As shall be seen shortly, this had important implications on a larger scale, especially in the cases of national self-determination. As these tourists were, by and large, drawn from the professional and commercial classes who shaped and informed their colonies’ public debates, it is no surprise that local and national concerns, including ethnic and racial hierarchies, are visible.²⁸ Yet as both the Smith and Carter examples illustrate, imperial identities fixed to London transcended even these various networks and points. As Simon Potter elaborated, Australian settlers articulated an ‘*active independent* British subject-hood through rhetoric surrounding their participation within particular institutions...a descendent of similar British traditions.[My italics]’²⁹ The symbolism of London within such a context signalled an imperial home, and the centre of

²⁵ Carter, *Diary of William Carter*, 9 March 1853, p. 36.

²⁶ Carter, *Diary of William Carter*, 11 March 1853, p. 38.

²⁷ Carter, *Diary of William Carter*, 11 March 1853, p. 38.

²⁸ Potter, *Imperial Communications*, p. 8.

²⁹ Potter, *Imperial Commuications*, pp. 8, 12.

the network, but also a fount of cultural and social memory which would shape future progress.

Indeed, colonial travel to the imperial capital, especially on the part of Canadian and Australian visitors, quickly acquired the overtones of a homecoming. Conyngham Taylor found the family metaphor an apt one: 'As children separated from the parental home anticipate with joy a reunion, so are England's sons, the world over, looking forward to the grand family gathering of 1886.'³⁰ The metaphor was still in use a quarter of a century later, as Manitoba principal Fred Ney commented during the trip from Liverpool to London, 'We realised that we were speeding toward the Great Metropolis, and that we were really in the country called England, the Homeland of us all and for which we had travelled so many miles to see.'³¹ London, in its role as political and cultural head of the empire, was conceived, constructed, and represented as a benevolent force – indeed, as a kind parent – upon the affairs of the colonies. The connection was strong enough for J.R. Seeley to call the empire 'a world-Venice with the sea for the streets.'³² This painting of Britain as home – a self-granted hybrid identification – was not confined to informal travelogues, but circulated within official imperial correspondence. Indeed, the sense of maintaining a hybrid identity is nicely illustrated in a letter written by Canadian governor-general Lord Dufferin, to Alfred, Lord Tennyson, in 1873:

Since arriving here I have had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the intimate convictions of the Canadians upon this subject, and with scarcely an individual exception, I find they cling with fanatical tenacity to their birthright as Englishmen, and to their hereditary association in the past and future glories of the mother country. Though for two or three generations his family may have been established in this country, and he himself has never crossed the Atlantic, a Canadian seldom fails to allude to England as 'Home.' They take the liveliest interest in her welfare, and entertain the strongest personal feeling of affection for their sovereign....³³

³⁰ C.C. Taylor, *Toronto 'Called Back' from 1886 to 1850* (W. Briggs, Toronto, 1886), p. 341.

³¹ Ney, *Britishers in Britain*, p. 59.

³² Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, p. 301.

³³ *Letter from Lord Dufferin to Alfred, Lord Tennyson*, 25 February 1873, in R.G. Moyles and D. O'ram, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1988), p. 12.

Similar sentiments were espoused by Australian colonists. The poem ‘Australian Emigrant’ by Henry Kendall captures the place of Britain in the colonist’s mind:

‘Tis true that emotions of temper’d regret,
Still live for the country we’ll never forget;
But yet we are happy, since learning to love
The scenes that surround us – the skies are above,
We find ourselves bound, as it were by a spell,
In the clime we’ve adopted contented to dwell.³⁴

London, as the capital of both the ancestral home of Britain and of the empire itself, thus occupied a central position in the colonial imagination. Yet this position, moreover, while informing the debate on national and imperial identities,³⁵ was in many respects a response to the encroaching pressures facing colonial and imperial development.

The late nineteenth-century British Empire owes its renewed closeness to two major trends occurring broadly between 1870 and 1900, one endogenous, and the other exogenous. In the former instance, the Second Industrial Revolution spurred the development of truly world-spanning technologies. The safety and luxury of the new steamships and railways, and the girding of empire with telegraph cables and their related information networks brought the imperial family into closer contact than ever before.³⁶

The Canadian traveller Canniff Haight, journeying in 1895, understood that

An ocean voyage has ceased to be a novelty even to a Canadian. We can remember, though, when a trip across the Atlantic was of very rare occurrence; when such an event in one's life would have given an almost enviable notoriety to the returned voyageur, and would have afforded talk for many a day to all the country round. Things that were rare and noteworthy forty years ago, have, through the rapid advance of art and science, become commonplace in these later days, and so it has come to pass that a run across the ocean is of no more account, and indeed even less, than a trip used to be, in my recollection, from Kingston to Toronto.³⁷

³⁴ ‘The Australian Emigrant’, Henry Kendall; reprinted in K.S. Inglis, *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History, 1788-1870* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1974), p. 29.

³⁵ Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, p. 181.

³⁶ By 1882, Britain, France, and Germany combined have 28,000 telegraph offices sending an estimated seventy-seven million cables. R. Kubicek, ‘British Expansion, Empire, and Technological Change’, in *Oxford History of the British Empire*, iii, p. 251.

³⁷ C. Haight, *Here and There in the Home Land: England, Scotland and Ireland as seen by a Canadian* (William Briggs, Toronto, 1895), p. 19.

Both Angela Woollacott and Cecilia Morgan have interpreted the diffusion of these technologies as evidence of the growing modernity of not only the empire itself, but also of the travel experience to Britain.³⁸ Those same implements which facilitated control of the empire from the metropolis enabled colonials to impart their own sense of place within the imperial hierarchy onto other imperial regions and networks.³⁹ In particular, Woollacott's assertion that 'within an empire in which imperial control was justified partly through the possession and distribution of industrial technology, they [Australian women] lay claim to the status of colonizers despite their colonialness',⁴⁰ may be expanded to include Canadians as well. Preparing for the 1886 Indian and Colonial Exhibition, Conyngham Crawford Taylor captured both this sense of family and the tools which made it possible:

The representation of the great Dominion of Canada, the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown, is already assured in a manner worthy of her greatness...Who can predict the result of this union of the great British family, brought together in this way for the first time? The Hindoo of India will shake hands with his brother, the red man of the Canadian forest...Then will soon arrive the time when those vast regions, traversed by the iron road, will be peopled by untold millions of happy and contented settlers, all true in their allegiance to the great Empire of which Canadians are now amongst the most loyal subjects.⁴¹

Such technologies also facilitated the expansion of inter-empire traffic. In the decades following 1870, as competitors emerged to threaten British global predominance, these enclaves of colonial identity would acquire greater definition.⁴²

The other factor affecting imperial relations stemmed from geopolitical events occurring within Europe and America. While Britain was the foremost industrial power

³⁸ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, pp. 19-24; Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, pp. 9-11, 17.

³⁹ Kubicek, 'British Expansion, Empire, and Technological Change', in *Oxford History of the British Empire*, iii, pp. 248-9.

⁴⁰ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 24.

⁴¹ Taylor, *Toronto 'Called Back'*, p. 339.

⁴² G. Magee and A.S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010), p. 56. Magee and Thompson dispute the 1870s 'retreat to Empire' as defined by McGown and Bohdor (see below), preferring instead to visualise the change as a metropolitan choice to increase their market share in high-fidelity areas, as opposed to the potential unknowns and bubbles of African and Asian investment (p. 118).

between 1850 and 1870, the newly-industrialising Germany, and the rapidly re-industrialising France and United States posed serious challenges both to British markets and British exports abroad. The inability of the British industrial system to overcome its historical conservatism prompted a retreat into the captive markets of empire.⁴³ Queen Victoria herself had endorsed such a proposal in a state speech before Parliament in 1887, noting that ‘there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practical way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire.’⁴⁴ While the 1887 Colonial Conference in London met to consider such objectives – primarily military organisation – the assembled ministers also saw the need for the ‘promotion of commercial and social relations by the development of our postal and telegraphic communications.’⁴⁵ This enforced closeness – and here India may be included – was responsible for a renewed sense of imperial sentiment, but paradoxically, the closer the colonies were bound to London, the greater the resistance towards such unity. Ideas for imperial federation, customs unions, and shared parliaments fell flat, as no colony wished to renounce their self-government and tie themselves to distant, and often divergent, commercial interests.⁴⁶ The problem was ameliorated somewhat by the growing perception of empire not as an economic or political unit, but as disparate family members united by the ‘mystic qualities’ of the popular image of the monarchy.⁴⁷ Yet despite embodying the traits of domesticity

⁴³ P.J. McGowan and B. Kordan, ‘Imperialism in World-System Perspective: Britain 1870-1914’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 25, 1 (1981), 56; E. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (Penguin, London, 1990; 1968), pp. 127-32.

⁴⁴ *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1887*, lvi, 1, (c.5091): speech by Queen Victoria proroguing Parliament, 1887, p. vii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁴⁶ R. MacLaren, *Commissions High: Canada in London, 1870-1971* (Queen’s University Press, Kingston, 2006), p. 41; D.R. Annett, *British Preference in Canadian Commercial Policy* (Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1948), pp. 23-5; Potter, *Imperial Communications*, p. 23; J.M. MacKenzie, ‘Empire and Metropolitan Culture’, in *Oxford History of the British Empire*, iii, p. 283.

⁴⁷ P. Boyce, *The Queen’s Other Realms: the Crown and its Legacy in Australia, Canada and New Zealand* (Federation Press, Sydney, 2008), p. 1; and D. Bell, ‘The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution, and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860-1900’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34, 1 (2006), 10. Bell quotes Queen Victoria’s brother-in-law, the Marquis of Lorne, as noting, ‘Her name has acquired a magic force, the strength of which can only be realized by those who have heard the national anthem sung by men, women, and children in regions many thousands of miles

and loyalty – traits required to keep the empire together – even the institution of monarchy was not sufficient to overcome fledgling colonial identities. When Robert Shields travelled to Britain in 1900, despite presenting himself to the Queen at Windsor Palace, he nevertheless identified himself both as a Canadian and a Scot.⁴⁸ To be ‘British’ was only one layer of a complex web of fluid and transitory self-identities within the periphery.⁴⁹

The Settler Colonies and Tradition

It is here that true importance of the imperial network system is revealed. Images of London were generated throughout the empire on the backs of these networks. English literature was extremely popular in the colonies, as was British-based and imperial news. Pictures and descriptions of London abounded on items from biscuit tins to pamphlets and periodicals, not to mention the oral histories passed down through the British-descended émigré populations. For white settler colonists, their imagined versions of London appear curiously positive when considering the large numbers of Irish and Scottish emigrants present throughout these colonies. Yet, while disseminating these images and displays of London, Britain, and the empire, the multi-polarity of an inter-imperial web also encouraged the creation of an insular, protective nationalism. This often found a distinct and visible outlet at the weaker nodes – the colonies – within the web: British in South Africa, Canadian in Canada, *et cetera*.⁵⁰ Arguably sharing a similar experience of life as

distant from England. It matters not whence it be heard, for in whatever part of the world her standard flies, that strain of music, and the thoughts which come with it, make the voices ring with the true loyalty that reverences women and loves the glorious sovereignty of freedom. The fervour to be heard in such notes should count for something in the calculation men are making as to the chance of keeping shoulder to shoulder wherever British hearts are beating.’

⁴⁸ R. Shields, *My Travels: Visits to Lands Far and Near: European, British, American and Canadian* (W. Briggs, Toronto, 1906), pp. 11-2.

⁴⁹ See for instance L.H. Lees, ‘Being British in Malaya, 1890-1940’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 76-101.

⁵⁰ Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 62; and see the following for specific examples: A. Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (Routledge, London, 2001); D. Cole, ‘The Problem of “Nationalism” and “Imperialism” in British Settlement Colonies’, *Journal of British Studies*, 10, 2 (1971), 160-82; S.J. Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2003); A.D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976).

those within Britain,⁵¹ colonial visitors nevertheless maintained and even strengthened their ties to their peripheral regions. Australians preferred to use Australian-run boarding houses, tea rooms, and travel services, while their narratives reflected on what it meant to *be* Australian, especially in relation to the sites in the imperial centre.⁵² Canadians were more receptive to the idea of ‘Britishness’, appropriating the entire stream of imperial history as a method of establishing a definitive ‘Canadian’ place within the empire’s hierarchy. The Canadian traveller Will Pennington, for instance, claimed ‘the loyalty of Canadians is largely due to the fact that the Empire was after all Canada’s Empire as well as Great Britain’s.’⁵³ The official pamphlet for emigrants intending to visit Canada – *Canada: A Hand-Book of Information for Intending Emigrants* – distributed by the Department of Agriculture in 1877, found that ‘Canadians are the English of the English.’⁵⁴ While Canadians could boast of their linkages to the British Empire, the politicians in Ottawa charted a national course further away from the British orbit.⁵⁵ Roy MacLaren, investigating these movements in *Commissions High*, has placed the transition of Canada from British rule to self-rule within a ‘softly, softly’ context which nevertheless brooked no argument about which direction the country was taking. While grateful to British legislators for their assent in the British North America Act of 1867, Canadian policymakers such as John A. Macdonald and Wilfrid Laurier were reluctant to return any

⁵¹ See R.J. Hind, ‘We Have No Colonies – Similarities within the British Imperial Experience’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 26, 1 (1984), 3-35, and especially 15-26; and S. Fleming, *England and Canada: A Summer’s Journey between Old and New Westminster* (Dawson Brothers, Montreal, 1884), p. 4.

⁵² Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, pp. 159-62; Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, pp. 27-8.

⁵³ W. Pennington, *A Trip to the Old Country* (R.L. Crain, Ottawa, 1894), p. 12.

⁵⁴ *Canada – A Hand Book of Information for Intending Emigrants* (Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 1877), p. 75.

⁵⁵ See W.L. Morton, *The Canadian Identity* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1961) and P. Resnick, *The European Roots of Canadian Identity* (Broadview Press, Peterborough, 2005) for a more in-depth discussion on the development of Canada’s legal and industrial infrastructure, and its implications for Canadian-British relations.

sovereignty to Britain in the guise of Imperial Federation.⁵⁶ On a federal level, Canada quite clearly indicated a ‘Canada first’ policy of progression, however betrayed those in London might feel.⁵⁷ This did not entail a rejection of either imperial identity or ‘Britishness’. As Philip Buckner noted, ‘Canadians wished to be ‘British’ but on their own terms and in their own way.’⁵⁸

Turn-of-the-century Australian identity has not engendered similar debates as had its Canadian cousin. It appears that the field is content to agree vaguely on the fact that ‘...being Australian and being British were not necessarily the same thing. Yet [Australians] nonetheless retained a belief in themselves as both Australian and British.’⁵⁹ Angela Woollacott, a major proponent of Australian women’s travel history and its impact on national identity, builds on Andrew Hassam’s and Douglas Cole’s claims of the ‘hybridisation’ of late-Victorian Australian identity: Woollacott charges that ‘Australians knew themselves to be part of the British Empire in both amorphous and specific ways.’⁶⁰ The lack of clarity within such sweeping statements is problematic, but also allows more recent historians some room to manoeuvre. Simon Potter considered Australian identity as being fundamentally race-based during his examination of the imperial communications networks; in his interpretation, the assumption of the mantle of ‘Australian-British’ made possible by the control of imperial rhetoric resulted in a skewed linkage of whiteness symbolising Britishness, and thus excluding Aborigines and other non-whites from the Australian cultural process.⁶¹ Other authors have concluded that there was no real

⁵⁶ MacLaren, *Commissions High*, p. 28, 41, and Annett, *British Preference in Canadian Commercial Policy*, p. 23. It was Macdonald’s belief that Imperial Federation was unnecessary; all that was needed was ‘satisfactory agreements with respect to trade and defence.’ (Annett, p. 23).

⁵⁷ MacLaren, *Commissions High*, p. 28.

⁵⁸ P. Buckner and R.D. Francis (eds.), *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration and Identity* (University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 2006), p. 7; and Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 23.

⁵⁹ Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, p. 27.

⁶⁰ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 148.

⁶¹ Potter, *Imperial Communications*, pp. 27-30.

Australian culture until the late 1890s, and that almost all Australian institutions were, in fact, flimsily transplanted with the trappings of Australian nationhood.⁶²

Yet to claim that Britain's importance within the empire – and to imperial identity – was waning is to misread the situation. The settler colonies may have greeted the idea of imperial unification half-heartedly, but they did not wish to sever the imperial connection altogether. Being 'British' was an important foundation myth for expressions of Canadian and Australian national rhetoric (and to a lesser degree, that of the Cape and New Zealand).⁶³ For colonials imperial identity was useful in conjuring up popular demonstrations of pro-British sentiment, and generating an inherited history of greatness – what Eric Hobsbawm termed 'the powerful incentive of nostalgia.'⁶⁴ Australians and Canadians may have expressed loyal sentiment to Britain, but there was an overriding belief that 'that [the dominions] could still remain 'British,' could reject independence, annexation, and imperial federation, and yet hope to build a nation that would have an equal voice in imperial affairs. They firmly believed that as the political ties were loosened the moral ties would tighten.'⁶⁵ The dominions maintained an imperial relationship with Britain for the sake of tradition, but necessarily found themselves adapting their local identities to particular local circumstances.

Judith Kapferer's words ring true in this regard. Kapferer, examining the state of Australian culture in the late-nineteenth century, contends that there was a melding of two forces: the myth of a rugged colonial past symbolised by the Outback and the hardy nationalist; and the staunch belief in the history of the efforts of the British Empire as an example of inherited heroes. British heroes were still celebrated, and a British past was a

⁶² See for example J. Docker, *The Nervous Nineties: Australian Cultural Life in the 1890s* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991) and J. Hirst, *Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000).

⁶³ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 31; Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, p. 179; Cole, 'The Problem of "Nationalism" and "Imperialism" in British Settlement Colonies', 162-3.

⁶⁴ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (Abacus, London, 2009), p. 145.

⁶⁵ Moyles & O'wram, *Imperial Dreams*, p. 35.

necessary component of such an identity: 'The continued celebration of a heroic past and the assumption of a noble future also require the construction of secular shrines, 'temples of culture' wherein icons and artefacts may be arranged and displayed for the edification of their inheritors.'⁶⁶ London must be said to be the largest 'temple of culture' for Kapferer's Australian national; the 'icons and artefacts' of Westminster Abbey, Parliament, and St. Paul's all testament to the inherited past of the British Empire on the part of the dominions.

As regards London, the city was 'the central locus, the destination before, after, or in between any others.'⁶⁷ Australian visitors empathised strongly with Britain, precisely because of their distance from the centre. In the antipodean regions, a jealously-guarded, shared culture of monarch, empire, and literature served not only as a method of separating 'us' from 'them' – i.e., the Aboriginals, but also fostered a sense of settler community and 'can-do' spirit.⁶⁸ British rhetoric informed the debates, British place-names dotted the land, as K.S. Inglis noted,

Britons annexed the new land by planting it in old names, chosen either because they saw resemblances or because they hoped that naming a place would domesticate it...The principal cities all proclaimed their imperial character...politicians of Melbourne having their words recorded in a Victorian Hansard, the lawyers putting up their plates in Chancery Lane, and the citizens driving for recreation to Kew or Windsor. Visitors were amused to find children out here raised on English poetry....⁶⁹

The important factor here was, as Inglis reminds us, to preserve the institutions and benefits of British culture while discarding those elements which had brought emigrants to Australia in the first place – namely, a dislike of (what was perceived as) heavy-handed

⁶⁶ J. Kapferer, *Being All Equal: Identity, Difference and Australian Cultural Practise* (Berg, Oxford, 1996), p. 74.

⁶⁷ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁸ J.S., 'Pictures of Travel', *The Argus*, 16 Sept. 1882. In particular, J.S. wrote that 'One cannot help but wishing that some of the fine young fellows, full of health and animal spirits, with cultivated minds and plenty of means at their disposal...would acquire and colonise tracts of land in the Australasian colonies, and would found settlements which would be something better than the ordinary chance-medley and heterogeneous cluster of people in a bush township.'

⁶⁹ K.S. Inglis, *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History, 1788-1870* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1974), p. 31.

authority, both religious and political, and limited social mobility.⁷⁰ Thus, when viewed in this perspective, the Australian trip to London becomes a barometer of success. While Ros Pesman considered it more of a Grand Tour,⁷¹ it appears more of a measure of how Australian settlers had crafted their own lives without the ‘cultural baggage’⁷² of social stratification, but with the backing of a historical and cultural heritage. These expressions of hybrid nationalism, and the associated framing of national destiny as occurring within a British context, were therefore easily illuminated once in the metropolitan core.

The Imperial Metropolis and Settler Colonists

For white settlers attempting to fashion a future within a British context, London ‘symbolized more than any other part of Britain the heart of the Empire, the maternal centre of a large colonial family.’⁷³ The city was at once the prime expression of British modernity – railways, factories, and offices – which was in turn counterbalanced by its very visible displays of anti-modernity: the revival of Gothic architecture, the massive cathedrals of Westminster and St. Paul’s, and the crooked, complex layout of its urban space. As recent scholars have established, these visitors existed within an uncertain hierarchy of status. As white settlers, they laid claim to metropolitan space on the same basis as Britons, but their colonialness rendered them inferior within domestic British society.⁷⁴ It was this uncertain status which enabled them to explore and experience the city in a relatively unrestrained fashion. Yet despite the reality of this freedom, most visitors mapped the city within a narrow range of experiences – turning the trip into what Woollacott labelled ‘a secular pilgrimage.’⁷⁵ Woollacott’s study is reinforced by the words of Judith Kapferer, above, and her requirement that the shaping of the future occur in

⁷⁰ Inglis, *The Australian Colonists*, p. 36.

⁷¹ R. Pesman, et al., (eds.), *The Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996), p. xix.

⁷² Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 23.

⁷³ Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe*, p. 109.

⁷⁴ Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, pp. 179-81; Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 48.

⁷⁵ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 19.

secular shrines. Indeed, this particular description proves quite apt, as the major iconographic sites of London were often considered shrines to a particular event, individual, or institution.

The discourse of modernity within the capital was uneven and subject to periodic fluctuations and revisions. It remained ultimately a subjective construction, but its meanings were strongly influenced by similarities throughout imperial patterns of consumption and imagination.⁷⁶ Critically, the modernity most closely associated with London was that of the technologically advanced urban system. Yet arrival in the metropolis, especially to those ‘accustomed to small wooden towns’⁷⁷ while remarkable for establishing the overwhelming scale of the city, also yielded up images of striking contrast:

The very first thing that strikes the stranger as he takes his first stroll along the Strand and Fleet Street is the appalling fact that hundreds of his fellow creatures are in desperate need of a penny! The ragged raiment and the pinched faces and the imploring looks and voices tell of the life-and-death struggle in progress here in the very centre of the world's civilization.⁷⁸

Equally as important, this modernity was seen as not only failing the people of the city, but also extended to the built environment itself: ‘Go in whatever direction you choose, and rows of massive and dingy buildings greet the eye in apparently endless succession...the vision is almost paralyzed with the sight; every around, even into the immensity of distance, is to be seen the dense and complicated labyrinth of buildings.’⁷⁹

Indeed, the contrast between the poor in London and the poor in the colonies was not only a matter of scale, but an important facet of the built environment. In North America, for instance, poor immigrants often huddled together in makeshift shantytowns,

⁷⁶ Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 118; Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 62.

⁷⁷ J. MacKinnon, *Travels in Britain, France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium and Holland* (Schurman & Taylor, Summerside, 1887), p. 1; and see A.L. Spedon, *Sketches of a Tour from Canada to Paris, by way of the British Isles, during the Summer of 1867* (John Lovell, Montreal, 1868), pp. 98-100.

⁷⁸ J.E. Wetherell, *Over the Sea: A Summer Trip to Britain* (Evans Bros., Strathroy, 1890), p. 26.

⁷⁹ Spedon, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 99; and note Sylvia Leighton's characterisation of London as ‘a great impossible mass, and grey smoke, smoke, smoke...inextricably mixed’, in Mack, *An Australian Girl in London*, p. 2.

which were themselves characterised by a transient nature – often coming and going depending on economic circumstances.⁸⁰ In London, however, the poor remained densely packed into tight boundaries, both geographically and architecturally. The difference depends as much on socio-cultural factors as well as economic and geographic ones. In both cases, the poor required inexpensive accommodation close to their place of work; in London, however, the presence of a large workshop-based and sweated-industry service economy discouraged the sorts of transience seen in the colonies, who in turn had more space in which to grow their cities. As Richard Harris noted, also in a North American context, it was only after the decentralisation of industrial factories and other workplaces began in the twentieth century that the working class were themselves able to leave the city centre and construct their own suburbs.⁸¹ For nineteenth-century visitors to London, however, where there was no such option, the immediacy of such squalor was often a striking contrast with home.⁸² While these things could be seen in the colonies, their greater presence in London made them more visible and depressing reminders of the pitfalls of modernity.

The negative associations between London and modernity did not end with the images of squalor. London's modern aspects were often lamented for overwriting older historical sites. Australian visitor Margaret Tripp, for instance, bemoaned the fact that the city looked 'so new'⁸³; her compatriot James Francis Hogan was only slightly more charitable, believing that new building projects brought a 'certain unpicturesque monotony' to the city.⁸⁴ As Andrew Hassam claimed, such a reinvention of London 'drove a wedge between the modernising impulse of civic improvement and the creation of an

⁸⁰ L.R. Ford, *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996), pp. 187-8.

⁸¹ R. Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996), p. 52.

⁸² Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe*, p. 109.

⁸³ Quote reprinted in Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, p. 127.

⁸⁴ J.F. Hogan, *The Australian in London and America* (Ward & Downey, London, 1899), p. 137.

imperial capital that could demonstrate its historical lineage.⁸⁵ This was a somewhat paradoxical attitude on the part of imperial visitors: colonial identity was as much defined by access to (British) modernity as it was by a similar appreciation for historical continuity. As Morgan and Woollacott rightly argued, the voyage to Britain was itself emblematic of this modernity.⁸⁶ Morgan especially has shown that the rejection of modernity stemmed from its ability to ‘undermine a sense of self’ and eventually lead (somewhat overstated) to ‘soul-destroying alienation.’⁸⁷ This insecurity is explicitly linked to the capital’s elements of technological and social modernism: heavy traffic in the streets, thousands of people rushing about, wires and rails criss-crossing the city, and houses and streets running for miles. As New Brunswick preacher John Godden discovered in 1878, London’s labyrinthine streets had him ‘doubting for a time my identity.’⁸⁸ While the streets may have offered scenes both tempting and exotic, white colonial visitors to London were reluctant to be simply absorbed by the city’s teeming citizens.

It is necessary to emphasise here that these tourists did not reject modernity – that is, they were not anti-modern in the sense of the Luddites, and indeed, colonial progress depended on ever-newer and more efficient technologies – but instead sought to relieve the increasing tension between colonial self-development and imperial unity.⁸⁹ Although there was no single answer, our visitors to London offer hints as to possible methods of reconciliation. James Rupert Elliott, a Canadian visitor to Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, characterised the connections as transcending mere economics: ‘Around this seat

⁸⁵ Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, p. 128.

⁸⁶ Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, pp. 163-4; Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, pp. 24, 47.

⁸⁷ Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, p. 163; and Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe*, pp. 114-5.

⁸⁸ J. Godden, *Notes and Reminiscences about a Journey to England* (John Lovell, Montreal, 1878), p. 37.

⁸⁹ J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (James Pott & Co., New York, 1902). What Hobson termed the ‘outlander problem’: ‘wherever a new area is opened up to our trade and capital the nucleus of an outlander population is formed. Hence, of necessity, springs up a crop of political issues, an outlander problem: the British outlanders not satisfied with the foreign rule demand the intervention of their home Government.’ (p. 47).

of monarchy has developed a progress in culture, in thought, in religious life and in liberty, of a character that should thrill the heart of the loyal Britisher with enthusiasm on this Diamond Jubilee occasion. We venerate its history.’⁹⁰ On the eve of the First World War, the Australian journalist and republican Ada Holman still clung to this belief:

One may realise to some degree what it is to a man of the people to be part and parcel of that historic institution, which for its first few centuries was but an adjunct of the Crown. No man or woman of English blood but must be thrilled upon that ground. It is the custom to say that Australia has no traditions, but Australia is, after all, part of the Empire, and shares in Westminster's traditions as truly as any Cockney of them all.⁹¹

This belief in the value of British institutions to establish continuity between a British past and a colonial future has been described, rather aptly, as ‘neo-traditionalism’ by Hobsbawm.⁹² It was an explicit response to the growing uncertainties of the nineteenth-century world: a ‘defensive and conservative reaction’ against the onward march of ‘the advancing epidemic of modernity, capitalism, cities and industry.’⁹³

This neo-traditionalism blended imperial, historical, and institutional factors to produce ‘the myth of the imperial centre’⁹⁴, which, conveniently vague and subject to various interpretations, could thus have its meanings co-opted or adapted to specific regions and populations without excluding other imperial actors. Within London, it found an expression in the unification of physical landmarks with cultural institutions – namely, the presence of sites imbued with imperial or historical significance (Westminster Abbey, Parliament, St. Paul’s) and the popular perceptions of the monarchy. Throughout their narratives, we see many imperial visitors also transfer imperial significance to London’s sites which are themselves not necessarily imperial. In some cases, visitors constructed a mythical continuity between ordinary sites and the imperial-historical legacy, as in the

⁹⁰ J.R. Elliott, *Rambles in Merrie, Merrie England: Glimpses of its Castles, its Cathedrals, its Abbeys, its Traditions, and its Rural Life* (J. & A. McMillan, St. John, 1897), p. 1.

⁹¹ A. Holman, *My Wander Year: Some Jottings in a Year's Travel* (William Brooks, Sydney, 1913), p. 31.

⁹² Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, p. 155.

⁹³ Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, p. 155.

⁹⁴ Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe*, p. 109.

comment of Mrs. Ireland, one of the Manitoba teachers mentioned above, who invests the streets themselves with this continuity:

Here was the famous street which perchance we had heard father talk of, which he had seen so many years ago when a boy, and before he had thought of seeking his fortune in a land across the great Ocean...all seemed to make us feel that we were indeed in the *Land of our Fathers* [sic].⁹⁵

Imperial markers and the iconography of historical continuity were perceived to be everywhere within the metropolis. Indeed, they could be broadly divided along a public-private basis: the physical sites of London implying ideal behaviour in the public sphere – glorious patriotism, virtuous statesmanship, and aggressive economic and artistic development – while the Crown came to symbolise the optimal elements within the private sphere – loyalty, domesticity, and thrifty conservatism. Sometimes the two elements were combined within one example, as at Windsor Castle:

The outside face of its walls registers the rising tide of English civilisation through a score of ages, the slow transformation of religious and political institutions, the gradual upgrowth of the British Constitution, and the rights and recognitions it brought with it at different stages of its development...It is a wonderful, grand junction-station of the ages past and present.⁹⁶

Thus, we shall briefly examine each strand in turn, examining the role of the physical and the emotional in crafting a sense of forward momentum.

In terms of historical landmarks, the greatest example of this in London was Westminster Abbey. Goldwin Smith's characterisation of the Abbey as 'the central fane of the English-speaking race'⁹⁷ was perhaps the most fitting. These were the remains of the men and women who had created the heritage that white settler colonists now celebrated, or in the words of Francis Sheppard, '[the] physical manifestation of a royal mythology.'⁹⁸ Yet the real strength of the Abbey was not its ability to display the remains of important kings or statesmen, but to inspire future generations to emulate those deeds which had led

⁹⁵ Quote reprinted in: Ney, *Britishers in Britain*, p. 62.

⁹⁶ Haight, *Here and There*, pp. 219-21.

⁹⁷ Smith, *A Trip to England*, p. 130.

⁹⁸ F. Sheppard, *London: A History* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998), p. 98.

to British, and by extension, imperial greatness. 'Here we see the secret of English heroism. England never forgets her heroes. Her children are taught to honour their names and to emulate their valour,'⁹⁹ W.H. Warren announced, while James Hogan felt that it was 'the foundation of the popular and powerful legislative assembly that is the parent of all the parliaments in the British dominions to-day.'¹⁰⁰ The other great metropolitan church, St. Paul's, fulfilled a similar role as did the Abbey. The funerary relics of Nelson and Wellington were objects of reverence, and their graves shrines to a fighting, adaptive spirit which resonated with the difficulties of colonial life. One colonial traveller, J.E. Wetherell, placed these relics in a Canadian context: 'it is impossible to view these two mausoleums of the heroes of Trafalgar and Waterloo without a throb of national pride.'¹⁰¹ John Godden felt that 'glorious memories are awakened' on viewing the tombs of Nelson and Wellington.¹⁰²

Throughout these and other similar effusions, the language is telling: imperial sentiment is transformed into more possessive terms, which deemphasize the importance of the site to London. The Abbey belongs to 'English-speaking races' for instance, while both churches evince the 'past national life'¹⁰³. Even the Gothic splendor of the new Houses of Parliament, completed in 1859, escapes tangible linkage with a purely British context. Ada Holman considered them an 'arena of events that have set moving not alone England but the whole world'¹⁰⁴, while Canniff Haight knew it as the 'place where the legislative bodies of Great Britain assemble to make the laws which govern the Empire and its vast possessions.'¹⁰⁵ Despite these somewhat lukewarm sentiments, Parliament remained 'an important stop on the route...tourists chose to pay homage to their political

⁹⁹ Warren, *Touring in Britain*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Hogan, *The Australian in London*, p. 146.

¹⁰¹ Wetherell, *Over the Sea*, p. 19.

¹⁰² Godden, *Notes and Reminiscences*, p. 51.

¹⁰³ Fleming, *England and Canada*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁴ Holman, *My Wander Year*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁵ Haight, *Here and There*, p. 167,

and cultural heritage...Westminster was a museum filled with objects that would instruct the visitor in the important events of English political, military, and constitutional history....¹⁰⁶ What is occurring is a process of national construction: once in London, the core of colonial sights revolved around those items of special meaning to both Britain and Canada, or Australia, or New Zealand and South Africa – they figured highly in constructions of history: the proceedings in Parliament, the dead in Westminster Abbey, the symbols of monarchy in the Crown Jewels and the advances in law and tradition since the ‘scenes of bloody deeds’ in the Tower.¹⁰⁷

Peter Hoffenburg has argued that this process was part of a wider series of ‘rituals of integration and education’ among the emerging nationalities in the late nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Constructing self-reliant identities within the imperial metropolis, he noted, required active and conscious framing: visitors ‘created and reflected the ideas, images, and fantasies necessary for nationalism and imperialism. Participation...as visiting tourists and actors in pageants was part of the process of building those political, social, and cultural communities....’¹⁰⁹ Under this interpretation, London became what Antoinette Burton called a ‘critical terrain’ for the exploration and exposition of neo-traditionalist narrative. Upon the urban stage, visitors’ choice of sights, and the meanings inherent with them, determined those images of importance to their collective identities. In this case, the stately images of British power and influence were the foundations to any reckoning of the city, just as their meanings represented the foundations of colonial self-identity.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, p. 166.

¹⁰⁷ Warren, *Touring in Britain*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ Hoffenburg, *Empire on Display*, p. 242.

¹⁰⁹ Hoffenburg, *Empire on Display*, p. 243; and see Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, p. 122; and ‘Mapping a Critical Geography of Late-Nineteenth Century Imperial Britain’, in Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire*, pp. 1-24.

¹¹⁰ See for instance the late-nineteenth-century debate in Canada over the role of British influence in Canadian progress, in C. Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the idea of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1970).

It is the institution of the Crown which represents the least problematic ‘critical terrain’ in tourism to late-Victorian Britain. As mentioned above, it was sentimental loyalty to the monarchy which was instrumental in conceptions of the imperial family. Moreover, the institution of the Crown was resistant to the same sort of national possessiveness as claimed London’s physical sites. This was, however, in no way mutually exclusive with definitions of local identities; Andrew Thompson has charged that, in fact, ‘the process of fashioning an imperial British identity was as much about building on regional forms of association as it was about liquidating them.’¹¹¹ Far from limiting self-development, the maintenance of the Crown’s influence appeared to encourage it. Duncan Bell, examining this ‘heavily mediated’ image of the Crown across the empire, has shown that it became linked to a variety of appealing, middle-class aspirations: domesticity, liberty, and fidelity.¹¹² As Bell wrote, the Crown became part of the iconography of a ‘Greater Britain’, throughout which ‘the imaginative system of resonant symbols, stirring rituals, and vague poetic imagery...provided a coherent picture of a shared past, a troubled present, and a glorious destiny.’¹¹³ For most Canadian visitors examined here, the Queen was a vital part of their identification as Canadian: Canniff Haight is very specific on this point when he views the Queen at Windsor Palace in 1895: ‘It would be impossible for Canadian blood to witness such an ovation without imbibing its spirit...without cutting circles in the British air with a Canadian ‘tile’ - utterly impossible; and we did it, too, with a will, because our heart was in it.’¹¹⁴ Together with

¹¹¹ A.S. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the mid-Nineteenth Century* (Pearson Longman, New York, 2005), p. 200.

¹¹² Bell, ‘The Idea of a Patriot Queen?’, 10.

¹¹³ Bell, ‘The Idea of a Patriot Queen?’, 6; this shared identity has also been argued to promote racial inclusiveness by D. Killingray, ‘A Good West Indian, a Good African, and, in Short, a Good Britisher’: Black and British in a Colour-Conscious Empire, 1760-1950’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 3, 36 (2008), 368-9, and see footnote 119 in the Introduction chapter above (p. 38) for further sources.

¹¹⁴ Haight, *Here and There*, p. 228.

the imagery of London's physical sites, the institution of the monarchy remained one of the icons of traditionalism.

These icons were transported in various forms – literary, architectural, and philosophical – to the colonies where they were put to use reinforcing the sentimental connections of the larger imagined community of the empire. The national significance of Westminster Abbey to British life was recalled during the funeral of British-Australian explorer William Charles Wentworth in 1873. At the funeral oration in Australia, Sir James Martin, a leading politician and member of the University of Sydney, noted that: 'We have no Westminster Abbey in which to place the bones of our illustrious dead; but here, under the bright Australian sky...we are about to lay his remains, where it was his own wish that they should repose.'¹¹⁵ Wentworth, through his struggles to map Australia both geographically and politically – being a proponent of responsible self-government – remained in spirit the local equivalent to those at Westminster.¹¹⁶ In Canada, the Reverend Canon Norman Tucker was more direct: empire permitted Canadians 'to share in the traditions of the motherland; to say that Shakespeare is our poet and that the great men of England are our brethren, and that the great deeds of England, the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo, were our battles.'¹¹⁷ The influence of a historical continuity, especially given the prominence of the British Empire as a commercial and political Great Power, thus acted as an important motivator in furthering colonial self-development. As James Rupert Elliott summarised, and which could be applied to the remainder of our visitors, he left London believing that 'my trip to England this year has been to me invaluable in the proofs that I have seen displayed that England's methods are the correct ones for the higher

¹¹⁵ Quote reprinted in Inglis, *The Australian Colonist*, p. 250.

¹¹⁶ See A. Tink, *William Charles Wentworth: Australia's Greatest Native Son* (Allen & Unwin, Crow's Nest, NSW, 2009). Even his biographer termed him 'the grand old man of Australian politics.' (p. 1)

¹¹⁷ Quote reprinted in D. Cannadine, 'Imperial Canada: Old History, New Problems', in C. Coates (ed.), *Imperial Canada, 1867-1917: A Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh's Centre of Canadian Studies Conference, May 1995* (Centre for Canadian Studies, Edinburgh, 1997), p. 9.

civilization, where social problems will have their only and proper solution all along the way.’¹¹⁸

India, the Empire, and Modernity

Perhaps due to their unique position within the empire, Indian visitors considered London in an entirely different way than did white settler colonists. The city was the grand example of modernity, a foretaste of the same energies which were rapidly being applied to the subcontinent. As the ‘dominant element’ in British imperial thought, India was the means by which the empire made its ‘most grandiloquent urban statements’, bringing the improvements of British engineering to Indian urban and rural matrices.¹¹⁹ In the post-1857 reconfiguration of Indian society, knowledge of British forms was essential for promotion to the upper echelons of the Indian Civil Service, making participation within British modernity an imperative necessity for personal and social advancement.¹²⁰ In some immediate and distinctive ways, this was more easily accomplished than in the dominions: military application of railways, telegraphs, and defensive and public works had transformed the built environment to reflect not only the exigencies of control, but to announce decisively the will of the occupier.¹²¹ When Sir Edwin Arnold returned to Indian service in 1886, he noted on his first drive through Bombay

...a series of really splendid edifices, which have completely altered the previous aspect of Bombay...[we] passed, with admiring eyes, the Secretariat, the University, the Courts of Justice, the magnificent new railway station, the Town Hall, and the General Post Office, all very remarkable structures... the Bombay of to-day hardly recognisable to one who knew the place during the time of the Mutiny.¹²²

Yet contact between the cultures also revolved around a variety of formal and informal networks, in addition to great public works. The linkage between patronage in India and

¹¹⁸ Elliott, *Rambles in Merrie, Merrie England*, p. 16.

¹¹⁹ D. Keene, ‘Cities and Empires’, *Journal of Urban History*, 32, 1 (2005), 14-5.

¹²⁰ Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes*, p. 177; and E. Braddon, *Life in India* (Longman’s, Green & Co., London, 1872), pp. 224-5.

¹²¹ T. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain’s Raj* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002), p. 55.

¹²² Sir E. Arnold, *India Revisited* (Roberts, Boston, 1886), pp. 54-5.

participation within the British sphere made having an imperial identity, or at least the semblance of one, a desirable asset, both on the part of the Indian prince and on the metropolitan mandarins at the India Office. As Lawrence James has noted, the benefits for Britain included the diffusion of a mindset which encouraged ‘inspiration for modernising projects in their own states.’¹²³

Other institutions also aided in the creation of an ostensible loyalty to the imperial metropolis. With the reformation of the Indian army after 1857, Indians from the ‘martial races’ were integrated into all-Indian units, attired with a standard uniform, and positioned to serve the British monarch.¹²⁴ The opportunities for cross-cultural mixing increased, as military service tended to centre on the regiment as the focus of a soldier’s social life. At the top of Indian society were the upper classes, who were certainly not immune from creeping British influence. The introduction of European-style honours and awards, such as the Star of India, firmly brought Indians into the fold of British patronage. Emulating the gift-giving Indian princes, the Star of India was intended to reward those who had rendered service to the British or to the Crown. From its original limitation of twenty-five awards, the Order expanded greatly by the end of the nineteenth century as progressively greater numbers of Indian rulers were recognised as having ‘served’ Britain.¹²⁵ Indeed, the relationship between the various Indian princes on the subcontinent, and the British colonial servants of the Raj, serves as a useful indicator of the ways in which British modernity was used to coerce or co-opt native societies. The transfer of weapons technology, railway and agricultural expertise, and the presence of fancy gifts brought many princes into the British ‘fold’.¹²⁶

¹²³ L. James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (Little, Brown & Co., London, 1997), p. 324.

¹²⁴ B. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: the British in India* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996), pp. 123-5.

¹²⁵ Cohn, *Forms of Knowledge*, p. 120.

¹²⁶ T. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2008), pp. 16-45. Metcalf makes the argument that compliance was not only achieved with

Many willingly assimilated British concepts of sport, beauty, and organisation, such as Nripendra Narayan, the Maharajah of Koch Behir, who outfitted his palace with British accoutrements, developed a public school for local boys on the English model, and felt himself to be more at home in England than India. Consider instead the Maharajah of Alawar, who, when they came along, indulged a predilection for motor cars.¹²⁷ Indulging Indian princes in British goods and British pastimes was, moreover, no mere bribery; it was vitally necessary for the ICS to secure native goodwill and cooperation in order to run the country smoothly – even if it meant dealing with no less than 675 princes by the early twentieth century.¹²⁸ However, such blending of native and British culture could make Indians feel as though they were outcasts in their own country, constructing instead a deep affinity for Britain, the source of their happiness and prosperity.

Cultural assimilation from below was also a fact of life in British India. The schooling of Indians in Britain became an important facet of a young man's education – equivalent in some respects to the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century. In her excellent study on Indian students, Shompa Lahiri characterised them as having played a 'crucial role' in the development of modern India.¹²⁹ Filled with the pro-British and pro-Western sympathies that life in the imperial capital emphasised, Indian students often returned home to greater social standing. The Assamese historian S.K. Bhuyan, considering the importance British experience held in India, was more direct: 'A visit to England formed part of the future plans of ambitious children and youth of those days; and a man returned from abroad...commanded considerable distinction in society, whatever might be his

gifts, but also through British foresight in allowing natives to remain ostensibly governed by Indians, subject to the Indian Penal Code, a blend of British and traditional Indian law. The success of such a model saw it used repeatedly in Malay and African contexts as the century wore on (pp. 46-67).

¹²⁷ James, *Raj: the Making and Unmaking of British India*, pp. 322-3.

¹²⁸ James, *Raj: the Making and Unmaking of British India*, p. 326. Indeed, such a method had been in use since the eighteenth century, allowing Indian elites to produce and consume high-level goods (the same the British wished to export) to ensure stability and a measure of British control in the region. See C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988), pp. 202-5.

¹²⁹ Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, p. xi.

actual achievement.’¹³⁰ This was a recognised fact even within London itself: as the minutes of a General Meeting at University College, London made clear, ‘Even in cases of failure to obtain the special object, a compensation, not unlooked for by its recipients, will be found in the knowledge, associations and experiences derived from a course of education in this college, and a few years residence in the "Metropolis of the British Empire".’¹³¹

Apart from these formal institutions of investiture, the civil service and education, Anglo-Indian contacts included less formal ties. Though not as structured, they nevertheless served to place Indian nationals within the reach of British power, and by extension, to remake them into members of the imperial family. To name but a few, the use of British furnishings in the home, (limited) participation in clubs, and the wide range of British sports activities reflected a more subtle cultural diffusion – or perhaps conversion – than the rather more expensive attempts mentioned above. The growing popularity of British furnishings in places such as Bengal allowed the local cultural identity to be ‘validated by British standards’.¹³² More importantly, as Robin Jones suggests, such validations were not merely confined to the home:

Westernisation of the East Indian domestic interior, in terms of both furnishings and behaviour, was but one aspect of British intervention in the material culture of the Subcontinent...public spaces beyond the home were also invested with meanings which were intended to reinforce a collective British identity and which became locations for the creation of a sense of national solidarity in the tropics.¹³³

The continual presence, within both the public and private spheres of sub-continental life exposed Indians to the possibilities of British goods, but also to the inherent cultural values which such goods carried. The Indian household which contained, for example, a piano,

¹³⁰ S.K. Bhuyan, *London Memoirs from a Historian's Haversack* (Gauhati Publications Board, Assam, 1979), p. 1.

¹³¹ University College London, *Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting*, 25 Feb. 1857. Quote reprinted in: Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, p. 3.

¹³² R.D. Jones, *Interiors of Empire: Objects, Space and Identity within the Indian Subcontinent, c.1800-1947* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2007), p. 20.

¹³³ Jones, *Interiors of Empire*, p. 20.

or several settees or a breakfast table was a replication of British domestic space. The westernised mindset of its occupier was between 1857 and 1901 a beneficial thing if service to the Raj was required. Social historian Anthony King has noted that this degree of perceived westernisation was directly linked to promotion within the Indian Civil Service, and produced a generation of Indians with British sympathies.¹³⁴ It is a telling feature of the success of this domestic admiration that Indian visitors to London were often drawn to describing British domestic scenes for their readers. ‘I was thankful that the opportunity was given to me to see the British people at home and to study those virtues which have made them the most powerful nation now on the face of the globe,’¹³⁵ T.N. Mukharji noted in 1889, linking those virtues of homeliness and order with power and civilisation.

The implication for such connections with Indian travel to London is that the trip becomes a method of education and exchange. Far more than other colonials, Indian visitors travel with a particular objective in mind, whether it is for political (Jang), charitable (Malabari), or educational reasons (Dutt). The experience of London was about forging links not only between India and Britain, but between the visitor and the Anglo-Indian elites in India. As London is defined in rather binary terms of ‘civilisation’ while India becomes ‘the other’, the entirety of Indian narratives may be viewed as a *corpus* of improving manuals. In their pages, friends and relatives back home were able to effectively recreate British manners and attitudes without the expense (and potential caste removal) of a lengthy trip. Ingratating as it may seem, such materials may have supported more capable British-Indian cooperation in the Civil Service as well as generally throughout the subcontinent. While Shompa Lahiri rightly characterises these links as ‘product[s] of the distortions of colonialism, brought about by the internalisation of ruling-

¹³⁴ King’s remarks are reprinted in Jones, *Interiors of Empire*, p. 139.

¹³⁵ T.N. Mukharji, *A Visit to Europe* (W. Newman & Co., Calcutta, 1889), p. 27.

class values'¹³⁶, contemporary Anglo-Indians felt their 'civilising' influence to be a beneficial one. As one commentator believed, 'But if our teaching has failed to make our language common to the governed and their governors, it has created a class through the agency of which the millions of India may hereafter be materially improved.'¹³⁷

Yet before we describe the Indian experience of the metropolis, one final question remains: in what ways did Indian travellers understand themselves to be a part of the wider imperial web? We have already seen how the image of the Crown was used to justify imperial inclusion separate from racial backgrounds, and there was among Indians a degree of loyalty to a queen who encouraged 'Liberty and Justice shine in their truest colours and richest splendor.'¹³⁸ In terms of inter-colonial contact, they appear to have minimal exposure to the same facilities as the dominions for forging a niche in the imperial hierarchy. Rather, as Antoinette Burton has shown, Britain itself became the 'imperial terrain' where 'imperial power relations were challenged and remade by colonial subjects not just in the far-flung territories of the empire but more centrally, in the social spaces of 'domestic' Victorian imperial culture itself.'¹³⁹ Burton's positioning of Britain as the link between the colonial and the Indian has useful implications for our study of modernity: it effectively reverses the relationship found in the dominions. While the Canadian or Australian crafted his own version of modernity based upon information and trade exchanges from around the empire, Indians were instead extensively reliant upon Britain as the mediator – and often, initiator – of progressive projects.¹⁴⁰ Even the character of 'modernity' undergoes an essential transformation within the Indian context. It is no

¹³⁶ Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, p. 35.

¹³⁷ Braddon, *Life in India*, p. 225.

¹³⁸ H.S.S. Mahomed, *Journal of my Tours Round the World, 1886-1887 and 1893-1895, Embracing Travels in Various Parts of Africa, Australia, Asia, America and Europe* (Duftur Ashkara, Bombay, 1895), p. 265; and see Wainwright, *The Better Class of Indians*, p. 102.

¹³⁹ Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ For a good example of this process affecting literary and artistic forms, see R. Guha, 'A Colonial City and its Time(s)', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 45, 3 (2008), 329-51, and especially 332-5; and M. Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: the Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996), pp. 97-104.

longer a connective, embracing system of production, transportation, and information, but instead a display of political and martial dominance, almost exclusively urban in its scope, as Ranajit Guha has written, ‘the discourse of power intersected with the discourse of the city.’¹⁴¹ The implications and conceptions for London thus arise out of an entirely different socio-cultural context: the city is neither a shrine nor a beacon. From the view of the visitor, there is no transition between ‘imperial’ space and ‘cultural’ space: they are each intertwined and mutually reinforcing within the urban matrix of the empire.

Indian Visitors and London

The essential component of London’s imperial space, for Indian visitors, is the initial emphasis on technological solutions made to serve even the lowliest citizen. Virtually all of the narratives express some amazement at the ways in which the first metropolis of the empire has bent technology to its own purpose. The most common examples celebrate London as a brilliantly clean city of light. Visiting in 1846, Isvari Dasa could be struck by the fact that

It was in this city for the first time that I saw gas used for the production of light. It is conveyed to houses from the place where it is made in iron pipes under ground. These pipes are made to run up to the very place in the wall where the gas is wanted to be burned.¹⁴²

Forty years later, N.L. Doss expressed a comparable astonishment that even lowly shopkeepers were easily permitted access to such things: ‘The shops are the great objects of attraction in the streets of London or of any other English town... These shops are kept as clean and tidy as possible, and are profusely lighted at night. In some instances I have seen butcher's shops lighted with electric light.’¹⁴³ Obvious class distinctions may have stratified social encounters, but did not preclude an enjoyment of heat and light for all who

¹⁴¹ Guha, ‘A Colonial City’, 336.

¹⁴² I. Dasa, *A Brief Account of a Voyage to England and America* (Presbyterian Mission Press, Allahabad, 1851), p. 27.

¹⁴³ N.L. Doss, *Reminiscences, English and Australasian: Being an Account of a Visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Ceylon, etc.* (Herald Press, Calcutta, 1893), p. 42.

could afford it. There is often similar amazement at London's transportation networks, with G.P. Pillai expressing some concern during his 1897 visit:

Suddenly, you grow nervous - you are told, all is hollow beneath your feet. A good portion of all London houses, of all London shops is under-ground...How surprising! And these trains are underground! At least one-half of London is hollow. There is as much of the city above London as there is underneath it.¹⁴⁴

Other Asian visitors follow a similar pattern: Behramji Malabari (a self-described 'pilgrim reformer') found technology to have taken over the city. 'Some of the latest improvements of science, when seen in a working condition, strike one dumb,' he wrote, 'the whole thing looks like a train laid for the destruction of the town.'¹⁴⁵ London's overpowering, overwhelming size and pace was like nothing in India:

Everything was neat and clean - the streets, the shops and the houses. There was no stink in the road, no filth left accumulated in any place. The glass of the shop windows looked as transparent as glass could be, and the wood, brass and iron used in the construction of shops and houses shone as much like mirror as constant scraping and scrubbing could make them do...Inside the shops, the articles were tastefully arranged, and everything was tidy and in its proper place. The shops on the Esplanade in Calcutta will give one a little idea of what London is or how the cities of the civilised world are maintained. We have yet much to learn from the Europeans in the matter of general cleanliness.¹⁴⁶

As South Asian visitors grew more comfortable with the city's spaces, and their relation to the urban system, their investigative gazes turned away from the glare and groan of electricity, traffic, and streets, and instead to British society. An awareness of racial as well as colonial difference permeates the narratives; Indians are 'the other' in the metropolis, but at the same time, they lay claim to inclusion on the basis of British subjecthood and the amorphous qualities surrounding imperial identity. Through the adoption of Western dress, speech, and movement, Indian visitors sought to 'transform themselves (variously, temporarily, and often unstably) from objects of metropolitan

¹⁴⁴ G.P. Pillai, *London and Paris through Indian Spectacles* (The Vaijayanti Press, Madras, 1897), p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ B. Malabari, *The Indian Eye on English Life, or, Rambles of a Pilgrim Reformer* (Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1893), p. 44.

¹⁴⁶ Mukharji, *A Visit to Europe*, p. 29.

spectacle to exhibitors of Western mores.’¹⁴⁷ Such a movement towards Western modernity was a negotiated process; local and regional influences cultivated a passionate contribution to this hybridisation. Thus, while Pillai could describe his cultural acclimatisation as a seemingly one-sided process, noting ‘you begin to eat English dinners, you dress like Englishmen, you learn English manners and become accustomed to English ways’¹⁴⁸, other visitors like Malabari understood that this was mostly a fabrication of convenience, and that the Indian’s place would always remain inferior:

Let us ask of our English rulers and fellow-subjects to treat us as their equals; and where we are wanting, to push us up to their level, rather than keep us where we are, on a crust of comfort, such as they throw to the lame dog whom they do *not* wish to kick over the stile.¹⁴⁹

The narratives of South Asians reveal that what it meant to be *metropolitan*, imperial, and thus, civilised were contested not only within the capital, but also on an individual basis.

The reasoning behind such negotiations is fairly straightforward, but given the sampling size of our narratives relative to the native Indian population – even those in ICS service – can only be applied to those visiting the capital. Asian integration of Western values within the framework of their indigenous culture was not only an attempt to transcend racial inequalities within Britain,¹⁵⁰ but also offers an alternative view of the use and appropriation of imperial space by those at the margins of power. We are indebted here to the work of Felix Driver and David Gilbert, who positioned the imperial city as inseparable from its context of empire. In particular, they note how ‘the global processes of imperialism were absorbed and re-presented in the urban context.’¹⁵¹ The new imperialism of the post-1870 decades, crafted as it was by a semi-cooperative yet

¹⁴⁷ Burton, *Heart of the Empire*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ Pillai, *London and Paris*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁹ Malabari, *The Indian Eye*, pp. 61-2.

¹⁵⁰ Wainwright, *The Better Class of Indians*, p. 100; Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes*, p. 66.

¹⁵¹ F. Driver and D. Gilbert, ‘Heart of Empire? Landscape, space and performance in imperial London’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16 (1998), 12.

increasingly connected urban empire, was in consequence ‘necessarily hybrid.’¹⁵²

Imperial terrain was not, therefore, the sole purview of the metropolis, nor of the British. It existed at all points throughout the empire, manufactured and debated, constructed and destroyed, as a dialogue between local and foreign inputs. The South Asian who travelled to London had, therefore, never left this critical area, and indeed, the ‘negotiations’ between Asians and Britons at the centre appear at second glance to be greatly muted. While one late-century commentator spoke of a distinct change during the voyage, ‘From Port Said, I felt that my colour was changing to white, while going to London. But on our way back, Port Said takes back what it gave, leaving the colour one starts with from India’¹⁵³, most visitors to Britain made mention only of great politeness and open receptions.

Consider the visit of Fath Nawaz Jang. Mahdi Hasan Khan Fath Nawaz Jang was born in Lucknow in 1852, eventually rising through the ranks of the ICS to become an officer at Hyderabad. His extensive knowledge of the workings of the civil service, and his travels throughout India thus gave him a first-hand look at the relations between the Anglo-Indians and the indigenous population. Travelling to Europe in 1888, Jang meticulously maintained a diary of his visit, and carefully illustrated not only the landmarks and sites, but how he was received and treated during his time in the capital. Landing at Folkestone in March of 1888, Jang recorded not an unfamiliarity or shock at the sights, but rather ‘[t]here at last I seemed to be quite at home, and felt almost as if I were in my own country; everyone spoke English, and the advertisements were all in English.’¹⁵⁴ The scale of London, moreover, does not faze Jang; he confidently describes the city’s modernity in rather European terms (see Chapter Four):

¹⁵² Driver and Gilbert, ‘Heart of Empire?’, 13.

¹⁵³ S.M.B. Bahadur, *My Jubilee Visit to London*, trans. K.S. Rao (Thacker & Co., Bombay, 1899), p. 69.

¹⁵⁴ F.N. Jang, *An Indian Passage to Europe: the Travels of Fath Nawaz Jang*, trans. O. Khalidi (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006), p. 51.

Time is very valuable here, as it ought to be everywhere, and there are varied means of locomotion; tram-cars and omnibuses which run day and night, four-wheeled cabs or two-wheeled hansoms for people who want a more speedy conveyance, while those who want to go still faster take the underground railway, where trains run every minute or two.¹⁵⁵

It is in Jang's dealings with the indigenous Britons where we witness the most visible evidence of a bifurcated imperialism. Jang's presence within metropolitan space is not a spectacle; his membership at clubs and societies is well-regarded, and in fact, Jang himself takes pains to belabour this point:

I lunched with Hamid and Zahid, the sons of my old friend Safdar Hosein Khan, at the Northbrook Club. In India I had heard disparaging things said about this Club. Among other things, that the Club being full of Anglo-Indians, Natives were treated badly there, deriving no benefit from, and having no voice in the Club. I am extremely glad to say that I found every one of these remarks contrary to the fact. Natives are treated there on perfectly equal terms with Europeans.¹⁵⁶

Attending numerous 'at-homes' and a presentation to the Queen and Prince of Wales, Jang's experience is similar to those of Rao Bahadur Nadkarni, who on his own 1896 voyage attended a drawing-room meeting on education in India:

Miss Sorabji read a paper on the work in connection with the education of women in India...At the end of Miss Sorabji's paper, a young Bengali gentleman, Chattopadhyaya, made some remarks on the education of females in Bengal...The assembly was a mixed one. Many English ladies and some native gentlemen and ladies had met there at the invitation of Miss Manning, the Secretary to the National Indian Association.¹⁵⁷

Even among the more lukewarm visitors, there was still an acknowledgment of this treatment, as with N.L. Doss, who, when visiting his own 'at-homes', despite being 'a member of an alien and conquered race, I was made to feel at home in every one of them.'¹⁵⁸ The attitudes on the part of the British were so sympathetic that Jang concluded Indians were the 'privileged brothers of the English. We take precedence here, both at

¹⁵⁵ Jang, *Indian Passage to Europe*, p. 53.

¹⁵⁶ Jang, *Indian Passage to Europe*, p. 71.

¹⁵⁷ Nadkarni, *Journal of a Visit to Europe in 1896*, p. 22.

¹⁵⁸ Doss, *Reminiscences, English and Australasian*, p. 1.

Court and in private houses...I would advise those of my countrymen, who can afford it, to come here every five years to refresh their admiration for the English people.’¹⁵⁹

While authors such as Rozina Visram and Martin Wainwright might point out the discontinuity of experience between high-ranking visitors such as Jang and the significantly lower-ranking Asian communities of lascars, servants, and students, this is not such a liability to our argument as it might seem. The correlation between imperial and cultural terrain is, even within the dominions, highly individual and deeply personal, a necessary feature of the informal networks of empire. Moreover, the core motivation for the motley collections of lower-class Asians in Britain remains, at its heart, the same as that of the princes and officers: the desire to improve one’s material condition by substituting British values in place of things like Indian caste. Julie Codell put it simply: ‘Being in another country offered a freedom from often-restricted identities of home, to which one could return when desired and from which one never entirely left.’¹⁶⁰ This was especially so for Asian travellers. On the one hand, the freedom of residence (and legal status) as British subjects guaranteed the right to partake in the benefits of metropolitan society. Yet, the Indian Emigration Acts of 1874 and 1883 attempted to restrict this same flow, and to make Indians (and all South Asians) in Britain a clearly demarcated and socially segregated underclass.¹⁶¹ Whether the Acts were successful or not (and it seems not), British subjecthood was still intimately associated with certain legal, social, and cultural connotations, all of which emphasised a progressive modernising influence: (ostensible) equality before the law, freedom of religious worship, access to British cultural and artistic traditions, and the right of British residence. These things were seen as integral to British success, and if they could be applied in an Indian context, would

¹⁵⁹ Jang, *Indian Passage to Europe*, pp. 101-2.

¹⁶⁰ J.F. Codell (ed.), *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press* (Rosemont Publishing, London, 2003), p. 21.

¹⁶¹ Wainwright, *The Better Class of Indians*, p. 105.

likewise yield similar results. We are thus reminded of the words of Mahammad Beg Bahadur, who summarised the enticement of London (and Britain) as such:

Poverty has been more friendly with my country, more constantly associated with her, than with any other: and yet, what is the result? Not industry, co-operation or wealth, not a development of her arts, or manufactures, but only death and disease. Want can only stimulate effort: but successful effort requires knowledge and virtue, mutual trust and co-operation. Want in England, wedded to knowledge and virtue, has been in a way the source of her greatness: whereas, want in India, associated with the utmost ignorance of the masses, and utmost division, discord and distrust among them, has been only sweeping the people off the country....¹⁶²

Modernity and Anti-Modernity: Shaping the Empire

Introducing a new history of imperial relationships in 2009, Antoinette Burton and Tony Ballantyne crafted a vision of empire in which dynamics were represented not by power relations, geographies, or even networks, but by bodies in motion. They reconfigured the imperial contact as ‘an intimate business’¹⁶³, a personally affective and individually construed moment dependent upon a host of cultural, spatial, and social factors. The British Empire was transformed into ‘cartographies of sociality and association, of conversion and coercion, of desire and disavowal.’¹⁶⁴ The primacy of the individual, and their impression – and often exclusion – of the ‘other’ were the new limits of imperial action. The importance of this perspective is twofold: it allows the tourist, the merchant, the journalist, or the migrant an unprecedented freedom of movement in constructing, displaying, or even combating imperial identity. It also poses significant challenges to the idea of a metropolitan centre; the empire is decentralised and inherently unstable, existing from within through popular sympathy, or defined from outside through suspicion and aggression. Yet, at the heart of their analysis, the empire, its meanings and limits, and its influence, remain highly subjective to local interpretation.

¹⁶² Bahadur, *My Jubilee Visit to London in 1896*, pp. 27-8.

¹⁶³ T. Ballantyne and A. Burton (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire* (University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 2009), p. 10.

¹⁶⁴ Ballantyne and Burton, *Moving Subjects*, p. 12.

The elevation of the individual to what is, essentially, the maker of imperial destiny, is of critical importance.¹⁶⁵ A good example is J.A. Hobson's description of the 'outlander problem': 'wherever a new area is opened up to our trade and capital the nucleus of an outlander population is formed. Hence, of necessity, springs up a crop of political issues, an outlander problem: the British outlanders not satisfied with the foreign rule demand the intervention of their home Government.'¹⁶⁶ The experiences of the individual, or at times the group, shape and inform imperial power relations as effectively as the colonial administrator sent from London. The tourist is not immune from this process, and indeed, as Marjorie Morgan has illustrated, have perhaps the most active role of all in defining themselves at the local, national, and imperial levels.¹⁶⁷ Whatever the outcome, their active shaping of the processes of empire – through steamship and railway, telegraph and letter – brought the metropolis to the periphery, and in returning to London, brought a little of the periphery back with them. In this way, imperial terrain was constantly generated and always connected.¹⁶⁸

Thus, as each visitor experiences London and maps their anxieties and hopes onto the city, so too does this become an act of empire. The ability of imperial networks to generate the same cultural outlook thus expands the tension between modernity and traditionalism into a global phenomenon. It is, moreover, the resolution of this phenomenon which admits a fundamental change in imperial dynamics at the end of the

¹⁶⁵ See for instance T. Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa: 1876-1912* (Phoenix, London, 2001) for an excellent account of how imperial power relations in Africa were often the result of individual choices made in theatre; and, though a popular work, P. Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On Secret Service in Central Asia* (John Murray, London, 2006), for the same process in Central Asia.

¹⁶⁶ Hobson, *Imperialism*, p. 47.

¹⁶⁷ M. Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Palgrave, New York, 2001), p. 156.

¹⁶⁸ For example, consider the role of Africans in London theatre, by F.A. Nussbaum, 'The Theatre of Empire: Racial Counterfeit, Racial Realism', in K. Wilson (ed.), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), pp. 71-90. Nussbaum notes that 'The metropole itself evolved into a contact zone where the empire persistently intruded into domestic affairs.' (p. 71); and for a wider treatment on the same subject, see the landmark study by C. Hall and S.O. Rose (eds.), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006).

nineteenth century. Drawn from the burgeoning middle and upper classes, the tourists under examination here were the future of the colonial power structure. Their impressions of Britain would in time forge a new reckoning of the imperial order. For the white dominions, this meant greater independence on the world stage. Yet this necessarily entailed the hardships of weaning and learning from the example of the parent, won at cost in the South African War of 1899-1902 and the battlefields of France, before maturing to command equal and separate representation at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. As for those South Asian visitors, they too were the privileged class who, though it would take longer, sought to drag their country into the modern age, but by breaking with British norms instead of reinforcing them. The formation of the Indian National Association in 1876, and its successor, the Indian National Congress in 1885, were the first attempts to do just that. They too would ultimately have individual representation in 1919.

The experiences of visitors during their trips to London thus signified a growing change in the manner in which imperial relations were conceived and enacted, a change which, thanks to the integration of the colonies by both formal and informal means, was occurring simultaneously throughout the empire. The role of the tourist here was not merely to examine another culture, however superficially it might resemble their own, but rather the more weighty duty of attempting to determine the best future course for self-improvement. While John MacKenzie could define the empire as one of travel,¹⁶⁹ it is fair to say that travel, in its own way, eventually defined the empire.

¹⁶⁹ J. MacKenzie, 'Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries', in: J. Walton (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Channel View Publications, Clevedon, 2005), p. 19.

Chapter Two

‘How differently we go ahead in America!’: the American Experience of London.

Introduction

If imperial travel to London had as its objective the promotion of sentimental ties to inform and resolve local and regional issues, American travel was much more practical and utilitarian. Far from being uncertain about the increasing prominence of technological, industrial, or commercial expansion, Americans were instead caught up in the swell of development after 1865. In the immediate post-Civil War decades, the entire American political economy transformed itself to become a ‘more alert, hardworking, less hidebound, more efficient competitor’¹, on the world stage, and to set in motion the United States’ ascent to eventual Great Power status – a trajectory which, ironically, saw ‘the British Empire [as] the available model for her unaccustomed role.’² In this, London was a uniquely-suited example. As the world’s first truly global city, London was perceived as setting the pace for the world’s development. American visitors were fascinated not merely by the engineer’s ability at constructing things like the Metropolitan Railway or the Thames Tunnel, but in the application of these things to promote British commercial and national interests. The ability of the engineer to subdue and contain nature was always present in the background of the narratives.

Yet it is not modernity for modernity’s sake that Americans are fascinated by the capital; rather, they remain keenly interested in the applications of these innovations – social as well as technological – which they perceive as not only responsible for British commercial and political success, but which come to define what ‘Britishness’ is – a cosmopolitan and expansive people. Americans, seeking to engage with their own theories of national identity, find the visit to London a chance to reflect on what makes them

¹ A. Zwerdling, *Improvised Europeans: American Literary Expatriates and the Siege of London* (Basic Books, New York, 1998), p. 16.

² Zwerdling, *Improvised Europeans*, p. 23.

‘American’ and where they want ‘America’ to be in the future. Within this context all the hallmarks of rapid change are present: the collapse and re-imagination of conceptions of space and time, the use of high technology to solve urban difficulties, and the negative pressures of an increasingly divided and mobile population.³ Throughout the American travelogues, we are given glimpses of how the city – and thus Britain – comes to deal with these issues, and how this differs from modernity in the United States.

Indeed, modernity was a fundamental element in the American psyche. The Old World systems of patronage, aristocratic privilege, and monarchical prerogative had been discarded as limiting and restrictive; ‘Yankee Goaheadativeness’ was the rallying cry to which the citizens of America would create and sustain their future. Such a deeply constitutive element explains at a stroke the criticisms of Britain as slow and unwieldy, and yet also shaped the manner in which post-1865 Americans interacted with various networks across the Western world. Such goaheadativeness did not preclude, after all, learning from the older powers and avoiding their mistakes. A late-century editorial in the *New York Evangelist* offered a transatlantic example:

The American must have a fine office. The Englishman builds a fine City Hall. The American must have every convenience in his home. The Englishman takes pains to provide proper sanitation and transportation to the people...If the Englishman might well copy our quickness in the use of new inventions, we may well imitate him in his willingness to accept new ideas in government and state-craft.⁴

Despite this prognosis, American tourism to Britain should not be judged solely as a general mission of discovery in how best to avoid European mistakes or to improve on the latest inventions, although there was a degree of truth to this perspective. Rather, undertaking the transatlantic journey ultimately fulfilled an additional role: it assuaged a

³ R. Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008), pp. 35-9; and P. Capuzzo, ‘Spectacles of Sociability: European Cities as Sites of Consumption’, in M. Hard and T. Misa (eds.), *Urban Machinery: Inside Modern European Cities* (MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 2008), p. 99. Capuzzo’s assertions hold that the use of increasingly-modern technology was that in addition to showing off the city, it brought with it ‘value-laden notions’ of parallel social and cultural development.

⁴ W.S.J., ‘Conservatism and Progress’, *The New York Evangelist*, 69, 47 (1898), 9.

deep-seated need for validation – not only as a respected member of the global community, but, from Britain specifically, as a means of reinforcing not only what it meant to be American, but that the great social and political experiment of the late-eighteenth century had been a success.

Transatlantic Travel

If perceptions of Europe were inextricably linked with visions of modernity and progressive influence, this is partially due to the institution of the transatlantic journey. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the iron-hulled and twin-screwed steamship represented one of the most visible and tangible images of affluence, leisure, and consumption. The growing connections between North America and Europe were, for the most part, in the hands of just seven private companies between 1865 and the late 1890s: The Inman Line, the Hamburg-Amerika Line, the North German Lloyd Line, the Montreal and Royal Mail Steamship Company, the General Transatlantic Steamship Company, the Anchor Line, and Cunard. By the end of the century, the transatlantic steamship services would be joined by the American Line, White Star, Holland-America, the Compagnie Generale Transatlantique, and the Atlantic Transport Line, among others. Transatlantic travel was a prosperous business: routine races for the prestigious Blue Riband prompted ever-larger and more luxurious ships, which, coupled with triple-expansion engines and electric lighting, could shave hours or even days off of the trip.⁵ Yet the trappings of modern travel were not cheap: as with air travel in the aftermath of the First World War, cost was an important factor mitigating the desire to travel. In 1865, the average rate of a first-class cabin was, for a one-way journey, \$100, while by 1900, some companies were

⁵ ‘Enterprise and Prosperity of the Transatlantic Steamship Companies’, *The New York Times*, 7 June 1865. The article notes that the fastest ships could, even at this relatively early date, make the trip in eight to ten days. For a more general (though popular) history of the transatlantic steamship trade, see S.R. Fox, *The Ocean Railway: Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Samuel Cunard, and the revolutionary world of the great Atlantic steamships* (Harper Perennial, London, 2004); and F.C. Bowen, *A Century of Atlantic Travel, 1830-1930* (S. Low, Marston, London, 1932), as well as numerous specific company histories.

charging as much as \$400 an individual for a *cabin de luxe*.⁶ The stability and reliability of steamship traffic tended to make the ocean voyage a formality rather than the adventure it had been in the sailing days; machinery and modernity had subjugated the very forces of nature.

The expansion of transatlantic traffic did much to promote access between the New and Old Worlds, and often became integrated within the wider tourist experience.⁷ But despite the 1891 assertion by William H. Rideing in *The Cosmopolitan*, that tourists ‘hail from everywhere: from Texas, from California, from Maine; from great cities and little villages; from all the various and dissimilar classes...wide apart they are by education, wealth, and social bias!’⁸, the reality was decidedly less democratic and somewhat more exclusive. Given the prices listed above, plus the expenses incurred in remaining in London – or travelling around Britain – for a week or a month, the transatlantic tourist was virtually guaranteed to be a member of the middle class or higher, and indeed, our sources are almost all visitors from the relatively urbanised and modern east coast. The prices illustrated within Table 1, for instance, are rather conservative estimates of fourteen-day visits to London specifically, and do not account for a variety of other factors which are generally too complex to accurately model.

⁶ ‘Steamship rates advance’, *The New York Times*, 16 Jan. 1900.

⁷ For instance, the Inman Line was, as early as 1865, offering inclusive tickets which provided not only for passage aboard ship, but the railway tickets and other fares required to get to the port city itself, whether in America or Britain. Promoters were not blind to the possibility of extending advertisements into these hitherto-inaccessible areas: in 1871, the London-based Joseph Bruton Printing Co., paid the Great Western Railway £1200 to print advertisements on the backs of GWR rail tickets. National Archives, RAIL 252/429 (Contract between J. Bruton and the Great Western Railway company, 1871).

⁸ W.H. Rideing, ‘The Transatlantic Trip’, *The Cosmopolitan: a Monthly Illustrated Magazine*, 10, 3 (1891), 357.

Table 1. *Models of Three Trips to London.*⁹

Expense	Couple	Individual	Family (5)
Train, return ¹⁰	£4 7s	£2 3s 6d	£6 10s 10d
Hotel (14 days) ¹¹	£4 4s	£3 3s	£7
Sights ¹²	15s	7s 7d	£1 17s 6d
Souvenirs ¹³	1s	1s	2s
Food	Included	Included	Included
Ship Passage ¹⁴	£30	£18	£40
Total ¹⁵	£39 7s	£23 15s 1d	£56 10s 4d
American Dollars ¹⁶	\$195.40	\$100.50	\$280.45

The group of visitors who undertook this trip, given that these represent *minimum* expenses, were thus of solidly middle-class origin. Either covering the expenses themselves, or being sponsored – as, for instance, the journalist Elizabeth Banks – by a newspaper or agency, the majority of transatlantic visitors represented a significant section of the burgeoning ‘public class’ within the United States; that is, those whose activities would eventually shape and influence public opinion. Tony Bennett has written on the ability for societal development to be promoted by these ‘capillary networks of power

⁹ While any estimate of the overall expense of such a trip is very difficult to establish, owing to the varying proclivities between sightseers, places to stay, and their respective budgets, some quick models may be derived using the prices and conversions present in Baedeker’s *London and its Environs* (K. Baedeker, Leipzig, 1889), Charles Dickens’s *Dictionary of London* (London, 1879), and the *Westminster Palace Hotel Guide to the Metropolis* (London, 1883). Note that these amounts do not reflect any day-trips, journeys around Britain, or further travels to the Continent.

¹⁰ Baedeker’s guide lists a second-class ticket from Liverpool to London as 21s 9d, (p. 4).

¹¹ The *Westminster Palace* guide lists a ‘large bedroom’ at 6s per day (p. 45), while Dickens’s *Dictionary of London* lists 10s as a standard price for a decent hotel (here, the Royal Exeter) including food and ‘attendance’.

¹² A good overview of London, incorporating visits to the Great Exhibition (1s), Houses of Parliament, St. Paul’s (3s), the Tower of London (1s), and, in the evening, the Covent Garden Theatre (2s 6d). Prices as presented in Dickens’s *Dictionary of London*. These numbers are not inclusive of any transportation or miscellaneous costs.

¹³ Assuming the purchase of a guidebook to London, such as Black’s or Dickens’s guide.

¹⁴ The prices for transatlantic passage are based on occupancy rates of particular cabins, in 1865 prices. The return journey was often half again the price of a one-way ticket, while prices for family cabins have been difficult to establish. Prices from Baedeker’s guide and corroborated by a *New York Times* advertisement, 7 June 1865.

¹⁵ See *Cassell’s Household Guide*, (24 vols., Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., London, 1881-3), i, p. 38. The guide recommended, throughout the 1880s, that a yearly holiday – ‘in these modern days...one of the necessities of life’ – incur no more than £20 per year (from a yearly income of £500), or £15 (from a yearly income of £300). Deducting the expense of ‘ship passage’ brings our models into general agreement with these recommendations.

¹⁶ Assuming, as Baedeker’s 1889 guide does, a five dollar to one pound exchange rate, (p. 1).

relations', arguing for the 'intrinsically governmental constitution of modern culture.'¹⁷ In essence, cultural traits are shaped and informed by the middle classes in accordance with their outlook before being transmitted into the public domain to inculcate other followers – usually here the working classes – to conform to bourgeois norms. Bennett in particular characterised these 'descending flows of hegemonic ideologies'¹⁸ as being comprised of both empirical knowledge (objects and experience) and ideological (rationality) factors, which in turn were used as agents of social control (governance). The American tourist in Britain, while conforming to a certain circumscribed cultural experience themselves,¹⁹ added authoritatively to an expanding body of cultural knowledge – both about themselves and others – which was then transmitted to the population at large through guidebooks, lectures, and memoirs. William Stowe, in his study *Going Abroad* (1994), noted that on their return, many tourists 'had the opportunity to rewrite and in a sense to relive their travel experiences, and to recast themselves as the kind of narrators, protagonists, and travelers they wanted to be', which resulted in a 'process of empowerment'.²⁰ Financiers, journalists, religious figures, university students, generals, and minor politicians all contributed their empirical knowledge, not only about Britain, but often of France, Germany, and other European countries, and from this constituted a type of authority over public debates.²¹ The best source for this knowledge was, until the period under consideration in this work, the Continent. It offered widespread opportunities for American tourists looking for 'finishing' – instruction in manners, social graces, and worldliness. One commentator, examining the pattern in the early 1890s, put it as follows:

¹⁷ T. Bennett, 'Useful Culture', *Cultural Studies*, 6, 3 (1992), 398.

¹⁸ Bennett, 'Useful Culture', 399.

¹⁹ W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994), pp. 21-4 and 55-71; and see T.F. Wright, 'The Results of Locomotion: Bayard Taylor and the Travel Lecture in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century United States', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 14, 2 (2010), 112.

²⁰ Stowe, *Going Abroad*, p. 55.

²¹ F.R. Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1964), p. 127.

In the days of the Second Empire, when Louis Napoleon wielded the sceptre, and Eugenie set the fashions for the civilized world, Americans flocked to Paris like so many sheep...With the downfall of the empire and its accompanying glories our compatriots found Paris less attractive, and they discovered what everybody knows – that London is, in many respects, the most interesting city in the world. A presentation to Her Majesty, and hob-knobbing with the Prince of Wales, are the things now most desired.²²

In one respect, the travails of Paris during the 1870 Franco-Prussian War and the 1871 Commune forced Americans to turn to London as a substitute for European cultural engagement. Yet, given that ‘thousands’ of Americans were looking to cross the Atlantic in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War,²³ the popularity of London must have been near, or perhaps even equivalent to, that of Paris.

The relationship between Britain and America was, however, a complicated, tenuous affair.²⁴ Even here, we find the influence of the networks. They operated in a similar capacity as did that of the colonial networks: exchanging goods, literature, ideas, and people between the United States and Britain over the course of the century. Unlike the imperial version, however, they differed in two fundamental respects. First, despite the presence of a large, British-descended émigré population, the constant influx of significant groups of Irish, German, and eastern European immigrants meant that any overarching sense of a shared Anglo-Saxon ‘mission’ was always subject to some fluctuation. Second, American pretensions towards their own imperial endeavours in the western hemisphere, and their desires to avoid European entanglements, often brought them into conflict with rival imperial powers – as indeed occurred with Britain during the 1895 Venezuelan Crisis, and Spain in 1898. The result was to steer these networks more towards mutual utility, rather than sentimental ties, and to lend the position of the United States in relation to the

²² M. Phillips, *Abroad and At Home: Practical Hints for Tourists* (Brentano’s, New York, 1891), p. 24.

²³ ‘Enterprise and Prosperity’, *The New York Times*, 7 June 1865; and see B.C. Stephenson (ed.), *The American Visitor*, 1 (1884), 9-11, which lists 321 ‘Americans’ (possibly meaning North Americans) present in London in a single (unstated) month.

²⁴ For instance, a *New York Times* article in 1865 claimed that ‘the American people certainly do *not*, now-a-days, “love the old country” *much*, nor trust it *any*.’, ‘Our Transatlantic Cousins’, *The New York Times*, 17 Dec. 1865; while the *Illustrated London News* condescendingly noted that ‘It is our duty, of course, to be direfully indignant with the Americans’, *Illustrated London News*, 1635 (Feb. 1871), 107.

‘British world’ an inherent ambiguity.²⁵ On the one hand, visitors such as James Mason Hoppin, who would later become a distinguished professor of art history at Yale, found the strongest connection to be language:

it has seemed to me, that in regard for the natural sympathy which there should be between these nations (notwithstanding it has received rude shocks) there is nothing, after all, more important than the familiar fact of a common literature. When we analyze it, this appears to be the main source of our most genuine sympathy for England, wherever it exists. Because we read the same English Bible, and sing the same sweet English hymns...this is a spiritual bond more profound than commercial ties and international treaties, and more present and vital than past historic associations.²⁶

Despite these commonalities, the presence of British commercial and international prestige often appeared to threaten a perceived trajectory towards American great-power status.

William Drew, complaining about America’s poor showing at the Crystal Palace, could announce that ‘If America would show *herself* to the world, she must bring on here what the Crystal Palace cannot hold, - her Mississippis, her Ohios, her Eries, her Superiors, her vast Prairies, her interminable Lumber Forests, her Water Power, her Railroads, her Merchant Ships, &c.’²⁷ Such sporadic fluctuations between rivalry and cooperation occur repeatedly throughout the narratives of American visitors in the last third of the century.

On the balance, however, American attitudes towards Britain, even during periods of tension, remained relatively sympathetic. They were shaped by a shifting collection of networks and actors. The proliferation of Sons of St. George Lodges throughout the northeast, the popularity (and appropriation) of English literature,²⁸ and the status accorded

²⁵ G. Magee and A.S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010), pp. 38-40; A. Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims: the American Traveller in Great Britain, 1800-1914* (Cornwall Books, New York, 1981), pp. 283-7; E. Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2008), p. xxv.

²⁶ J.M. Hoppin, *Old England: its Scenery, Art, and People* (Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1867), pp. v-vi. As well, Russell Kirk has argued that it was sympathy for the institutions of religion, education, and language, beginning in the eighteenth century, which drove wider American perceptions of Britain in the nineteenth. See R. Kirk, *America’s British Culture* (Transaction, New Brunswick, NJ, 1993), pp. 13-28 and 69-82.

²⁷ W. Drew, *Glimpses and Gatherings during a Voyage and Visit to London and the Great Exhibition* (Homan & Manley, Augusta, 1852), p. 199.

²⁸ R. Granqvist, *Imitation as Resistance: Appropriations of English Literature in Nineteenth-Century America* (Associated University Presses, London, 1995), pp. 25-32.

to those who had personally ventured to Europe created a cultural context in which transatlantic travel became equated with modernity – the latest fashion trends, literary works, and social gossip lay across the ocean. The voyage to London thus satisfied multiple imperatives for the middle-class American tourist. On an individual level, it acknowledged a fidelity towards Britain – represented by romantic landscapes and historical encounters – as a major contributor (if not founder) of the religious and democratic systems which informed so much of American civic life. Furthermore, it reinforced pretensions to a leisurely lifestyle of consumption, emblematic of a modern society: the steamship passage and resulting expenses in London were, in and of themselves, markers of status and prestige. On a collective level, it not only generated a bourgeois cultural authority for domestic use, but also brought them into contact with their own ideals of being American.

London and Technological Modernity

With the German siege and subsequent bombardment of Paris in 1871, London's status as the foremost city of modernity in Europe now passed unchallenged. According to the *Saturday Review* in 1872, London's charms were 'varied and interesting':

The Embankment has added to its dignity, and supplies a magnificent open terrace from which the city may be viewed; its Parks are more artistically managed than they used to be; and its environs in natural beauty have always been unsurpassed by those of any other capital. It has so long been the custom to disparage and abuse London...that people who now visit it for the first time are probably surprised to find out how much better it is than they expected.²⁹

The *Saturday Review* offers an interesting commentary on the marketing of London's attractions. The first item is the Thames Embankment, recently completed in 1866 in concert with the Metropolitan Railway and Main Drainage Scheme. Londoners could justly be proud of these three major 'city-wide' construction efforts which proceeded more or less concurrently throughout the 1860s, while the parks (always a favourite) and

²⁹ 'Our Foreign Visitors', *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 33, 863 (May 1872), 591.

surrounding countryside finished second and third, respectively. Yet the *Saturday Review* was no isolated characterisation. Between 1879 and 1900 London's appeal was repeatedly – even aggressively – connected with its status as a modern wonder of the world.³⁰

Expressions of London's modernity assumed a degree of importance throughout American narratives, especially those occurring after 1865. The city's railways, bridges, telegraph cables, gas lights, and other implements of technological progress were the subjects of endless fascination. Throughout American travel narratives, expressions of technological modernity were often the first contact the traveller had with the city. Such technology transformed not only the manner in which people interacted with the urban matrix, but the ways in which they perceived it. Consider Arthur Cleveland Coxe, a visitor who would later become Bishop of New York. Coxe had high hopes for his arrival into London:

In early life I had always promised myself a first view of London, either approaching the Tower by water, and taking in the survey of steeples, bridges, and docks, or else descending from Hampstead, on the top of a rapid coach, and beholding the great dome of St. Paul's amid a world of subordinate roofs, and looming up through their common canopy of cloud-like smoke.

His actual arrival, however, was rather more prosaic:

Alas! for all such visions, we have reached the age of the rail: and, consequently, I found myself, one afternoon, set down in a busy, bustling station-house, with a confused sensation of having been dragged through a long ditch, and a succession of dark tunnels, and with a scarcely less confused conception, that I was in London.³¹

In this instance, the perception of London was completely at odds with his original desires; the modern 'age of the rail' had turned arrival in the city into something of an industrial, artificial event. More importantly, Coxe's experience illustrates the first stage of London's

³⁰ Murray's *Handbook to London as it is* (J. Murray, London, 1879), announced that '[i]n no part of the Old World do changes occur so rapidly as in London. An improvement mooted one year is carried into execution the next' (p. 5), while Baedeker's 1889 *London Guide* called London 'the greatest city in the modern world' (p. iii). The link between London and modernity continued on into the 1930s; see D. Gilbert, 'London in all its glory – or how to enjoy London: Guidebook Representations of Imperial London', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25, 3 (1999), 279-97.

³¹ A.C. Coxe, *Impressions of England, or, Sketches of English Scenery and Society* (Dana, New York, 1856), p. 28.

modernism, on the comparatively small-scale stage of the city itself. The city is the smallest piece in the larger theme of man subjugating nature to his own uses. Such subjugation is intimately associated with both the mechanical inventions of industrialism, and also highlighted in how the city is geographically understood. All of these things were ‘vital means in the transformation or reordering of urban space.’³² Technologically, London was a multi-layered city, although not to the same level that New York would be by 1900. Steam demolished the mystery of the subterranean, and even blurred the barrier between the past and present:

Various remains of Roman art and grandeur have been found in London at various times, even down to the building of the great Metropolitan Railway, where now the iron horse traverses the subterranean passages of the great city, which of itself is sufficient proof of its being at one time a place of much importance.³³

Vertical and horizontal, as well as urban and peripheral adjustments could and did occur as well, as Henry James related:

...I know that when I look off to the left at the East India Docks, or pass under the dark, hugely-piled bridges, where the railway trains and the human processions are for ever moving, I feel a kind of imaginative thrill. The tremendous piers of the bridges, in especial, seem the very pillars of the empire aforesaid.³⁴

Railways and bridges were not the only means by which London’s cityscape adapted to the pressures of invention. The boring of tunnels through regions thought to be ‘beyond the reach of light or life; passages inhabited by rats, soaked with sewer drippings, and poisoned by the escape of gas mains,’³⁵ was a highly dominative act, but such subjugation also occurred in milder forms. As London grew ever larger, the city clung with tenacity to those small spots of parkland left behind. From the top of St. Paul’s, London was a labyrinthine maze of streets and spires, but also of gardens: ‘The density of this world of

³² M. Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999), p. 122. Freeman’s work approaches the subject of the cultural implications of the railway upon Victorian Britain, and purports that the railway ultimately became an institution unto itself in Victorian culture and thought, and that it simultaneously reflected both the heights of technological wonder and the depths of irrational fear.

³³ W. Whyte, *O’er the Atlantic, or, a Journal of a Voyage to and from Europe* (American News Co., New York, 1870), p. 123.

³⁴ Drew, *Glimpses and Gatherings*, pp. 155-6.

³⁵ ‘The Metropolitan Subterranean Railway,’ *The Times*, 30 Nov. 1861.

buildings is hardly relieved by the apparent threadings of the streets in any direction... There is a relief, however, and it is a *grateful* one, on every side; occasioned by the green openings of shady commons and squares and parks.³⁶ By all accounts, these parks were some of London's most popular features, not least due to their ability to break up the monotony of streets and buildings. Within our urban context, even this example of nature has become artificially parcelled and regulated within the heart of London, a reminder of a more rural age. Both parks and tubes call to mind a city that has grown so large that it can no longer be easily understood as a whole unit, requiring new modalities of comprehension, as Joel Cook wrote in 1889

There are grey-headed men who have passed all their lives in London who are still ignorant of large portions of it, and, in fact, never were in some parts of the city. I know one who has never been to the Tower, and another who had never been through the Thames Tunnel. What can you do with such people? They are as great curiosities as any London has in her wonderful museums, and would be as remarkable beings as a Philadelphian who had never seen Independence Hall.³⁷

Cook's language linking the older citizens of London ('great curiosities') and their lack of understanding of London's new urban forms suggests changes of such rapidity that not all of the city's inhabitants were able to adapt. The city is reduced to fragments, miniature Londons, and citizens obliged to remain within their particular locales. Moreover, Cook conjures up an image of a city out of time; the mention of both the Tower and the Tunnel as going unseen or misunderstood presents a London populace unsure of the future, yet unwilling to release the past. Richard White, another visitor in the 1880s, wrote of this phenomenon in a similar fashion. 'Everything in the England of to-day is bound by visible links to the England of the past... Of this fact the London omnibus is a daily witness and record,' he recalled, 'It is not quite a mere public vehicle running through streets to take up chance passengers, but is still a sort of stage-coach plying between stage and stage,

³⁶ Drew, *Glimpses and Gatherings*, p. 146.

³⁷ J. Cook, *A Holiday Tour in Europe* (D. McKay, Philadelphia, 1889), p. 121.

stopping regularly at each to take up passengers who assemble there.’³⁸ The presence of high technology had engineered not only a new city, not only new understandings of the form that city would take, but also exercised to a degree an influence over its own past.

This fact is only extended on a broader scale when applied to the relationship between London and Britain. In the eyes of most of the visitors, the city defied description. Henry James called it ‘a paved country, a state by itself,’³⁹ while Elizabeth Forbes titled it a grand ‘metropolis of the World.’⁴⁰ Regardless of its poetic connotations, the fact remained that London was represented as being both an integral part of Britain, and at the same time a completely separate entity. This rather unique state of superposition owed itself to the viewers’ own balance between historical London and modern Britain. Most of the same factors remained in play: the implements of mechanisation shattered the bounds between time and space. Elizabeth Forbes remarked upon just such an occurrence during her visit to Chester: ‘We left Liverpool about noon, crossing to Birkenhead, and came by rail to Chester, one hour’s distance. Only one hour from this commercial depot of the modern world to the shades of Julius Caesar!’⁴¹ Information as well as individuals could be quickly transmitted as the telegraph system crossed the island with wires. Papers such as *The Times* adapted quickly to a daily Britain-wide circulation, as ‘[d]irect wires, under its own control and leading direct into its office, bring the *Times* most of its telegraphic news, and its telegrams are measured by pages.’⁴² The result of such a breakdown of distance and time, history and modernity, was an entirely new phenomenon. Not even residents of New York, arguably America’s most advanced city, could claim a similar distinction among their city and its rural hinterland.

³⁸ White, *England Without and Within*, pp. 81-2.

³⁹ H. James, *English Hours* (Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1905), p. 10.

⁴⁰ E. Forbes, *A Woman’s First Impressions of Europe* (Derby & Miller, New York, 1865), p. 100.

⁴¹ Forbes, *A Woman’s First Impressions*, p. 24.

⁴² Cook, *A Holiday Tour*, pp. 111-2.

On the largest scale was the conception of London as dominating the world itself, whether desert, mountain, prairie or ocean. Commerce and trade were the tools by which the British subjugated nature to its interests. The role of international commercial and capital flows in global city theory has been well-documented, and finds a similar expression here.⁴³ London's stores, although small by American standards, evinced a global grasp in inventory and offerings: 'Here we are in Regent Street, where you can buy everything; the four corners of the world seem to have been laid under contribution to supply it...' ⁴⁴ Curtis Guild wrote, and included a list of some of the cosmopolitan fare that he encountered:

There are English pickles, Dutch saur kroust [sic], French *pâte de fois gras*, Finnian [sic] haddock, German sausages, Italian macaroni, American buffalo tongues, and Swiss cheeses, *in stacks*. That is what astonishes the American – the enormous stock in these retail establishments, and the immense variety of styles of each article; but it should be remembered that this is the market of the world.⁴⁵

London's position as the 'market of the world' was more directly visualised on the Thames: the ever-present 'forest of masts' being perhaps the most repeated simile throughout the narratives. The large amount of shipping moored in the Thames, and the great warehouses along the docksides were undisputable reminders of the British reach; the oceans had been turned into lakes by the merchant marine. The many ships, and the Thames itself, are always in the background of American travelogues, visible from bridges and towers, as a constant reminder of the success of technology over nature.

Throughout all of these layers, the globalising efforts of commerce tend to result in a London that is out of proportion with its surroundings. The world becomes smaller as

⁴³ See for example S. Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, 2nd edn (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001), and also A.D. King, *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalization of London* (Routledge, New York, 1990); as well as J. Eade, *Placing London: From Imperial Capital to Global City* (Berghahn Books, New York, 2000). The role of facilitating capital flows on a national scale is assumed in these works to provide a basis for an increasingly facilitative role across international boundaries (here in a colonial context). The major result for the global city is to bring the world to the city, and diffuse its socio-cultural framework across those same boundaries.

⁴⁴ C. Guild, *Over the Ocean, or, Sights and Scenes in Foreign Lands* (Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1871), p. 160.

⁴⁵ Guild, *Over the Ocean*, p. 161.

progressively greater quantities of exotic goods are available in Regent Street or Covent Garden; but London takes on an aspect of being larger than it is.⁴⁶ The sense of place is thus elevated for the visitor: they are present in an urban system, but are also interacting within a truly global environment.

It is London's very globality which features so importantly here. Whereas to colonial tourists London's reach signified imperial closeness and historical sentiment, to Americans the British Empire appeared much more pragmatic: as a great commercial trading bloc full of opportunities for material and capital expansion. 'It sounds rather absurd,' Henry James could write in 1875, 'but all this smudgy detail may remind you of nothing less than the wealth and power of the British empire at large.'⁴⁷ Despite operating under the perceived handicap of the monarchy, that 'bane of the world'⁴⁸ according to one visitor, Britain was able to command not only her own imperial networks, but also to extend British influence into rival or competing systems. Much of the world's trade was carried in British ships, while British navvies and engineers were abroad designing and carving out railways.⁴⁹ The lesson was not lost on American visitors. Their own experiences colonising the western frontier of the United States, which drew to a close around the early 1890s, had shown them that the restless energy of American expansion required redirection into new arenas of competition and opportunity. The exponent of this 'Frontier Thesis', the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner, recognised this fact in *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1892): 'In place of old frontiers of wilderness, there are new frontiers of unwon science, fruitful for the needs of the race;

⁴⁶ King, *Global Cities*, p. 35.

⁴⁷ James, *English Hours*, p. 165.

⁴⁸ M. Trafton, *Rambles in Europe: in a Series of Familiar Letters* (Charles Pierce & Co., Boston, 1852), p. 92.

⁴⁹ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (Abacus, London, 2009), pp. 72-5.

there are frontiers of better social domains yet unexplored.’⁵⁰ Moreover, Turner was explicit in his linkage between the forces of industrial modernity and greater American progress:

The revolution in the social and economic structure of this country during the past two decades is comparable to what occurred when independence was declared and the constitution was formed...These changes have been long in preparation and are, in part, the result of world-wide forces of reorganization incident to the age of steam production and large-scale industry, and, in part, the result of the closing of the period of colonization of the West.⁵¹

The future outlets for this burst of energy would eventually be found in the Caribbean and the Pacific following the Spanish-American War of 1898, as well as numerous forays into Central and South America. For the tourist in London, for whom (most of) this remained in the future, the British take on global connectivity inspired both comments of admiration and emulation. The technologies of the metropolitan centre had been deployed in a variety of ways to advance commercial, political, and military interests abroad; the United States, having little experience with foreign power projection, was keen to participate by the late-nineteenth century. And in one visitor’s summary that ‘even slow-going England advances’⁵² we find an admission that the systems and inventions of the Old World might have some applicability in the New.

⁵⁰ F.J. Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Henry Holt, Boston, 1921), p. 300. For greater description of the American frontier and its position with respect to ‘Manifest Destiny’, see A. Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (Hill and Wang, New York, 1995), pp. 29-32 and 65-111; Stephanson hits the core of the relationship by noting that ‘Within Anglophone civilization, it was clear too that God had commissioned the United States, the westward empire, as the future leader. It had already achieved the lead in material wealth and population, as well as the highest degree of Anglo-Saxonism and true Christianity. Since there were no more Western continents remaining, it seemed that God had been “training the Anglo-Saxon race” for the historical climax’ (p. 80); E.M. Burns, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ, 1957), pp. 44-5; T. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism and Empire* (Cornell, Ithaca, 2003), pp. 178-214; and M.T. Carroll, *Popular Modernity in America: Experience, Technology, Mythohistory* (SUNY Press, Albany, 2000), pp. 8-13. These authors position the frontier as an ideological force in American national consciousness, the physical embodiment of a struggle for success against difficult conditions (tied to the revolutionary myth). Indeed, the frontier continued to play an important cultural and national role in American history throughout the twentieth century, most notably in its achievements in space.

⁵¹ Turner, *The Frontier*, p. 311.

⁵² E. Champney, *Three Vassar Girls in England: a Holiday Excursion of Three College Girls through the Mother Country* (Estes & Lauriat, Boston, 1884), p. 166.

This characterisation of London as a teacher is not limited to considerations of technological or commercial modernity. The city's social fabric also excited comment throughout the narratives, especially centred on the place of women in the capital. Indeed, the two processes remain related: the growth of the business sector defined the city's reach, but the parallel expansion of a service sector to facilitate this business fired an impetus for greater social development.⁵³ Whether witnessing unchaperoned women in the West End, discussing political suffrage, or commenting on the apparent inevitability of poverty, the other 'half' of London was as much defined by the new modernity as were the traditional physical reminders. The liberalisation of attitudes towards women in public, and the expanding participation of the middle classes in the political arena were held to be essential components of the advanced nation.⁵⁴ These features became the metric by which advancement was measured (both moral and social), and, in a global context, by which western 'civilisation' came to be defined. If American visitors remained pessimistic about the state of the 'lower half' of British society in the face of (perceived) American equality, they nevertheless recognised that the degree of social progress which they enjoyed had been inspired and generated through long centuries of struggle, a story written in stone across the city's face.⁵⁵

London and Social Modernity

The enduring image of social modernity in London remains defined by the activities of women in the capital. American visitors viewing Britain for the first time often expressed amazement at the number of women present in relatively high public view.

⁵³ L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1938), p. 227; Sassen, *The Global City*, p. 9; and E.D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000), pp. 36, 75-6.

⁵⁴ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (Abacus, London, 2009), pp. 22-33.

⁵⁵ This perspective, however, seems to be confined to American overseas travellers, as Justin Edwards has pointed out the existence of the American domestic travel narrative which positioned the immigrant poor as sights of interest in their own right. See J.D. Edwards, 'Why Go Abroad? Djuna Barnes and the Urban Travel Narrative', *Journal of Urban History*, 29, 1 (2002), 6-24.

‘The first thing that strikes the American’s notice most prominently is the employment of women in so many of the public places where only men are employed by us,’⁵⁶ Theron Crawford noted in 1889. This was only the tip of the iceberg; women were present in all aspects of the capital’s daily life, from political activism to shop-keeping to street-sweeping. Women were also agents of consumer activity, whose contributions had been recognised by entrepreneurs such as William Whiteley as early as the 1850s.⁵⁷ With the increase in London’s suburban and commuter transport networks following the opening of the Metropolitan Railway in 1863 and the gains made by the London General Omnibus Company from 1855, women found it much easier to navigate the city than before. By doing so, they rewrote the traditional sexualised boundaries of London, and defied ‘patriarchal gender and aesthetic ideology.’⁵⁸ In the last half of the nineteenth century, the capital may be said to have been conquered by women in all respects.

The travelogues left by visitors, including women travellers, present a divided London: the city is both hostile to women, relegating them to the status of ‘the observed’, and, at the same time, providing encouragement for personal and professional development. This dichotomy has been addressed by Deborah Epstein Nord, Judith Walkowitz and Deborah Parsons, among others; their efforts have sought to disentangle women city-goers from a traditional Benjaminian conception of the urbanite.⁵⁹ Essentially, the Victorian woman in London, whether tourist or citizen, transitioned from a passive urban accoutrement into a more dynamic participant, whose influence and presence upon the city was not delineated by sexual or geographical boundaries. Parsons, in particular,

⁵⁶ T. Crawford, *English Life* (Lovell, New York, 1889), p. 7.

⁵⁷ Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, p. 23.

⁵⁸ A.P. Vadillo, ‘Phenomena in Flux: the Aesthetics and Politics of Traveling in Modernity’, in A.L. Ardis and L.W. Lewis (eds.), *Women’s Experience of Modernity, 1875-1945* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2003), p. 205.

⁵⁹ D.E. Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation and the City* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1995), pp. 12, 207-36; and D. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000), pp. 110-22, 224-7. For further reading see also J. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight* (Virago, London, 1992), and C.O. Parsons, *Women and the Walk: Female Flânerie and the Aesthetics of Public Space in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1996).

captures this idea in her introduction to *Streetwalking the Metropolis* (2000), that ‘the modern city shaped a new observer, whose perspective in turn influenced a new observation of the city itself.’⁶⁰ Women and the modern city became linked in social thought and travellers’ narratives.

Americans in London found themselves confronted by two distinct images of this type of woman: the historical figure whose romanticised fate had been (predominantly) negative; and the modern Victorian, who was usually found operating in some capacity beyond what contemporary social constraints considered ‘normal.’ For the majority of viewers, this latter individual was a praiseworthy, hardworking example of Victorian self-help. In some extreme examples, however, a woman’s activity beyond those same social boundaries evoked scorn and disdain. For the most part such judgements – and experiences – were rare, but to the tourist, especially those who were unaccustomed to such large cities, such liberal behaviour was indelibly linked with the urban setting itself. As with its public buildings, London presented the mythologised figures from its medieval past right alongside its women of modernity, and asked the tourist to accept both.

Amongst London’s historical offerings, Americans found femininity equated with romantic views of a chaste and chivalrous past. This was applied to women who had often met violent or grisly ends at the hands of a ‘terrible inquisition of regal vengeance.’⁶¹ Such romanticising may originate with the Victorians’ own fascination with the medieval period, and the rediscovery of chivalrous conduct, but its immediate result was to transform the image of the historical woman into a source of innocence, virtue, and power on the part of modern observers. In Westminster Abbey this was visible in the writings of Curtis Guild, who eulogised several: ‘Here also is the tomb of Eleanor, queen to Edward I, who, it will be remembered, sucked the poison from her husband’s wound in Palestine; and

⁶⁰ Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis*, p. 8.

⁶¹ A. Dickenson, *My First Visit to Europe* (George Putnam, New York, 1851), p. 131.

here the black marble tomb of Queen Philippa, wife to Edward III, who quelled the Scottish insurrection during her husband's absence.⁶² Nowhere is this more evident, however, than in visitors' recollections of the Tower, which by virtue of its association with such events became indelibly linked with its three most prominent female prisoners. 'We were shown the block upon which three Queens – Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard and Lady Jane Grey – were beheaded, and held the fatal axe in our hands...I shall not enumerate what we saw – everybody knows what is to be seen in the Tower,'⁶³ James Matthews noted. Mrs. A.T.J. Bullard wrote of a similarly unhappy experience in 1850:

And oh! how many scenes of blood have been enacted here. We saw the very spot where Anna Boleyn [sic] and Catharine of Arragon [sic; Katharine Howard], and Lady Jane Grey, and hosts of others were beheaded; and saw the very instruments with which their heads were severed from their bodies, and the block on which so many heads have been laid, that it is covered with cuts and indentures like a butcher's block.⁶⁴

Another visitor, William A. Drew, gave fuller expression to such sentiments, writing about his touching the sword which had executed Anne Boleyn, 'As I ran my fingers across its bloody edge, I could but shudder at the sacrifice of innocence and virtue to gratify the lust of a wicked monarch.'⁶⁵ It was with these images in mind that led most visitors to the Tower to roundly condemn it as a place of the 'blackest deeds'⁶⁶ and 'sickening history,'⁶⁷ finding little to appreciate historically or architecturally. Indeed, it was popularly derided so badly that even author David Locke's fictional Petroleum Nasby cannot resist carrying the image to its extreme:

No light ever penetrates its gloomy walls. There are but two colors – the blackened wood painted by time, and the cold gray of the stones. All the color indicates cruelty – the very stones typify the character of the men who put them together, and their successors who used them. It is the cruellest appearing place on

⁶² Guild, *Over the Ocean*, p. 172.

⁶³ J.N. Matthews, *My Holiday: How I Spent It* (Martin Taylor, Buffalo, 1867), p. 150.

⁶⁴ Mrs. A.T.J. Bullard, *Sights and Scenes in Europe: A Series of Letters from England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy in 1850* (Chambers & Knapp, St. Louis, 1852), p. 39.

⁶⁵ Drew, *Glimpses and Gatherings*, p. 180.

⁶⁶ Whyte, *O'er the Atlantic*, p. 128.

⁶⁷ W.A. Braman, *Glimpses of Europe* (J.B. Savage, Cleveland, 1901), p. 40.

the face of the earth...The Tower is so severe that a picture of a beheading, or of a torture, would be cheerful by contrast and improve it.⁶⁸

The Tower did fulfil one particular function to Americans, however; it served to highlight the apparent progress of gender and civilisation itself from those gloomy times. ‘No man can listen to these tales of blood,’ William Braman hoped, ‘without being impressed with the fact that the world is growing better...truly the world is making progress, and London tower so long used as a prison, now a storehouse, evidences the fact.’⁶⁹ The most interesting approbation on the Tower’s value to history was placed into the mouth of sarcastic old Nasby, who rather poetically understood that

It is war in the midst of peace, it is a fortress surrounded by traffic, it is lawless force against law, it is simply an incongruity, and only valuable and interesting as showing what was, in comparison with what is...The Tower is a good thing for a world to see, so that it can know what to avoid.⁷⁰

Implicit within this comparison is the fact that women have made similar progress, at least in the eyes of male viewers. They are (ostensibly) no longer executed on pretexts of treason, nor imprisoned within cold stone dungeons. While the truth of these viewpoints may be debated elsewhere, the viewers of London’s historical women felt there had nevertheless been a sea change in their treatment since the sword and block.

On second glance, this supposed change does not appear as wide-ranging to the historian as it did to contemporary visitors. American and other tourists might point to medieval London as a barometer for social progress, but they did not often translate that image into everyday life. London’s women were certainly interesting, but ultimately unremarkable, and generally passed silently between the pages. It was those who pushed the extreme ends of social constraint who stood out in the narratives, those modern women who held jobs, who went canvassing, who sat on political committees; and those who fought in the streets, frequented gin shops, and wandered half-naked through Petticoat

⁶⁸ D. Locke, *Nasby in Exile, or, Six Months of Travel* (Locke, Toledo, 1882), p. 139.

⁶⁹ Braman, *Glimpses of Europe*, p. 42.

⁷⁰ Locke, *Nasby in Exile*, pp. 137, 139.

Lane and Whitechapel. Now and then a glimpse of the struggling suffragette even emerges. Women in the capital were presented as angels and demons, liars, princesses, hard workers, and, perhaps most importantly of all, empresses and queens. Nevertheless, the single element unifying all of these women is one that resonates very clearly within London's context of tumultuous change: they are all products of a modern urban system.

London was a city full of opportunity: in the introduction to her study (mentioned in the previous chapter) on Australian women in London, Angela Woollacott noted the presence of 'women moving from rural hinterlands in search of broader economic, social, and sexual opportunities.'⁷¹ This held true for existing citizens as well as local migrants. For the urban woman, London promised a brave new world of underground railways, local councils, schoolhouses, and hospitals; at the same time, its bloated expanse offered up the temptations of anonymity, vice, crime, and abuse. Thus, in our visitors' eyes, both types of woman – the successful socialite and the drunken rowdy – symbolised urban modernity just as surely as any railway or gaslight.

Mary Krout, for example, who visited at the end of the nineteenth century, felt that middle-class British women compared favourably to her American counterparts because of political activism:

WHILE women in the United States are in advance of those in England in the professions and in opportunity to earn a living in any calling which they may select and for which they have talent and training, English women are vastly their superiors in political knowledge and experience. It is expected in Great Britain that every woman of intelligence shall be at least passively interested in politics, and a very great number are actively interested as well; the higher their position and the wider their influence the more it is demanded of them that they shall do their part in public affairs. Their duty is not confined to what is called "influencing" votes, for where the father, husband or brother is a candidate, the wife and daughters and their women friends and relatives frequently go upon the hustings, hold meetings and make an energetic house to house canvass.⁷²

⁷¹ A. Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), p. 8.

⁷² M. Krout, *A Looker-On in London* (Dodd, New York, 1899), p. 75.

William Drew also noted that '[w]e know some families governed very well by women – better even than men.'⁷³ Lower down the social scale, the image of women is that of hard-working individuals who, though standing in shadows, truly made the city work. On a visit to the Reform Club in 1846, Margaret Fuller Ossoli found it '*stupidly* comfortable, in the absence of that elegant arrangement and vivacious atmosphere which only women can inspire.' However, she was not to be disappointed. 'In the kitchen, indeed, I met them, and on that account it seemed the pleasantest part of the building, - though even here they are but the servants of servants.'⁷⁴ American journalist Elizabeth Banks viewed the working woman's struggle as an urban phenomenon:

...I passed considerable time among the working women of London, trying to gain a clue to the meaning of their war-cry, 'Independence.' Everywhere I heard that word. It sounded above the clickety-clack of the type-writer while the fingers flew over the keys; the noisily-turning factory-wheels failed to drown it; I heard it over the clink of the bar-maid's glasses; it mingled with the ring of the telephone-bell, the whirr of the cash-machine, and the refrain of the chorus-girl. The telegraph-operator murmured the word as she took down the letters of the various messages, the schoolmistress whispered it as she gave out the morrow's lesson in arithmetic, the female bookkeeper uttered it while she added up the long column of figures.⁷⁵

It was inevitable, however, that London's negative elements would bubble up to the surface from time to time. James Matthews appears to have had the most difficulty. 'I don't think there has been a time in which I have not passed a crowd gathered around some women screaming and fighting,'⁷⁶ he wrote after touring Britain in 1867. Not only was he witness to several street fights, but as well to the 'strange' picture of unaccompanied women drinking in pubs: 'To an American it looks very strange to see women walking alone into these crowded Temples of Intemperance, at late hours of the night, and call for their drams of gin – some of them, too, not altogether without an air of respectability about

⁷³ Drew, *Glimpses and Gatherings*, p. 157.

⁷⁴ M.F. Ossoli, *At Home and Abroad, or, Thoughts and Things in America and Europe* (Brown, Taggard & Chase, Boston, 1860), p. 179.

⁷⁵ E.L. Banks, *Campaigns of Curiosity: Journalistic Adventures of an American Girl in London* (F.T. Neely, New York, 1894), p. 4.

⁷⁶ Matthews, *My Holiday*, p. 171.

them.⁷⁷ Twenty years later, American journalist R.D. Blumenfeld presented a more refined, yet intriguing image:

In front of us near Birdcage Walk, about twenty yards away, was a young woman most fashionably dressed. She was leading one of those silly clipped black poodles, and was mincing her way along when suddenly and most appropriately in Birdcage Walk her bustle, shaped like a bird-cage, came rattling down from out of her voluminous skirts. She never deigned to turn, but walked on. Innocently – and stupidly – I ran on, picked up the contraption, came upon the owner, and proffered it to her, but she turned on me furiously and said: “Not mine!” and walked on. I shall know better next time.⁷⁸

He found fault not with the women drinking gin, but rather sarcastically attacked the barmaids behind the counters of these establishments:

Across the road, in the Gaiety Bar, I indulged in the fashionable pastime of discussing world affairs over the marble-topped counter with one of the twenty duchesses who act as barmaid. This particular Juno tells me that her father is a clerk in a City shipping office; that he has been employed there thirty years, and his pay is thirty shillings a week!..These people mystify me.⁷⁹

Blumenfeld’s remarks, and those of Matthews’ above him, might well be characterised by Lisa Sanders’ notion in *Consuming Fantasies* that the public woman in London was a ‘cultural icon, a paradigm for a certain mode of...fantasy and the repository of societal anxieties over sexuality and moral propriety, particularly as regards young women.’⁸⁰ Fears over the moral and sexual boundaries of women ran high in the cities, where there was ‘a danger attendant on that nearer and more ceaseless contact with evil into which [people] are brought as they become inhabitants of great cities....’⁸¹ Indeed, at the lowest end of the social scale were these ‘evils’, the impoverished and the prostitutes. No words are recorded on the latter segment of the population, but the images of malnourished, dirty women, often carrying a child in a similar state, rarely evoke pity. This was not unique to

⁷⁷ Matthews, *My Holiday*, pp. 170-1.

⁷⁸ R.D. Blumenfeld, *R.D.B’s Diary* (Heinemann, London, 1930), p. 9.

⁷⁹ Blumenfeld, *R.D.B’s Diary*, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁰ L. Sanders, *Consuming Fantasies: Labor, Leisure, and the London Shopgirl, 1880-1920* (Ohio State University Press, Athens, OH, 2006), p. 194; indeed, Deborah Nord has advanced the argument that women in the metropolis were subject to these ‘split identifications’, as they were defined not only by their sexual roles (which were assigned by men), but also by a traditional association with the ‘emblems of poverty, disease, and fallenness in urban panoramas....’ Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets*, p. 5.

⁸¹ R. Vaughan, *The Age of Great Cities, or, Modern Civilization Viewed in its Relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion* (Jackson & Walford, London, 1843), p. 226.

London; when he visited Edinburgh in 1882, William Stevenson harshly condemned the Scottish capital for such things:

Dirty and barefooted women, and half-clothed children, passed me in the entry-ways or scowled at me from doors and windows. Squalor and wretchedness reign supreme in dwellings the abodes of valour, of learning, and of genius. A subsequent visit in the evening, in the company of a travelling friend, disclosed an amount of drunkenness and disorderly carousing that I was not prepared to find in a Presbyterian 'Modern Athens'.⁸²

The triple relationship between the tourist, the city, and its women was simultaneously an indictment of the evils of modernity, of expanding too quickly, but also mindful of women who could make the most of their urban surroundings. At the top of this concept of feminine modernity was, of course, Queen Victoria herself. This was held up (ironically) as tribute to how far women had come since the days of the Tower. Even crotchety William Drew could note that "Women rule the world,' now – at least they rule in England.'⁸³ By and large, however, Victoria presented a scene of familial bliss, hard work and steadfast dedication, at least until she went into seclusion after 1861.

The perception of London as socially modern was represented as an ancillary effect of industrial change, and a necessary feature of contemporary society. While overwhelmingly concentrated on the status of women in the public sphere, as few tourists gave detailed accounts of political suffrage or class tensions,⁸⁴ and even fewer ventured into the East End to inquire after the working-class mindset, American narratives constructed a city which, though it had its faults, was attempting to strike a balance between the inherent conservatism of British society with its mid-century commitment to individual liberty and *laissez-faire* aspirations. The deconstruction of sexual and spatial boundaries throughout London is one of the most visible aspect of this tension. Women in

⁸² W. Stevenson, *Sights and Scenes in Europe, or, Pencilings by the Way* (M.S. Elmore, Flint, MI, 1882), p. 42.

⁸³ Drew, *Glimpses and Gatherings*, p. 158.

⁸⁴ See however E. Thomas, *Letters from Europe, being Notes of Tour through England, France, and Switzerland* (Swormstedt & Poe, Cincinnati, 1856), pp. 54-7; and R. Miller, *Travels Abroad* (J.P. Bell, Lynchburg, 1891), pp. 93-107.

the public sphere, as Rosalind Williams has argued, provided a ‘visual image of social upheaval,’⁸⁵ while male viewers remained uncertain, anxious, or overtly hostile to such progress: indeed, several tourist narratives (especially those of James Matthews and R.D. Blumenfeld) textually contain and marginalise such contributions; such writing ‘sexualizes their presence in public space and controls their representation.’⁸⁶ Yet, there is a general sense throughout American writings that such social upheaval is not only necessary, but a vital component of any modern world-city. As the Tower and the Abbey illustrated, the confinement and mistreatment of women was a ‘relic of a barbarous time’, which had no place in societies that considered themselves ‘an enlightened and moral people.’⁸⁷ Profession to modernity required its conscientious display to maintain one’s moral influence, and as shall be seen below, considerations of what it meant to be American were often focussed on modernity in all its forms.

Modernity, Meaning, and Being American

As American fascination with London grew throughout the end of the nineteenth century, we may ask, what of all this to an ascending American nation in the late-nineteenth-century world? London’s displays of wealth, power, and gentility were fantastical, even overwhelming, but Britain was considered an ‘old’ country which had passed its peak. Indeed, the many statues, paintings, and relics of both Nelson and Wellington seemed to indicate an intense preoccupation with the past. Archaic traditions and costumes lived on, while – strangely, given Britain’s insistence on free trade – conservatism reigned in societal development. Even as early as 1852, one visitor found that

Progress is a matter the English people do not seem well to understand. But they are an old people, and their country was finished before ours was known to exist.

⁸⁵ R. Williams, *Notes on the Underground: an Essay on Technology, Society, and the Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990), p. 53.

⁸⁶ Vadillo, ‘Phenomena in Flux’, p. 208.

⁸⁷ N. Prentis, *A Kansan Abroad* (G.W. Martin, Topeka, 1878), p. 14; Thomas, *Letters from Europe*, p. 63.

Hence, it does not get through their hair that there can be a better way of doing things than the way our fathers did them.⁸⁸

At first glance, there appears little indeed that Americans can take away from London save a reinforced belief in their own institutions. The attraction of British history has been advanced as the primary explanation for travel, but this argument remains unsatisfactory.⁸⁹ While the appeal of historical buildings and places certainly motivated a segment of the population, this appears too superficial a reading of the evidence. The same superficiality applies to statements at the opposite extreme, that visitors were interested only in London's modern aspects. Rather, both perspectives offer starting points for considering the greater implications of what it meant to be American, and how this was revealed through British tours.

London was, compared to other European capitals, perhaps unique in regards to this particular blending of the historical and the modern. American visitors certainly lacked the same historical focus in their visits of Continental cities; the image of London passed down through British literature and oral history found no compare with Paris or Berlin, or even Rome. Those places were praised, certainly, and praised highly, but they were valued more for their contributions to art and learning than in their cultural ties to the United States.⁹⁰ James Matthews felt there was no comparison at all between British art and Continental displays, 'We thought the pictures of the Foreign School in the National Gallery rather a meagre display, and the building a contracted, shabby affair, after seeing the immense collections and the magnificent palaces in which they are housed, on the Continent,'⁹¹ while Mary Blake put it best:

⁸⁸ Trafton, *Rambles in Europe*, p. 46.

⁸⁹ Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, p. 288; R.B. Mowat, *Americans in England* (George Harrap & Co., London, 1935), p. 167; Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, p. 127.

⁹⁰ J. Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), pp. 186-8.

⁹¹ Matthews, *My Holiday*, pp. 144-5.

The pavement of the city streets as well as crypts of the churches are rich with a mosaic of threads which run through the entire warp and woof of history. In the darkest and dullest corners of the city one stumbles upon traces of characters and events so glorious that they brighten the dullest clouds of material environment...It is in this way, that with little or none of the material charm which captures sense and imagination in the continental cities, it fascinates by mere force of association.⁹²

This state of blending was all the more important to Americans on the basis of their own perceived lack of history. British visitors arriving in New York during the same period framed their thoughts in terms of that city's modernity. For one visitor in 1887, New York was a place where 'towering domes' kept watch over a harbour of 'tall, white-sailed ships.'⁹³ However, this visitor had only taken steps from the dockyard when he encountered not the heights of modernity, but the depths of it:

We jolt over the rough stones of the not too good pavements...There are "saloons" and liquor shops in abundance, with many wooden houses interspersed among the brick buildings. We go under the elevated railways, where the steam trains rush swiftly along overhead...and also cross repeated tramcar lines, the rails being poorly laid on the pavements and causing horrid jolts and jerks when the coach-wheels encounter them.⁹⁴

There is no sense of wanting to approach the city by a particular route, nor a predetermined wish-list of landmarks that the visitor hoped to see. The cultural precedent was completely different: British visitors conceived of New York as a shining metropolis of American progress, but it is precisely that which presented the attraction.⁹⁵ Whereas the weight of history pressed heavily over London's attempts at progress, New York was relatively free of such inertia. It revelled in its newness; the elevated railways, the glittering palace hotels, and the display of fashionable people and fashionable things. 'Its architecture excites wonder; and its business whirl and perpetual din of traffic, its restless crowds, and

⁹² M. E. Blake, *A Summer Holiday in Europe* (Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1891), p. 201.

⁹³ Anonymous, *A Visit to the States: a Reprint of Letters from the Special Correspondent of The Times* (G.E. Wright, London, 1887), pp. 10, 7.

⁹⁴ Anon., *Visit to the States*, p. 12.

⁹⁵ D. Gilbert and C. Hancock, 'New York City and the Transatlantic Imagination: French and English Tourism and the Spectacle of the Modern Metropolis,' *Journal of Urban History*, 33, 1 (2006), p. 78.

jams of vehicles represent the steam-engine proclivities of the money-getting nineteenth-century Americans,' the anonymous *Times* correspondent noted eagerly.⁹⁶

Yet the 'steam-engine proclivities' and the 'money-getting' activities were unavoidable necessities for a population bent on an ascent to world status.⁹⁷ Apart from its most visible symbols of flag, stars, and eagle, Americanness has long been associated with a mission which emphasised liberal democracy and bourgeois ideology. As Paul T. McCartney has argued, this mission was nothing less than 'a duty to universalize its values for the good of both itself and others.'⁹⁸ McCartney sees American public opinion as steering the United States away from the imperialism practised *upon* others (i.e., economic and territorial aggrandisement) and instead ostensibly practised *for* others, by bringing them the benefits of American freedom (and, not incidentally, American goods).⁹⁹ This was a vital distinction, especially in light of the condemnation of the Old World for its imperial holdings.

Such a national attitude is plain to see when examining American actions on a wider scale than mere visitation to London. Beginning at mid-century, the connections linking America to Europe were characterised by either being overtly modern, technologically-progressive, or a combination of the two. The first undersea telegraph cable linked Britain and America in 1865,¹⁰⁰ while American ships and men searched for Sir John Franklin's ships in the Arctic from 1853-5, 1864-9, and 1878-80.¹⁰¹ American

⁹⁶ Anon., *Visit to the States*, p. 16.

⁹⁷ Kristin Hoganson has recently explained that both fictive travel (through literature) and physical travel (through tourism) attempted to create an American 'consumerist global consciousness', a perspective which sought to situate American domestic consumption into a wider network of global relations. K.L. Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium: the Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2007), p. 208.

⁹⁸ P.T. McCartney, *Power and Progress: American national identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 2006), p. 26.

⁹⁹ McCartney, *Power and Progress*, pp. 174-6.

¹⁰⁰ Notwithstanding the failed 1857 venture, which remained in operation for only a month.

¹⁰¹ See for example P. Berton, *The Arctic Grail: the Quest for the Northwest Passage and the North Pole, 1818-1909* (McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1988) for greater detail on Frederick Schwatka and Charles Francis Hall.

military officials were embedded with the Prussian army to view firsthand the conquest of France in 1870.¹⁰² The *New York Herald* was responsible for dispatching Henry Morton Stanley to search for Livingstone in Africa in 1871, Morton eventually becoming one of the greatest explorers of Africa himself. American cotton filled French and British mills, while American railways attracted British capital investment. The Panama Canal, although begun by the French master engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps, was ultimately completed by the Americans. In the remaining thirty years of the century, the United States managed to attract a great deal of interested attention for its exploits.

It is not difficult to understand the manner in which most regarded Britain, then. Britain was 'slow-going', an 'old country', governed by 'iron-clad' and 'inflexible' rules. Evocations of Americanness were thus as much constructions of America and its mission as they were reflections on Britain and its society. Through their narratives, American tourists to London displayed the myriad of ways in which they considered themselves to be American, and what that meant for their place in a changing world. 'How differently we *go ahead* in America!' A.C. Coxe exclaimed in 1856, referring not only to the construction of the Houses of Parliament, but more generally to the entire weighty mass of British institutions '[from] which John Bull will be worried to death by his own family.'¹⁰³ To be American, by contrast, meant one was free of such restraints and inertia; American feelings as a whole towards Britain revolved around 'elegiac fantas[ies] of rank, stability, and paternal authority'¹⁰⁴ precisely because they viewed such things as being largely irrelevant to their own needs.¹⁰⁵ Some tourists, as for example Mark Trafton, were downright contemptuous of such things: he 'desired to see things as they were; to visit the Old World – not to gaze upon *crowned heads*, or mingle in the circles of wealthy *nobles*

¹⁰² R. Morris, Jr., *Sheridan: the Life and Wars of General Phil Sheridan* (Crown Publishing, New York, 1992), pp. 329-30.

¹⁰³ Coxe, *Impressions of England*, p. 37.

¹⁰⁴ Tamarkin, *Anglophilia*, p. xxviii; Mowat, *Americans in England*, p. 135.

¹⁰⁵ Tamarkin, *Anglophilia*, p. xxiv-v.

and an oppressive, purse-proud *aristocracy*.¹⁰⁶ The mighty engine of American industrial progress required only the will of the population to make it run smoothly.

This American fascination with modernity was easily incorporated into visions of a larger national identity. As an 1898 editorial in the *Washington Post* declared,

...the best of [nations], the two that have the highest ethical ideas with their civilization, that can do the most and best for the world, are Great Britain and the United States. These two nations, if they will only work together, can put their veto on the rest of the world. They are the best of friends, they make no entangling alliances and do not need to; but if they can only understand each other they can control the world's history. They ought to do it.¹⁰⁷

The newspaper went on to state that 'Our nation is now to be a world power. We are to be felt, and we will be felt only for good, in the world's politics. We cannot escape our destiny, and we do not want to.'¹⁰⁸ The conflation of modernity with geopolitical power should not come as a surprise. For a young country emerging onto the global stage, political, economic, and military power counted for a great deal more than cultural or social considerations, most of which Americans seemed content to borrow from Britain virtually unaltered. On the basis of this perception, Christopher Mulvey has shown in *Transatlantic Manners* (1990) that invocations of American superiority were largely defensive in nature: 'The pride in the superiority of the American and the American nation was, in addition to whatever else it might be, an expression of fear of the inferiority of the American and the American nation.'¹⁰⁹ In this sense, the voyage to London was an instructive experience on how to wield modernity into a global strength, as indeed Britain had done. As James Hoppin hoped in 1867, a visit to London would be beneficial 'for his

¹⁰⁶ Trafton, *Rambles in Europe*, p. vi.

¹⁰⁷ 'Duty of the Nation', *The Washington Post*, 22 May 1898.

¹⁰⁸ 'Duty of the Nation', *The Washington Post*, 22 May 1898. In an earlier editorial, the *Post* made the connection even more explicit, noting that 'there is no person except a person under the immediate protection of the Stars and Stripes accustomed to all these [modern] luxuries', 'Travelling Under Ground', *The Washington Post*, 31 July 1892.

¹⁰⁹ C. Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990), p. 6; and see M. Berger, *The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860* (Columbia University, New York, 1943), 'In this attitude, America reminded foreign observers of an adolescent boy who felt he was not quite a man, but desired everyone else to think so. An American would hear no disparagement; he would admit no inequality,' (p. 62).

intensely active American nature to come in contact with the slower and graver spirit of England, and it thereby gains calmness and sobered strength.’¹¹⁰

Yet in British ingenuity many Americans found neither a consistent rival, nor a serious threat to their pretensions of eventual global power. There is no sense – apart from one or two pre-1865 tourists – of jealousy or resentment at the relative positions between the two nations. The application of British material and commercial progress to its worldwide domains is construed as beneficial, for it attracts what Paolo Capuzzo termed ‘value-laden notions’ associated with Britain: civilising values of ‘a higher moral, intellectual and philanthropic character...already such as no human sagacity could have foreseen,’ as Benjamin Silliman reported.¹¹¹ The British were perceived as transforming the world to their needs, and bringing with it the institutions of law, order, and ‘civilisation’. Indeed, there is a wide body of work which considers the nineteenth-century global economy as uniquely suited to British labour and capital markets.¹¹² Furthermore, the traditional counterargument that America wished to play no part in European affairs is perhaps fundamentally flawed. As highlighted above, America had, to one extent or another, repeatedly involved herself throughout the entire century, whether commercially, politically, militarily, or culturally. The connection between American self-visualisation as progressive and ‘goaheadative’, and representations of London’s technological and social modernity was, then, a belief in a shared heritage, (always more apparent than real), and that British accomplishments were in some way American accomplishments – a sort of pre-American ‘mission’ which Americans would improve upon not for their benefit, but

¹¹⁰ Hoppin, *Old England*, p. iv.

¹¹¹ Capuzzo, ‘Spectacles of Sociability’, p. 99; B. Silliman, *A Visit to Europe in 1851* (Putnam, New York, 1853), p. 107.

¹¹² There are many, but see E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital* (Abacus, London, 2009), pp. 53-4; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire* (Abacus, London, 2009), p. 11; P.J. McGowan and B. Kohdan, ‘Imperialism in World-System Perspective: Britain, 1870-1914’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 25, 1 (1981), 49-50; I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System III: the Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840s* (Academic Press, London, 1989), p. 129; and C.K. Harley, ‘Trade, 1870-1939: from globalisation to fragmentation’, in R. Floud and P. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain* (3 vols., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), ii, p. 163.

for the benefit of those they (later) governed.¹¹³ Such a connection was couched in racial and historical language; the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ possessed traits which would enable him to supersede other races and peoples, taking up his ‘white man’s burden’¹¹⁴ in the name of progress. London, for Mary Elizabeth Blake, ‘took hold of something deeper and stronger that belongs to the soul of the Anglo-Saxon race.’¹¹⁵

Indeed, minimising the value of British history here would be ignoring a significant aspect of American travel. The history of Great Britain was a source of interest, and in some cases, personal pride, for these tourists. After the 1870s, interest in British history soared as the next generation of tourists arrived, mainly those Americans from the undamaged north-eastern section of the United States.¹¹⁶ Relatively free of anti-British sentiment, and enjoying the profits and prosperity from reunification and Reconstruction, American tourists tramped up and down the British Isles, hoping to catch a glimpse of anything that was (or was marketed as being) authentically historic. Interest, either positive or negative, in the technologies and techniques of industrialism went into decline, as Noble Prentis accurately summarised, ‘manufacturing cities could be seen in America...while, on the other hand, cathedrals and castles a thousand years old could not be seen in my own, my native land – at least, not without waiting until sometime in the year 2776.’¹¹⁷ Usually travellers were amply rewarded; more rarely, some were disappointed, as in the case of William Stevenson, visiting Robert Burns’ cottage in 1882:

About half a mile from Burns’ cottage, we reach ‘Alloway’s auld haunted kirk.’ The building is roofless and fast going to decay. There is a bell cote on the gable, and the old bell yet remains. We looked through the front window as Tam had done, and saw, not a witches’ dance, but a collection of shovels and an old wheelbarrow almost covered with rank weeds.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners*, p. 4; Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, p. 288-9.

¹¹⁴ Kipling’s famous 1899 poem was, after all, written in response to the United States’ colonisation of the Philippines following the Spanish-American War.

¹¹⁵ Blake, *A Summer Holiday in Europe*, p. 201.

¹¹⁶ Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, p. 288.

¹¹⁷ Prentis, *A Kansan Abroad*, p. 21.

¹¹⁸ Stevenson, *Sights and Scenes in Europe*, p. 27.

Many made reference to favoured literary locations, including the requisite ‘search for the picturesque.’ The descriptions of Britain’s countryside in this period highlighted such romantic qualities, as for example James Matthews’ 1867 vision:

In England the fields are separated by thick, flowery hedges. Handsome trees, sometimes alone, sometimes in little clumps, are left standing to make the scene more picturesque. In the corners of many fields are little ponds of water. Long, narrow, crooked lanes, in which the hedges nearly meet overhead, lead to the broader highroads. The whole country, indeed, often looks as though it were laid out by a skilful landscape gardener.¹¹⁹

While such beauty was an enticing reason for visiting, the satisfaction derived from being present at the scene of a famous battle, building, or book far outweighed any other considerations. ‘Only the historic associations...afforded me pleasure,’¹²⁰ visitor Leonard Morrison pronounced after a rather disappointing attempt at experiencing British popular culture. For many travellers, London in particular served as the focal point for these experiences. Places such as Westminster Abbey and St. Paul’s were (usually) considered venerable shrines to the ‘illustrious dead’ of both British and American heritage. The fascination with the capital and its recurring influence in historical events turned London into a living mausoleum: ‘Indeed the memories and histories which are associated with this place, are calculated to excite and interest in a wonderful degree one familiar with English history...The impression soon takes possession of one that he is in a great city of the dead.’¹²¹

The appeal of British history to American tourists was its tangible linkage between the millions of British-descended individuals in the New World with the glories of the Old. Stories about famous Britons were learned almost from the cradle: ‘To one who was brought up on Walter Scott, nursed on English History, and turned loose in childhood to roam at will through the wide, enchanted fields of English literature, all is indescribably

¹¹⁹ Matthews, *My Holiday*, p. 142.

¹²⁰ L.A. Morrison, *Rambles in Europe: in Ireland, Scotland, England, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and France* (Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston, 1887), p. 255.

¹²¹ Stevenson, *Sights and Scenes*, pp. 83-4.

dear and familiar,'¹²² Julia Dorr sighed in 1895. While such links provided comfort, patriotic or racial interest, or even filial pride, they also provide valuable insights upon the nature of history as both presented and represented by London's various landmarks. In these instances, there is a dynamic at work which manages to take visualisations of British history and divorce them from being something uniquely British. This dynamic pervades American descriptions of London's churches, abbeys, and towers; they do not necessarily belong to Britain, but rather to 'us', 'we', or even 'civilisation.' British history – and London's landmarks – was the history of a larger collective.

Importantly, however, it was this shared history which had not only given the world the Industrial Revolution and its associated advances, but which would in time cede British prominence to American greatness. The satisfaction with which Americans came to view their institutions of governance, social order, and industrial progress is an indication that British history, while quaint and useful as a moralising influence, could not entirely apply to the young country. On the surface, it motivated descendents of old families, or other Anglophones, to visit Britain; but there was no sense that America was completing a British 'mission' as there was, for instance, in the colonies. Rather, the history was indicative of the heights that Americans could aspire to if they so desired; it was, in effect, a tool for defining and refining their own sense of self-identity and future vision.

Conclusion

While similar in many respects to colonial tourists, the findings of American visitors to London differ in several prominent ways. First, while London and Britain were important as the birthing place of the American (and Anglo-Saxon) spirit, the British economy was nevertheless inefficient and hidebound to archaic institutions which served to hamper its potentialities as a role model. The wider economic crisis beginning in the

¹²² J. Dorr, *The Flower of England's Face: Sketches of English Travel* (Macmillan, New York, 1895), p. 70.

1870s illustrated the competitive weakness of British manufacturing in all but its most captive markets. Second, in contrast to British actions abroad, American notions of imperialism, confined to the continental United States until the 1890s, rested upon an ostensible foundation of liberal democracy and civic participation, which aimed to encourage the creation of an educated and metropolitan body politic (although in actual practise this was sharply curtailed by racial and gender boundaries). Finally, and most crucially, whereas the colonies maintained a relatively wayward approach to industrialism, and even that in a safely British context, Americans conceived of pressing forward with greater expansion on their own terms; the ‘steam-engine proclivities’ of ‘money-getting’ businessmen and entrepreneurs were ends in their own right, the promise of what would later be called the American Dream. As millions of European immigrants flooded into the United States, its cultural identity was not nearly as homogenous as were, for instance, Canada’s or Australia’s (in nineteenth-century terms). The prospect of modernity, speed, and money served as the only real unifying cry, the *de facto* religion. In her 2003 popular study of the Statue of Liberty, Cara Sutherland captured this sentiment with one Greek immigrant’s story on viewing the statue in 1919:

I saw the Statue of Liberty. And I said to myself, ‘Lady, you’re such a beautiful [sic]! You opened your arms, and you get all the foreigners here. Give me a chance to prove that I am worth it, to do something, to become somebody in America.’ And always that statue was in my mind.¹²³

The voyage to London thus fulfilled a variety of desires and cultural absences. First and foremost, it provided Americans with a view, whether useful or not, of what an imperial capital should and could be. At the forefront of technological innovation (if not industrial efficiency), and ahead in social relations in many respects, London highlighted the best aspects of modernity for emulation and improvement – or what Allison Lockwood

¹²³ C. Sutherland, *The Statue of Liberty* (Barnes & Noble, New York, 2003), p. 78.

termed a process of ‘Anglicization of the American mind.’¹²⁴ Confident that they were the inheritors of the thousand years of British history in spirit, if not in nation, Americans conceived of the possibilities of the full realisation of this history. The United States was, as Daniel Boorstin once noted, both ‘a happy non-Europe and a happy afterlife of Europe.’¹²⁵ More poetic was Ralph Waldo Emerson’s 1856 assertion:

A wise traveller will naturally choose to visit the best of actual nations; and an American has more reasons than another to draw him to Britain. In all that is done or begun by Americans towards right thinking or practise, we are met by a civilization already settled and overpowering. The culture of the day, the thoughts and aims of men, are English thoughts and aims.¹²⁶

In the end, while many travelled to see the homes and birthplaces of favoured figures from literature and history, and others journeyed to see the latest in technological wonders displayed by London, all were united in their desire to take something away which would, to one degree or another, improve their lives or those of the people behind them. That many of our tourists occupied (or would later occupy) places of prominence within American society underscores the utility of the tour in creating authorities and identities in an American context. The tour to Europe generally, and to Britain and London specifically, is therefore best judged as not only demonstrating American capability and worldliness, but also, through the visualisation of other cultures, reflecting on what it meant to be American in an age of improvement.

¹²⁴ Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, p. 19.

¹²⁵ D. Boorstin, *America and the Image of Europe: Reflections on American Thought* (Meridian Books, New York, 1960), p. 11; and see Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners*, pp. 4-6.

¹²⁶ R.W. Emerson, *English Traits* (Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston, 1856), p. 41.

Chapter Three

‘A Kingdom in Itself’: the British Experience of London

Introduction

While in the imperial and American contexts Victorian London stood as an object of reflection to the visitor, to the British the city functioned instead as a potent reminder of the myriad of ways in which their way of life had been altered by the Industrial Revolution. Increases in standards of living, and the emergence of a comfortable domestic life, even down to the upper reaches of the working class,¹ suggest that the majority of Britons counted themselves as being better off by about 1850 or so. Yet modern Victorian living brought with it a unique set of challenges and difficulties. The issues of overcrowding, sanitation, and transportation within urban centres, for instance, plagued citizens, planning officials, and medical experts until the twentieth century. Indeed, to some commentators, such as Sir Charles Oman, looking backwards at the end of the century seemed to provide some solace against what appeared to be an unremitting advance towards societal breakdown.

Charles William Chadwick Oman, born in India in 1860, had always been more fascinated by the past than the present; he was eventually to become a gifted historian at Oxford’s All Souls College, penning a variety of works on Greek and Roman history, plus several books on the early medieval period.² Yet in 1899, Oman departed from his conventional form, and wrote a monograph detailing the events of the past century. In

¹ P. Lindert and J. Williamson, ‘English Workers’ Living Standards During the Industrial Revolution: A New Look’, *Economic History Review*, vol. 36, no. 1, (1983), 3-4. Lindert and Williamson’s appraisal of nominal wages for the ‘labour aristocracy’ of those in the shipbuilding, building, printing, and engineering trades (but who were not shipwrights, architects, printers or engineers themselves) suggests a wage rate of between £64 and £84 per year, a rate on par with the lower middle class, whom the authors argue enjoy salaries of £66 to £88 per year. For greater explanation of the changes in middle-class salaries, see the real wages given in H.M Boot, ‘Real Incomes of the British Middle Class, 1760-1850: the experience of clerks at the East India Company’, *Economic History Review*, vol. 52, no. 4 (1999).

² P. Griffith, ‘Oman, Sir Charles William Chadwick (1860–1946)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35312>, accessed 13 June 2011]

particular, his long professional refuge in the past had conditioned him against any appeal of the present. Oman considered the last decades of the Victorian era ‘a time of disillusionment and disappointment’;³ indeed, he cynically noted that

Many of the ideas that inspired enthusiasm forty years ago have been tried in the balance and found wanting...The promises of 1850 have never appeared further from fulfilment than in 1899...We will no longer imagine that new facts in chemistry or physiology will help much to reform the evil ways of the world.⁴

His solution to help reform the ‘evil ways’ in the twentieth century, or so he hoped, was (unsurprisingly) ‘a reverent trust that the guidance which has not failed us in the past may still lead us forward, strong in the belief in our future that grows from a study of our past....’⁵ The solution to the ills of modernity was a return to the ideals of a pre-industrial world. The modern reader of Oman’s 1899 work can, however, appreciate one element in his study. The nineteenth century in Britain is perhaps best understood as a contest between the forces of modernism and traditionalism.

London was, perhaps, the ideal place from which to view such a debate. It was written into the city’s physical fabric. Much of the city remained, even by the late-Victorian period, the product of Georgian and Regency planners.⁶ The capital’s collection of historically-significant landmarks, from the Tower to St. Paul’s, were similarly indicative of a romantic, chivalric image of past landscapes. Yet the city forged ahead through the middle decades of the century with large-scale building, transportation, and sanitation projects, as well as adding several thousand miles of new streets, gas lights, and telegraph wires. Indeed, London periodically seemed governed by an impulse to veer from one extreme to the other. In 1851, as Henry Mayhew was publishing the first instalments of his *London Labour and the London Poor*, which exposed the ravages of urban living on

³ C. Oman, *England in the Nineteenth Century* (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1899), p. 210.

⁴ Oman, *England in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 211.

⁵ Oman, *England in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 211.

⁶ D.J. Olsen, ‘The Changing Image of London in “The Builder”’, *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 6, 1 (1973), 5; and see Olsen’s excellent work on London’s physical development in the nineteenth century, *The Growth of Victorian London* (Batsford, London, 1976).

London's poorest citizens, the Crystal Palace was being erected in Hyde Park for the Great Exhibition to demonstrate British superiority in all things material. In 1866, as the final touches were being put on the Victoria Embankment, which housed both Sir Joseph Bazalgette's intercepting sewer and the Metropolitan District Railway, contaminated drinking water from an outdated delivery system precipitated a cholera outbreak in the East End which killed over two thousand people. As the writer Wilfrid Whitten explained in 1913, it was through such divisions that 'we witness the uneasy breathing of the London whose life has been continuous for a thousand years.' London, he noted, was '[e]ndowed with the impulse but not the genius of growth.'⁷

In a British context, travel to the capital was, like the other forms we have examined here, part of a larger process of situating one's self within these changes. Yet there are significant differences between British travellers and international visitors. The most immediate was that British travellers did not question what it meant to be British in the way that imperials or Americans reflected on their identities; Britons generally maintained more local or regional identities as, for instance, Welsh or Scottish. A second deviation, related to the first, is that the icons of patriotic or national importance – especially the monarchy – remained in the background, unless it was an important event such as a Jubilee or the opening of Parliament. Much of the focus is instead firmly on London's urban makeup, which is often represented as something new, exciting, and different from provincial life.

The foregrounding of the elements of urban life – especially urban modernity – suggests that by the second half of the century, changes in both the structural and physical aspects of cities, and therefore of the new, domestic lifestyles of much of the population, were particularly welcome. Modernity fuelled not only advances in consumption, leisure,

⁷ W. Whitten, *A Londoner's London* (Methuen, London, 1913), p. 16.

and comfort – all of which were important to our visitors – but in so doing, redrew the face of the city to incorporate new spaces where these advances could be enacted. The provision of tea rooms and restaurants, department stores, free galleries and museums, and inexpensive transport fares altered the strict relationship between public and private space into something much more permeable and tenuous.⁸ For the visitor to London, modernity was thus an agency of material and social progress, which would create the ‘ideal city and the ideal citizen.’⁹

The phenomenon of British tourism to London thus provides us with a clear view of London’s importance as an agency of modernity. While not everyone sympathised with the developments reshaping the city, as we shall see, even this dissent is ultimately evidence on how pervasive the impetus to modernise actually was. The implications of this reflection on modernity are also clear: London’s position as the capital of a vast commercial empire was dependent upon increasingly quicker and more reliable flows of information, goods, and people, and being at the cutting edge of modern technology was a major reason for the success of that empire.¹⁰ To be modern and cosmopolitan was therefore an increasingly fundamental element of not only the British world-system itself, but of those who popularly supported empire and its policies. At the same time, on a somewhat smaller scale, the ability to navigate and comprehend London’s spaces revealed the degree to which British society was becoming inured to urban living. It was the size of London which shocked visitors, not its pollution, nor even, in many instances, its examples of vice.

⁸ B. Highmore, *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2005), pp. 57-63.

⁹ K. Hill, ‘Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece: Symbolism and Space in Victorian Civic Culture’, in A. Kidd and D. Nicholls (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999), p. 99.

¹⁰ See D. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981); and R. Kubicek, ‘British Expansion, Empire, and Technological Change’, in A. Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999), pp. 247-69.

This domestic tourism to the capital was virtually a permanent presence in the life of the city between 1850 and 1900. From its roots in the industrial transformation of physical and social Britain to its maturity with the spread of hotels and restaurants, museums and guidebooks, tourism to London was, like the city itself, always emblematic of modern movement, new tastes, and expanding cultural experiences. Thus could Benjamin Disraeli, in his 1844 novel *Coningsby*, praise the British city as

the type of some great idea. Rome represents conquest; Faith hovers over the towers of Jerusalem; and Athens embodies the pre-eminent quality of the antique world, Art. In modern ages, Commerce has created London; while Manners, in the most comprehensive sense of the word, have long found a supreme capital in the airy and bright-minded city of the Seine. What Art was to the ancient world, Science is to the modern: the distinctive faculty. In the minds of men the useful has succeeded to the beautiful. Instead of the city of the Violet Crown, a Lancashire village has expanded into a mighty region of factories and warehouses. Yet, rightly understood, Manchester is as great a human exploit as Athens.¹¹

Indeed, as we shall see, the association of the capital with specific ideas about social and economic change was a prevalent tradition over the course of the century, and one from which our visitors were not immune. As they wandered the streets of the metropolis, their actions reveal the ways in which they identified urban living, the expectations they attached to it, and the meanings which the city held for them.

The Past and the Present in Victorian Britain

The context into which the visit to London was made was marked by a philosophical debate between man and machine, and of their respective places in the new world of industry. Yet this is not a new argument, nor will it occupy us more than momentarily here. The philosophical and historical considerations of the Industrial Revolution occupied the literature of Victorian thinkers as they struggled to cope with the change in the human condition.¹² ‘Were we required to characterise this age of ours by

¹¹ B. Disraeli, *Coningsby: or, the New Generation* (3 vols., Henry Colburn, London, 1844), ii, pp. 1-2.

¹² For a quick, though thorough survey of both perspectives on urbanisation and modernisation in industrial Britain, see A. Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1985), pp. 16-58.

any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all others, the Mechanical Age,' Thomas Carlyle wrote in 1858, 'It is the Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word; the age which, with its whole undivided might, forwards, teaches and practises the great art of adapting means to ends. Nothing is now done directly, or by hand; all is by rule and calculated contrivance.'¹³ Some of the tension between this industrial order and the decline of rural life can be spotted in Charles Tennyson Turner's evocative 1868 sonnet 'The Steam-Threshing Machine':

Did any seer of ancient time forebode
This mighty engine, which we daily see
Accepting our full harvests, like a god,
With clouds about his shoulders, - it might be
Some poet-husbandman, some lord of verse,
Old Hesiod, or the wizard Mantuan
Who catalogued in rich hexameters
The Rake, the Roller, and the mystic Van;
Or else some priest of Ceres, it might seem,
Who witness'd, as he trod the silent fane,
The notes and auguries of coming change,
Of other ministrants in shrine and grange, -
The sweating statue, and her sacred wain
Low-booming with the prophecy of steam!¹⁴

Indeed, the 'prophecy of steam' seemed an appropriate description for the coming of railways, factories, mills, ships, and other forms which quickly effaced the slow, nostalgic countryside from the forefront of social and economic life. Yet hand-in-hand with the physical development of machinery went the social construction of similarly regimented discipline, whether through religious work-ethic¹⁵, the imposition of 'railway time'¹⁶ to bring the towns and cities into temporal order, or the battery of regulations and schedules emerging from London on everything from mandatory education to vaccination. The first

¹³ T. Carlyle, 'The Signs of the Times – the Mechanical Age', *The Collected Works of Thomas Carlyle* (3 vols., Chapman and Hall, London, 1858), iii, p. 100.

¹⁴ C.T. Turner, 'The Steam-Threshing Machine', *Collected Sonnets, Old and New* (Macmillan, London, 1884), p. 243.

¹⁵ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-Class* (Pantheon, New York, 1964), p. 375.

¹⁶ J. Simmons, *The Victorian Railway* (Thames & Hudson, London, 1991), pp. 175-6.

half of the nineteenth century saw the British labourer constrained by the new cities, exploited by the new factories, and struck with the new illnesses of industry. The character of Mr. Gradgrind, in Charles Dickens' *Hard Times*, aptly satirised the tendency to reduce labourers to mere numbers:

As if an astronomical observatory should be made without any windows, and the astronomer within should arrange the starry universe solely by pen, ink, and paper, so Mr. Gradgrind, in *his* Observatory (and there are many like it), had no need to cast an eye upon the teeming myriads of human beings around him, but could settle all their destinies on a slate, and wipe out all their tears with one dirty little bit of sponge. To this Observatory, then: a stern room, with a deadly statistical clock in it, which measured every second with a beat like a rap on a coffin-lid....¹⁷

These changes, it goes without saying, were explicitly urban in their conception and dissemination: the 'shock cities' which had emerged from the rapid industrialisation during and after the Napoleonic Wars blighted the landscape and grew too large to ignore. Such sentiment remained prevalent in popular thought throughout the remainder of the century. The Victorian city was the new unit of organisation, signalling material and mechanical progress, but which required the payment of a heavy price: the breakdown of interpersonal bonds and the divorcing of man from his humble country roots. 'This, we take it, is the grand characteristic of our age,' Carlyle intoned, 'By our skill in Mechanism, it has come to pass, that in the management of external things we excel all other ages; while in whatever respects the pure moral nature, in true dignity of soul and character, we are perhaps inferior to most civilised ages.'¹⁸ The role of the past was to provide answers for the future. Indeed, the awareness – the escapism – of a romanticised history was a potential source of moral certainty against the anxieties and fears of a heavy-handed modernity, itself often rendered as explicitly immoral, as in Robert Vaughan's and Charles Oman's writings. The revival of ostensibly medieval chivalry, Gothic architecture, and the

¹⁷ C. Dickens, *Hard Times* (J.M. Dent & Sons, London, 1854), p. 85.

¹⁸ Carlyle, 'The Signs of the Times', p. 111,

popularity of the Gothic novel provided a languid counterpoint to the din and speed of the factories and mills.

Victorian constructions of the past revolved around what was seen as a more moral age. The implements of the mediaeval and early modern period may have been crude, but people maintained a healthy respect for social status, national institutions, and, importantly, religion. Thomas Carlyle railed against the path his country seemed to be taking in the widely-read *Past and Present* (1843):

God's absolute Laws, sanctioned by an eternal Heaven and an eternal Hell, have become Moral Philosophies, sanctioned by able computations of Profit and Loss, by weak considerations of Pleasures of Virtue and the Moral Sublime...Not at happy Elysian fields, and everlasting crowns of victory, earned by silent Valour, will this Nation arrive; but at precipices, devouring gulfs, if it pause not.¹⁹

Macaulay's Whiggish *History of England*, published five years later, was more equitable in its treatment of modernity. Macaulay here crafted the England of 1685 as releasing itself from the 'bondage' of ancient superstition and fear (i.e., autocratic rule), and embracing the more noble and satisfying expedient of constitutionalism and individual liberty. It was this very past which had managed to create the conditions for progress which Victorians currently enjoyed.²⁰ Disagreement appeared from another quarter, that of Ruskin's popular *Stones of Venice* (1851). Ruskin's elevation of the intricacies of Gothic architecture as 'signs of life and liberty...a freedom of thought, and rank in scale of being, such as no laws, no charters, no charities can secure; but which it must be the first aim of all Europe to this day to regain for her children.'²¹ Though they might differ in regards as to what the past meant, the nineteenth-century *literati* reached a general consensus on its utility as a moral compass. Standing in opposition to the 'mechanical age', they implicitly (or explicitly, in the case of Carlyle) condemned the present as indolent, immoral, and

¹⁹ T. Carlyle, *Past and Present* (reprint, Ward, Lock, & Bowden, London, 1897), pp. 189, 197-8.

²⁰ T.B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second* (5 vols., Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1876), ii, pp. 466-8.

²¹ J. Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* (2 vols., Belford, Clark, & Co, Chicago, 1851), i, p. 163.

impersonal. The sociologist Georg Simmel has characterised this anti-modernism as a method of retaining their uniqueness, a ‘resistance of the individual to being levelled, swallowed up in the social-technological mechanism.’²² The disorientation suffered from the pace of change required stability from a slower, more personal era. Perhaps the most well-intentioned (if not necessarily successful) example of this occurred in 1839 with the Eglinton Tournament.

Organised by the thirteenth Earl of Eglinton, the Tournament was nothing less than a complete re-enactment of a mediaeval joust. Comprising some forty ‘knights’, the preparations and training for the event began in 1838, and continued through the winter of that year. Armour was loaned from the Tower of London, tents were erected following as close to the original design as possible, and ‘knights’ tilted at poles and trees in St. John’s Wood. Lord Eglinton spent a large part of his fortune to turn his castle near Irvine, Scotland, into a mediaeval fortress. Yet the tournament would never properly be held. On 29 August 1839, torrential rain forced a postponement, and the next day an outright cancellation as the water began to damage tents, tilting grounds, and expensive armour. While a fanciful ball was carried off in the evening for Lord Eglinton and his close friends, many of the estimated 100,000 spectators marched home.²³ The event attracted contemporary derision: one Scottish paper termed it a ‘display of tomfoolery’,²⁴ while *The Times* snickered that ‘[t]he age of chivalry, has, for the present, certainly departed, but its convulsions will probably continue for a day or two longer.’²⁵ The *Morning Post* was more charitable, noting soberly that ‘in these apathetic days on which we have fallen there

²² G. Simmel, ‘The Metropolis and Mental Life’, in G. Bridge and S. Watson (eds.), *The Blackwell City Reader* (Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 2002), p. 11.

²³ I. Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella: an Account of the Eglinton Tournament, 1839* (Geoffrey Bles, London, 1963), pp. 194-6.

²⁴ ‘The Tournament’, *The Caledonian Mercury*, 29 Aug. 1839.

²⁵ ‘The Tournament’, *The Times*, 2 Sept. 1839.

would be something grand in a representation of the "mimicry of noble war".²⁶ Despite its immediate disappointment, Michael Alexander has pointed to this event as heralding a confirmation of the spirit of mediaeval revival within wider Victorian culture.²⁷ The remainder of the century saw the spread of the 'revival' diffuse into daily aspects of life: according to Alexander, this 'applied medievalism' spread to political and moral thought, architecture, drama, and religious thought.²⁸ At the Eglinton Tournament, even the vestiges of the chivalric past were unable to escape the intrusion of nineteenth-century objects, epitomised, as Ian Anstruther noted, by one knight parading in full armour and heraldry under a large, green umbrella.²⁹

Yet the significance of the Tournament here, and of the wider 'medieval revival' occurring in Victorian Britain, was not the ability of the past to channel (selective) moral or social lessons. Rather, it was a consolation to those disenchanted with the new forms of the age. The apparent primacy of the new secularism of the industrial era marked the latter half of the nineteenth-century not as a Carlylean 'Mechanical Age' but more fittingly an 'Age of Indecision'. In *The Age of Revolution* (1962), Eric Hobsbawm wrote of the 'twin revolutions' sweeping Europe in the first half of the century, concluding that 'the world of the 1840s was out of balance.'³⁰ Contrasts were everywhere: while gas-light, running water, and railways made society faster and safer than ever, that same industrialism 'created the ugliest world in which man has ever lived.'³¹ By mid-century, working-class agitation for political liberty ran counter to the entrenched power structures of the ruling elite. The rise of constitutionalism at the century's close was at odds with the great expansion of empires onto unwilling native peoples. The pendulum of change thus

²⁶ 'A Passage of Arms at Eglinton', *The Morning Post*, 30 Aug. 1839.

²⁷ M. Alexander, *Medievalism: the Middle Ages in Modern England* (Yale University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2007), pp. 109-10.

²⁸ Alexander, *Medievalism*, pp. 106, 110.

²⁹ Anstruther, *Knight and the Umbrella*, p. 202.

³⁰ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (Abacus, London, 2009), p. 366.

³¹ Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*, p. 360.

gave much of the British nineteenth-century a Janus-like appearance. William Heath's 1829 engraving 'March of Intellect' is a satirical though philosophically correct take on this theme. The image depicts a wide range of fanciful industrial 'applications': balloons on a flying barge, steam-powered razors, a tube connecting Greenwich with Bengal, a man with wings, and a ship being towed by captive fish. Across the top of the image is perhaps a fitting summary for the entire scene: 'Lord how this world improves as we grow older.' The bizarre contraptions represent the speed of change – depicted here as moving too quickly, and (for the religious) damaging God's natural creations. Men with wings, flying whales, and captive fish were out of the realm of possibility, but the beginning of the steam age must have made it seem as if anything would eventually be possible.

What were the implications of this debate for the British city? While these local elites reshaped the political, economic, and topographic landscapes to better reflect idealistic aspirations, by doing so they demanded recognition of the prominence of the town in national life. To this end, the city became a canvas upon which an image of modern Britain would be painted. Buildings such as Manchester's (1877) and Leeds' (1858) town halls celebrated the institutions of municipal governance; the erection of Manchester's Free Library (1852) and the redevelopment of Glasgow University (1870) and Kelvingrove Museum (1901) indicated a strong belief in the value and dissemination of knowledge,³² and the construction of a cathedral even in tiny Truro (1880) provided evidence that religious piety was still a formidable facet of British life. The choice of Gothic architecture, seemingly at odds with the urban modernity espoused by these elites, was itself an expression of stability and permanence; a link with the city-states of the past to legitimise and validate the commerce and trade of the present.³³ Along with these

³² An excellent case study of this process during the development of Oxford University's Examination Schools is given in W. Whyte, 'Rooms for the Torture and Shame of Scholars: The New Examination Schools and the Architecture of Reform', *Oxoniensia*, 66 (2001), 85-104.

³³ Hill, 'Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece', p. 104.

architectural transformations, provincial towns became increasingly cognizant of the benefits of more modern innovations. Gas-lighting, grand railway stations and tram lines, department stores and parks, all announced that the city was, in Simon Gunn's phrase, the 'locus of technical and aesthetic innovation'³⁴ which was purposefully designed to 'evoke certain ideas and sentiments in the beholder.'³⁵

On a popular level, with which our visitors would likely have been more familiar, sentiments surrounding cities and modernity were decidedly negative. A literary tradition of condemning cities – especially London – in an attempt to draw attention to the underlying faults of the political economy, had become a common trope by mid-century, popularised by Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, and others.³⁶ As Alan Robinson has argued, this literary tradition so mythologised the 'submerged tenth' of London's impoverished citizens that the capital often came to be regarded with some fear.³⁷ Interestingly, literary tourism is unusually absent from the narratives; the imagined figures created by Dickens often find mention from imperial or American visitors, but Britons do not connect to the metropolis in this fashion. Indeed, London is never regarded in a truly negative sense; the capital may have obliterated the traces of surrounding country villages; it pulled down medieval buildings to make room for a railway station; it often consumed more than its fair share of resources, but the city generally escaped representation as a purposefully destructive entity. The resulting positive – or at times, neutral – preconceptions of the city suggest that the difficulties associated with urban living, made explicitly visible in the 1830s and 1840s, were by the 1870s and 1880s improving to a

³⁴ S. Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2001), pp. 39-42; and see T. Bennett, 'Useful Culture', *Cultural Studies*, 6, 3 (1993), 398-9.

³⁵ Gunn, *Public Culture*, p. 42.

³⁶ A. Robinson, *Imagining London, 1770-1900* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 48-51.

³⁷ Robinson, *Imagining London*, pp. 51-2; and Asa Briggs also mentioned such a representation of East End London as being similar to 'darkest Africa' in the supposed savagery of its natives. A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Odhams, London, 1963), pp. 60-61.

substantial degree. For a large part of the visitors below, the fascination lay with the new experience of consumption, not in challenging London's social ills.

Representations of Modern London

For most visitors, London was (and would remain) their first experience with a city so large. By virtue of its population alone, London appeared to be absorbing everything in the south; as William Loftie observed in 1875, not without a sense of nostalgia, 'London has become more than a city; it is a country, a kingdom in itself...It spreads north, south, east and west, creeping onward like the tide of the sea, and obliterates as it goes, all the original features of the country.'³⁸ One tourist, the Reverend Richard Lovett stated it best in 1890, 'Never before in the life of the globe have so many human beings been compressed into so small a space.'³⁹ Given such scale, it is unsurprising that the relationship between the traveller and their imagined city remained ambiguous, and often subject to contesting or multiple interpretations. In terms of narrative recollections, London persistently defied attempts at any panoptic overview. Despite their growing presence in the tourist market, most period guidebooks struggled with the capital, managing little more than to outline the major sights and attractions of any given city before informing the traveller that they were on their own. Adam and Charles Black's 1862 *Guide to London*, for instance, could only suggest a partial list of forty-six major landmarks, attaching the following note: 'As any route proposed by the writer for visiting the various objects mentioned in the following pages would probably be as unreasonable to as many persons as it assisted, he will leave each reader to devise his own scheme for making the tour of London.'⁴⁰ Three decades later, and the editor of *Baedeker's Guide to*

³⁸ W.J. Loftie, *In and Out of London, or, the Half-Holidays of a Town Clerk* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1875), p. 15.

³⁹ R. Lovett, *London Pictures: Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (The Religious Tract Society, London, 1890), p. 14.

⁴⁰ *London and its Environs: a Practical Guide to the Metropolis and its Vicinity* (Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh, 1862), pp. iv-v.

London recommended that ‘a plan of operations, prepared beforehand, will aid [the visitor] in regulating his movements and economising his time.’⁴¹ Despite the presence of the guidebook, the city tour often promoted random exploration and investigation, reflective of the prevailing *zeitgeist* of mid-Victorian Britain: an emphasis on freedom of activity (and rational activity at that), and unimpeded circulation – activities associated with modern mobility.

Visitors who wandered from the major routes were often rewarded, as was Emily Cook in 1902. ‘The great charm...of London,’ Cook explained, ‘lies in its unsuspected courts and byways. From most of these big thoroughfares you may be transported, with hardly more than a step, into picturesque nooks of sudden and almost startling silence.’⁴² To cope with such mobility, tourists relied on various strategies to help make sense of what could be an overwhelming experience. The most common device was to focus on small sections, elevating them to critical importance, and eliminating the urban ‘noise’ between them. As Michel de Certeau argued, the creation of this ‘discreteness’ on the part of the visitor ‘condemns certain places to inertia or disappearance and composes with others spatial ‘turns of phrase’ that are ‘rare,’ ‘accidental’ or ‘illegitimate’.’⁴³ John Davidson, for instance, could record in 1894 that ‘[f]rom Finsbury Park the itinerant went by train to King’s Cross. And now he began to hurry; he observed less carefully and imagined more. Is not that the effect of close streets and seething throngs?’⁴⁴ At the other extreme, Christopher Law has formulated his ‘psychocentric’ theory governing urban comprehension; the visitor’s choice of sights, he states, is dictated by the need to maintain a sense of security and personal identity in the face of such crowded anonymity.⁴⁵ At times

⁴¹ K. Baedeker, *London and its Environs: a Handbook for Travellers* (K. Baedeker, Leipzig, 1894), p. 77.

⁴² E.C. Cook, *Highways and Byways in London* (Macmillan, London, 1902), pp. 18-9.

⁴³ M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. S.F. Rendall (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984), pp. 98-9.

⁴⁴ J. Davidson, *A Random Itinerary* (Copeland & Day, London, 1894), pp. 65-6.

⁴⁵ C. Law, *Urban Tourism: Attracting Visitors to Large Cities* (Mansell, London, 1993), p. 13.

it appears that both theories may be accommodated; George Graham, a bachelor visiting from Glasgow for the Great Exhibition, found himself in a state of melancholy on arriving in London, despite the rush of people:

I was today alone as I have been since I came here & found the truth that one may be as much alone in the crowded City or thoroughfares as by oneself, and amidst such a crowd from all places it makes one feel melancholy that there is not one friend to share the pleasure to be got here and in fact deprives one of it.⁴⁶

With these objectives and concerns guiding one's expectations, it is unsurprising that the most visible sites are also the most common: Madame Tussaud's waxworks, Parliament, Westminster Abbey, the British Museum, the Tower, St. Paul's, the Crystal Palace, Buckingham Palace, and London's theatres. Importantly, there is no mention of anything south of the Thames, nor east of the Bank. Such a short list is common throughout many other narratives; the tourist London is an extremely condensed version of the city. But even this is significant to the historian; considerations of London's sites reflected a fascination with the interplay between past and present. While such reconstructions were as innumerable as were the visitors who created them, within our sources, their experiences tended to coalesce around the most visible and formal examples of modernity and consumption, whether of knowledge, goods, or time.

In the former instance, London's collection of museums were extremely popular centres for rational recreation and acquiring the most up-to-date knowledge, as with Welsh visitor Anne Jenkins' experience in the British Museum in 1888, where

we met a few of our fellow students there, we enjoyed the fossils & birds very much, there was a meteor...also had pebbles from different parts & compounds of all the elements, the skeleton of a [lizard?] & whale were enormous in size. I also took particular notice of the Hessian flag & humming birds.⁴⁷

Edward Wrench could similarly take pride in the fact that, on his 1896 visit, he was '[o]ne of the first to enter the Natural History Museum which opened for the first time on

⁴⁶ National Archives of Scotland, GD1/1160/155 (G. Graham, *Diary of a Visit to London*, 31 July 1851), pp. 36-7.

⁴⁷ National Library of Wales, M/1 (A. Jenkins, *Anne Jenkins' Notebook*, 24 July 1888), pp. 20-21.

Sunday,⁴⁸ while William Grylls Adams, a visitor from Cornwall in 1864, could spend several hours in the South Kensington Museum.⁴⁹ Yet rationality was not limited to the museums, Victorian visitors often linking that label with London's more sensuous offerings, in particular musical concerts and the city's ubiquitous clutch of theatres. Frank Granger of Nottingham, William Adams, and Anne Jenkins, for instance, all attended musical performances in the heart of the West End, Granger in particular witnessing one by acclaimed violinist Madame Neruda.⁵⁰ Musical or theatrical performances, while rather traditional sorts of pastimes, are helpful in their way to track the economic progress of visitors. Anne Jenkins was a chemistry student, coming from relatively poor Aberystwyth; Frank Granger was another student, an aspiring architect, who often wrote to his mother complaining about the cost of activities in London. Yet they both partook of the opportunity to consume the spectacles of the theatre or concert, as it seems to have been the expected activity when in London.

On the other hand, the presence of this more liberal, Veblen-esque conspicuous consumption was equally fundamental to the tourist's experience of modern urban life. Within London, the proliferation of grand hotels, restaurants, stores, and streets over the course of the century transformed the West End – always the fashionable centre of gravity – into a magnet for socialites and shoppers. The ability to sit in peace and have others attend to one's culinary desires transferred the domestic master-servant relationship out of the private sphere of the home and into the public gaze. Thus could Margaret Howes, on visiting the Crystal Palace's own restaurant in 1855, record in somewhat imperious fashion 'you sit down & ask for anything cold you like of any of the Waiters running to and fro.'⁵¹ We similarly feel a hint of Anne Jenkins' frustration when she records that, while dining at

⁴⁸ University of Nottingham Archives, Wr. D/41 (E. Wrench, *Diary of Edward Wrench*, 17 May 1896).

⁴⁹ Cornwall Records Office, AM/1162 (W.G. Adams, *Diary of William Grylls Adam*, 9 Feb. 1864).

⁵⁰ University of Nottingham Archives, Gr.C/30 (F. Granger, *Frank Granger Papers*, 25 Jan. 1885).

⁵¹ Norfolk Records Office, MC 340/7 (M. Howes, *Journal of Margaret Howes*, 7 Sept. 1855).

a coffee-house, 'Bill was rather unlucky had his meat improperly cooked, sent it back again & so we had to wait a long time there.'⁵² The role of the public restaurant and department store, as Erika Rappaport has shown, was emblematic not only of the new consumerism of the late-nineteenth-century, but of the new urban modernism. The advent of women-friendly spaces had important implications for rewriting the sexual boundaries of the city, but also influenced the nature of the metropolis – whether provincial or capital – on a more fundamental level. Such activities, Rappaport argued, transformed the nature of the city from a purely functional entity into one 'defined by looking and travelling, reading and writing, shopping and sightseeing...[a] compelling consumer-oriented experience.'⁵³ This change explicitly favoured middle-class conceptions of visibility, leisure, and progress. The charge of 'consumer-oriented' implied here not only the increasingly prolific collection of shops and stores, but that the user dictated the terms of an experience progressively geared towards their own needs and views. For the city as a whole, the public display of domestic respectability thus encouraged not only ever-greater experiments in modernity (electric lighting in shops, lifts, etc.), but also the rewriting of the urban system to accommodate an overwhelmingly middle-class perspective (and, incidentally, customer base). The beginnings of this are evident even to Londoners themselves; in Molly Hughes' memoirs, she recalled that

A visit to the West End was a different affair. My delight was to walk down Regent Street and gaze in the shop-windows, pointing out all the things I would like to have...how we both gazed at and admired exotic fruits, exquisite note-paper, china jugs...and especially drawing-materials with serried rows of paints. One day in Bond Street mother noticed a sailor hat, poised alone in a window. "How nice and simple! The very thing for you!" she exclaimed, and went in to ask the price. 'Three guineas, Madam.' She nearly fell out of the shop.⁵⁴

⁵² Jenkins, *Notebook*, 7 July 1888, p. 6.

⁵³ E.D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the making of London's West End* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000), p. 108.

⁵⁴ M. Hughes, *A London Family, 1870-1900* (reprint, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981), p. 46.

Indeed, in a variety of forms, modernity was never far from the surface of most narratives. Physically, the implements of modernisation were plain to see: railways, gas (and later electric) lights, telegraph wires, and the like. More important than a straightforward recounting of the differences between London's large-scale examples of such works, versus the often-limited versions throughout the provinces, are the effects that such things had as a whole on the visitor's awareness of their self within a rapidly-changing environment. Richard Lovett, viewing the telegraph lines crisscrossing Fleet Street, felt himself to be increasingly linked with the wider world: 'For the telegraph has so linked together the ends of the earth, that the daily events of London are flashed each evening all over the civilised earth, and into these numerous offices...come pouring the latest items of intelligence and business from India, Africa, Australia, and America.'⁵⁵ Yet the importance of modernising London was not necessarily in the ever-greater examples of technological ingenuity, but rather the ease with which such tools could ameliorate the ubiquitous civic issues of sanitation, transportation, and consumption, and whose possession also engendered a great degree of civic prestige.⁵⁶

Such sentiments were also expressed with the incorporation of such institutions or inventions in a provincial context. In Manchester, for instance, the 1850 declaration of the future Free Library (opened in 1852), was reported in the *Manchester Times* as a venture which would 'raise the character...enlighten and refine...workman to a higher sense of their

⁵⁵ Lovett, *London Pictures*, p. 44; while half a century earlier, Irish visitor Thomas Lacy felt the telegraph would usher in a new era of connectivity within Britain, noting 'This wonderful agent, which, at present, is applied to every-day use, when coupled with the facility of steam-boat and railway travelling, that has brought the countries of England and Ireland, as it were, still closer to each other, would seem to favour the views of such as are opposed to a repeal of the Legislative Union. In this respect, science has certainly annihilated distance, and a whisper from the lips of England can strike with the rapidity of the lightning's flash upon the ear of Ireland; while every sigh of our poor country can, with equal rapidity, be made to sweep across the heart-strings of her more favoured sister. Thus may our gracious Sovereign and her government be made acquainted with our wants and wishes.' T. Lacy, *Home Sketches on Both Sides of the Channel* (Hamilton, Adams & Co., London, 1852), p. 61.

⁵⁶ J. Steward, 'The Attractions of Place: the Making of Urban Tourism, 1860-1914', in M. Hessler and C. Zimmermann (eds.), *Creative Urban Milieus: Historical Perspectives on Culture, Economy, and the City* (Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, 2008), pp. 258-9.

domestic and social relations...' and which, not incidentally, 'will be a great boon to the locality chosen.'⁵⁷ Near the end of the century, such an attitude remained visible with the introduction in 1896 of the District Subway Railway in Glasgow. Its completion provided Glasgow with immediate benefits, such as a 'cheap and speedy means of communication' which would ultimately be an 'important factor in binding together detached portions of the city and making a homogenous whole.'⁵⁸ As an associated benefit, however, was the awareness that the subway was 'probably unexcelled in any other city in the kingdom'⁵⁹ On a smaller scale, this is visible in Thomas Lacy's characterisation of the British Museum, where '[t]he objects are so multifarious and so diversified...that the visitor can do little else than wonder in bewilderment at their numbers and variety...[and] which...is so essentially British; and which is unquestionably the greatest feature in the greatest city in the universe.'⁶⁰ The hallmarks of modernism and prestige are also present when Edward Wrench takes his family to an early automobile show at the Crystal Palace in 1896.

During their time among the displays, they

went to see the New Motor Cars. I gave Nancy a ride in one to say she had done so at their introduction, as my grandfather took me on the Greenwich railway in 1831 to say I had ridden on the first railway line of London. So the world goes on. 20 years ago no one had thought of motors and 30 years ago of Biccicles [sic - bicycles]. What next, some say flying machines.⁶¹

But if the choice of sites was dictated by bourgeois socio-cultural requirements, their representation was suffused with a self-congratulatory pride. The contrasts between historic and modern London, in which the latter was often castigated as 'barbaric' or 'dark', served as object lessons to the superiority of the modern age over the inherently

⁵⁷ 'Library for the Working Classes', *Manchester Times*, 24 April 1850.

⁵⁸ 'Glasgow Subway Bill', *Glasgow Herald*, 6 March 1888.

⁵⁹ 'Glasgow District Subway', *Glasgow Herald*, 14 Sept. 1896.

⁶⁰ Lacy, *Home Sketches*, p. 68.

⁶¹ Wrench, *The Diary of Edward Wrench*, 16 May 1896. Interestingly, this auto show is also famous for the death of Mrs. Bridget Driscoll, a pedestrian struck and killed by an automobile during a demonstration in August 1896. Driscoll was the first pedestrian fatality of the automobile age.

inferior eras of the past. Indeed, Richard Dennis has recently suggested that such landmarks were intentionally retained to promote just such a view.⁶²

This was especially evident at the Tower, perhaps the most popular London landmark of all. While its murderous history seemed perversely fascinating, it was often condemned as a ‘revolting memorial to an iron age,’⁶³ a testament to ‘one of the most grim and mighty of English sovereigns...at one of the darkest and most tragic epochs in the history of the English nation,’⁶⁴ signifying royal autocracy, savage tortures, and even the mistreatment and execution of women, popularly viewed as chaste and innocent. For all that, it was nevertheless instructive: ‘the interest of the Tower is bound up with the evolution of the English race,’⁶⁵ Emily Cook argued in 1902, while Thomas Lacy found that it illustrated ‘the gradual advance of civilisation.’⁶⁶ Charles Morley, in his posthumously-published memoirs, agreed, noting ‘fathers and mothers had brought their children to see the sights, and conjure up as best they could all sorts of pictures to illustrate the history they learned at school.’⁶⁷ The physical buildings assumed a relative unimportance; the real valuation lay as a potent reminder of the advancement which had occurred both in the limitation of royal prerogative and the (ostensible) treatment of women, and contrasted the chaotic arbitrariness of previous ages with the considered and thoughtful one of the present.

Given the symbiotic relationship between the middle class and the city, being ‘urban’ or ‘modern’ thus became fundamental element of bourgeois or middle-class identity.⁶⁸ The very manner in which the city is confronted reveals their beliefs regarding

⁶² R. Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008), p. 1.

⁶³ Lacy, *In and Out of London*, p. 66.

⁶⁴ Lovett, *London Pictures*, p. 92.

⁶⁵ Cook, *Highways and Byways*, p. 103.

⁶⁶ Lacy, *Home Sketches*, p. 65.

⁶⁷ C. Morley, *Travels in London* (Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1916), p. 101.

⁶⁸ R. Trainor, ‘The Middle Class’, in Daunt, M. (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. III: 1840-1950* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000), pp. 699-700. Here, Trainor argues that the prosperous

the value of modernity. The tour is made using industrial transport; they often lodge in the steel-and-glass palace hotels; London's network of socially-navigable cafés, restaurants, and tea-rooms is patronised by men, women, and children, while advertising, news, and images from around the world bombard them. The visit to London, while on one level intended to display comfort with and control over the new spaces of the age, also, by virtue of its existence, illustrated the degree to which modernity had become a vital part of the relationship between urban system and urban citizen. Yet it would not be fair to say that this was universally recognised, and indeed, dissent and rejection appear sporadically over the years. But even these objections could not ultimately quell the wider regard for London, symbol of the increasing pace of Victorian society, nor satisfy its hunger for newer and better innovations.

'Barbarous and ridiculous injuries': London and Anti-Modernity

Between 1870 and 1900, social investigation seemed to come into its own as many books were published that examined and criticised the capital from the vantage point of the labourer, the servant, or the dock-worker. The popularity of social investigation into the East End revealed harsh truths about the conditions within 'outcast' London, truths known a generation earlier to examiners such as Henry Mayhew, that the privations of an industrial economy generated a severe oversupply of labour and a corresponding scarcity of affordable (or even appropriate) housing. Modernity had its impact, and the poor of London had been 'driven step by step into the Alsatias of London, because they had nowhere else to find shelter.'⁶⁹ Yet social investigators are not tourists, and the East End, conspicuously absent in both appearance and comment from the narratives, was not 'London'. The city, for all intents and purposes, suffered a split personality disorder: the glittering squares of the West End contrasted (often bitterly so) with the darkened alleys of

middle classes became involved in progressive social and political groups, essentially steering a significant amount of Victorian society.

⁶⁹ G.R. Sims, *How the Poor Live and Horrible London* (Chatto & Windus, London, 1889), p. 115.

the East. Despite this, however, modernity was implicated on both sides of the divide as an undesirable element, which if left unchecked would distort and erase the entire character of the capital.

One subscriber to this idea was Augustus Hare. Hare, originally from Herstmonceaux, had been an avid visitor to Italy and the Riviera over the course of his life, so much so that he had written numerous guidebooks on those locations, later returning to England to write similar books on the north, and eventually London.⁷⁰ It is possible that his predilection for the ancient grandeur represented in northern Italy coloured his perceptions of industrial and architectural innovation in England. Nevertheless, beginning in 1878, Hare commenced his two-volume *Walks in London* series, a semi-historical, slightly meandering tour around the city. Throughout both narratives, there is a constant theme of a historical, stately London which is fast disappearing under the ravages of railways and streets, exemplified by the Temple Bar removal later that year: ‘With the removal of Temple Bar an immensity of the associations of the past will be swept away.’⁷¹ The new architecture of the city, with several exceptions usually medieval or Gothic, was ‘producing an impression of durable dullness [sic] which it requires all the romance of history to counteract.’⁷² To Hare’s mind, London had suffered ‘...barbarous and ridiculous injuries...’ and had been ‘...wantonly mutilated...’⁷³ Nor was Hare alone in expressing such a view. Emily Constance Cook, during her stroll through the capital, felt that it was only the historical sections which were truly representative of London: ‘the whole of this heart of the city, - except only for certain well-defined “infernos” of modern industry and ugliness, such as the great Liverpool-Street terminus, must be deeply interesting to every

⁷⁰ E. Baigent, ‘Hare, Augustus John Cuthbert (1834–1903)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33710>, accessed 5 April 2011]

⁷¹ A. Hare, *Walks in London* (2 vols., Daldy, Isbister & Co., London, 1878), i, p. 55.

⁷² Hare, *Walks in London*, i, p. 291.

⁷³ Hare, *Walks in London*, i, p. 9.

Londoner and every Englishman,'⁷⁴ and that she longed for a city where 'the hideous criss-cross of electric wires overhead, the ugly tangle of suburban tram-lines, and the greater part of the hideous modern growth of suburbs...every sign of a railway station would disappear, every repulsive engine shed and siding vanish...' ⁷⁵ In the minds of these and other visitors and writers, the industrialism present in London signified not control or prestige, but rather the opposite: the increasing pace of life had sundered traditional markers, and made it difficult to determine where Victorian society was headed. Modernity was reactive, leaving London with 'incomprehensible chaos'⁷⁶; stability lay with the resurrection of traditional means, styles, and forms. One Londoner, Alfred Rosling Bennett, writing his memoirs in 1924, remained to the end of his life convinced that London in the 1850s and 1860s was superior to anything the post-World War I city had to offer. Modernity, he believed, had made society decadent and apathetic, had made life too easy and characterless. In a lengthy diatribe, he had noted that

We find ourselves much in the position of decadent Rome. Indeed, in some respects, the parallel is surprising. The Caesars carried on by free doles of grain (John Bull gives hard cash) and other necessities; by hocussing [sic] the people with games (we substitute votes) and gladiators (our people are encouraged to waste their time watching football)...We are no longer the earnest England of the Great Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862. And beyond everything lies the fact that many nations will in the future be our keen competitors in production of every kind, so that, even should a great revival of patriotism and common sense occur, and all classes combine to reassert the national position, the effort will have to be made in a world of bitter commercial rivalry and price-cutting in which there will be no room for short hours, high wages, ca'canny and doles of the merry-go-round order. Meanwhile, the good ship *Britannia*, with helm adrift surges amongst the rocks, the officers engaged chiefly in scheming to displace their rivals; the crew one half on strike and the other half thinking they ought to be; the passengers mostly dancing the hornpipe; the few who refrain, well, what can they do? Only doubt and hope.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Cook, *Highways and Byways*, p. 80.

⁷⁵ Cook, *Highways and Byways*, pp. 20-1.

⁷⁶ J. Summerson, 'London, the Artifact', in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (2 vols., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1973), i, p. 328. Summerson here details an excellent account of the manner in which architectural styles reflected the clash between historical (Gothic) and progressive (Renaissance and Classical), and the implications for the city.

⁷⁷ A.R. Bennett, *London and Londoners in the Eighteen-Fifties and Sixties* (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1924), pp. 363-4.

Yet despite the ongoing conflict between neo-traditionalism and progress, the criticism and rejection of London remained as inescapably defined by modernity as did its acceptance.

Despite their denunciations of modernity (whether economic, industrial, or social), travellers were nevertheless subject to its various forms. Most had come to London on the train or a steamship; many lodged not in cottages or houses, but in the new steel-and-glass framed hotels, while enjoying newspapers and advertisements which reported from all corners of the world. George Graham was one of these visitors. On viewing a workhouse outside of Glasgow, for instance, he felt distinctly uncomfortable with the industrial system that condemned people to such an existence: 'It is not easy to understand how a great city annually adding many thousands to its population & increasing immensely in wealth should at the same time add so many to its poor as to require such establishments for their support.'⁷⁸ Yet, as the train steamed south to London, he just as easily penned the praise of steam locomotion: 'Of all the Conveniences that have resulted from Modern improvements no one is more remarkable than the increased facilities for travelling, by which distant places can be reached in comparatively little time, at little cost, and with great comfort by the aid of Steam.'⁷⁹ Graham's impressions raise a point worth noting: it is not the city that provokes a backlash; rather, it is awareness of the prevalence and pervasiveness of a process of systemic change from which there is no retreat. Augustus Hare might denounce London for its new and garish architecture, but in Rome, for instance, despite its 'squalid appearance of its modern streets...It is only by returning again and again, by allowing the *feeling* of Rome to gain upon you...that Rome engraves itself upon your heart.'⁸⁰ Such charitable feelings were absent from the greater advance of industrialism in England than in Italy.

⁷⁸ Graham, *Diary of George Graham*, 28 July 1851, p. 3.

⁷⁹ Graham, *Diary of George Graham*, 28 July 1851, p. 1.

⁸⁰ A. Hare, *Walks in Rome* (2 vols., George Allen, London, 1897), i, p. 3.

These denunciations, while in the minority, are very much relics of the urban reputation from Chadwick's and Engels' period. With the urbanisation of Victorian Britain, modernism was fast becoming an inescapable fact of life. While Thomas Carlyle could in 1858 thunder that '[b]y our skill in Mechanism...in the management of external things we excel all other ages; while in whatever respects the pure moral nature, in true dignity of soul and character, we are perhaps inferior to most civilised ages,'⁸¹ his indignation was even then already in the minority. The popularity of the Great Exhibition, promoting modernity as a quintessentially British trait, had seen to that. The decline in traditionalism and the rise in modernism was lamented by some, Jose Harris wrote, as creating a new race with 'no spontaneous memory of past times – a race with an ahistorical mentality.'⁸² The popularity of material improvement in the city was a strong temptation, Harris noted, which had 'misted over' the lessons and community of previous eras.⁸³ By the end of the century, the city and its enticements reigned supreme, as a study conducted in 1891 highlighted. A 'Special Correspondent' for the *Daily Mail*, investigating the countryside surrounding London, railed against this migration:

The rural districts are still emptying to fill the towns. Our Commissioner has walked and driven through Essex, and Essex, as he sees it, is fast becoming a civilized waste. The bold peasantry are forsaking it in ever-increasing numbers...Only "the old people and fools" remain behind to take the statement....⁸⁴

London offered too much to the senses to be condemned, and if the city was rightly attacked on the basis of its East End poverty, it is only worth noting that middle-class tourists by and large ignored such areas of the capital, but were tackling similar problems across their own communities, and in their own ways. Tourism to London, silent on

⁸¹ T. Carlyle, 'The Signs of the Times – the Mechanical Age', iii, p. 111,

⁸² J. Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993), p. 33.

⁸³ Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p. 34

⁸⁴ L. Bellamy and T. Williamson (eds.), *Life in the Victorian Village: the Daily News Survey of 1891* (2 vols., Caliban Books, London, 1999), i, p. 12.

poverty and urban blight, was therefore an isolated and circumscribed phenomenon whose meanings and objectives were particularly defined according to one's social background. The spaces of modernity co-existed with those of consumption and display, and the successful visit was one which demonstrated an ability to navigate the city in this fashion.

The Modern City

Visiting London and subsequently writing about the journey is best viewed as a small part of a wider tradition of investigation into urban modernity. The growth of cities had fascinated Victorians for decades, even as some of their worst excesses horrified onlookers. Yet the city still presented the unabashed image of modern living, whether beneficial or not. Indeed, an article appearing in *Sharpe's London Journal* in 1850 connected the city with the 'stream of British civilization. As it flows on, many mighty cities and fair towns spring up along its banks, to which it is the source of fame and prosperity.'⁸⁵ In general, this investigative tradition found an outlet in two forms: first, through the increasingly official-minded collection of statistics, reports, and inquiries on urban life; and second, in the more popular form of literary and sensational works. As Andrew Lees has argued, between the two types, cities were condemned on moral and sanitary grounds, but praised on economic and material progress. Such a distinction, Lees notes, was due to urban detractors' desire to recapture an idealised, sublime landscape, while urban promoters felt instead that the increasing collectives of resources, intellectual discussion, and opportunities were good for the nation as a whole in the long term.⁸⁶

Robert Vaughan understood, for instance, that the city was not merely a den of iniquity, nor a playground for the *nouveau riche*, but a contradictory, conflicting mass of

⁸⁵ 'The Influence of British Cities upon British Civilization', *Sharpe's London Journal*, 11 (1850), 26.

⁸⁶ Lees, *Cities Perceived*, pp. 39-43; and both Sophie Forgan and Felix Driver have pointed to the creation of urban intellectual groups as a phenomenon aiding the rise of modern scientific inquiry. See S. Forgan, 'From Modern Babylon to White City: Science, Technology, and Urban Change in London, 1870-1914', in M. Levin, et al. (eds.), *Urban Modernity: Cultural Innovation in the Second Industrial Revolution* (MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 2010), pp. 75-132; and F. Driver, 'Distance and Disturbance: Travel, Exploration and Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), 73-92.

images, geographies, and emotions. His recognition that, despite their flaws, contemporary cities could be the champions of progress in things like art and science – a sort of ‘new Rome’ for their day – comes through quite clearly. ‘Cities,’ he wrote, ‘are at once the great effect, and the great cause, of progress in this department of knowledge.’⁸⁷ Yet Vaughan’s 1843 book *The Age of Great Cities* was unlucky enough to be sandwiched between the harshly critical reports of Edwin Chadwick’s 1842 *Report on the Conditions of the Labouring Classes of Great Britain* and Frederick Engels’ 1845 *Condition of the Working Classes in England*. Engels, viewing the filth and disruption of Manchester, evoked the opposite viewpoint. Cities were, in his opinion, objects which had sundered not only the landscape, but which had alienated citizens instead of bringing them closer together:

What is true of London, is true of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, is true of all great towns. Everywhere barbarous indifference, hard egotism on one hand, and nameless misery on the other, everywhere social warfare, every man’s house in a state of siege, everywhere reciprocal plundering under the protection of the law, and all so shameless, so openly avowed that one shrinks before the consequences of our social state as they manifest themselves here undisguised, and can only wonder that the whole crazy fabric still hangs together.⁸⁸

The city was, therefore, often linked with specific images of social and economic progress, whether upwards or downwards depending on perspective.

The tourist narratives above share this tradition of connecting the city with particular social or cultural imagery. At the heart of their analyses was a tendency to consider the city as a replacement for the romantic landscapes of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. As early as 1835, Sir George Head, deputy knight-marshal to William IV and later Victoria, was already applying the language of the sublime to the

⁸⁷ R. Vaughan, *The Age of Great Cities, or, Modern Civilization Viewed in its Relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion* (Jackson & Walford, London, 1843), p. 108.

⁸⁸ F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844*, trans. F.K. Wischnewetzky (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1892), pp. 24-5.

modern factories and mills of northwest England. During one visit to Manchester, he watched a group of workmen baling cotton for export to Russia:

I went to the warehouse of a large establishment in the town, to see the operation of a powerful hydraulic press, employed in compressing bales of cotton yarn, previous to exportation to Russia. However well known and general in its use this wonderful machine may be, by which, with the assistance of a few gallons of water, so stupendous a power is obtained, there are few objects better worthy of the trouble of inspection...The first operation was performed...with wonderful adroitness...It was curious to remark, how little the men, who are employed everyday in managing this wonderful engine, seem aware of its power, that is to say, how little trouble they give themselves to define its extent.⁸⁹

Lynda Nead has argued that this new ‘metropolitan picturesque’ altered not only the way in which individuals viewed the city, but the way in which they understood modernity.⁹⁰ A major aspect of modernity, Nead felt, was the necessary destruction of the old, whether of a sublime rural landscape to erect a factory or a street for laying a sewer: ‘Modernity was being built on the image of ruin.’⁹¹ The metropolitan picturesque – perhaps the metropolitan sublime is a better term – is visible to our tourists, constructed atop the remains of both previous Londons and previous ages. The writer George Sala, wandering around London in *Twice Round the Clock* (1859), characterised the city in much the same fashion. The city was built overtop the civilisations of the past, ‘so full of these footstep memories, so haunted by impalpable ghosts of the traces of famous deeds, that locomotion, to one of my temperament, becomes a task very slow, if not painfully difficult, of accomplishment.’⁹² But, examining the state of change in the capital, Sala nevertheless concluded that ‘the whole aspect of the city changes with...magical rapidity.’⁹³ Richard Lovett, when viewing the Houses of Parliament in 1890, understood them as part of a continual process of reinvention:

⁸⁹ G. Head, *A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England in the Summer of 1835* (Harper Bros, New York, 1836), pp. 69-71.

⁹⁰ L. Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999), pp. 32-3.

⁹¹ Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, p. 215.

⁹² G.A. Sala, *Twice Round the Clock, or, the Hours of the Day and Night in London* (Houlston & Wright, London, 1859), p. 67.

⁹³ Sala, *Twice Round the Clock*, p. 50.

Rich in its architecture, it is richer still in its memories...The great current of legal life and action of the nation has flowed through the courts that for many centuries here had their home, while the mere enumeration of the great state trials bring centuries of English history before us.⁹⁴

Physically, the metropolis underwent a thorough process of self-destruction and reinvention beginning in the 1850s and 1860s, to make room for Bazalgette's Main Drainage system and the Metropolitan Railway. While the changes were not as extensive as the Haussmannisation of Second Empire Paris, the image of London's streets torn apart amid thousands of workers, supplies, rails, braces, and vehicles provided, as Rosalind Williams termed it, 'a visual image of social upheaval.'⁹⁵ Indeed, the reconstruction of London provided urban tourists and citizens alike with views of both the physical fabric of the city and the now-displaced members of the poor who had been forced to leave their slum courts. Modernity had signalled a shift not only in the ways of living and moving about the city, but also brought the image of the impoverished Londoner into stark relief, and it is an interesting correlation to note the rise in social investigation occurs during the 1860s until the end of the century.

Beyond revealing the state of the city, how was this modernity experienced? It was, in the opinion of several historians, a collection of sensations to be sampled.⁹⁶ The city promised new sights for the eyes with large buildings, surging crowds, and interesting collections. Its clutch of markets and shops tempted the palette with food and drink from around the world, while the Metropolitan Railway and Tower Bridge reinvented London as a vertical city, shattering traditional notions of a two-dimensional urban system.

Everything in London, it seemed, was larger, faster, and more exotic. Even recreational tastes such as music or dining were, as we have seen, on a more spectacular scale than in

⁹⁴ Lovett, *London Pictures*, pp. 176-7.

⁹⁵ R. Williams, *Notes on the Underground: An Essay on Technology, Society, and the Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990), p. 53.

⁹⁶ Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, p. 82; Highmore, *Cityscapes*, p. 57; M. Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: the Experience of Modernity*, 3rd edn (Verso, London, 2010), p. 153. As Berman notes, with regard to the rebuilding of Paris, but which could be applied equally to London's slum clearances, 'In the midst of the great spaces, under the bright lights, there is no way to look away.'

the provincial cities. This theme runs through the following – likely apocryphal – story related by Wilfrid Whitten. A young squire came up from the West Country to visit London:

All went well as far as Brentford. Seeing the lamps of that outlying village, the countryman imagined that he was at his journey's end, but as mile succeeded mile of illumination he asked in alarm, 'Are we not yet in London, and so many miles of lamps?' At last, at Hyde Park Corner, he was told that this was London; but still the lamps receded and the streets lengthened, until he sank into a coma of astonishment. When they entered Lad Lane, the Cheapside coaching centre, a travelling companion bade the West Countryman remain in the coffee-room while he made inquiries. On returning he found no trace of him, nor did he hear any more of him for six weeks. He then learned that he was in custody in Dorsetshire – a lunatic. The poor fellow was taken home, and after a brief return of his reason he died. He was able to explain that he had become more and more bewildered by the lights and by the endless streets, from which he thought he should never be able to escape. Somehow, he walked blindly westward, and at last emerged into the country bereft of memory and wits.⁹⁷

For the visitor from the provinces, or Wales or Scotland, London's modernity thus represented something more spectacular than their local centres, a promise of an easier and more comfortable life, although it often took years for certain innovations to trickle down through the provinces. Molly Hughes, travelling to see her fiancé via a Welsh local service in 1888, was shocked to see old-fashioned railway carriages still in use '...for I thought this kind of thing had long ago been turned into tool-sheds for London suburban gardens. It had wooden seats, minute windows, and was open throughout.'⁹⁸ The linkage between material progress and the capital emerged from an earlier tradition which had examined and debated the merits of the city, and which provided urban tourists with a neatly panoptic vision of the changes which were shaping the country.

London and Victorian Tourism

What are the implications of this dialogue between modernity and traditionalism for Victorian tourism? In what ways does this affect the more familiar tourist narrative of going abroad to the Continent or elsewhere? Reconstructing British tourism emphasises

⁹⁷ Whitten, *Londoner's London*, p. 26.

⁹⁸ Hughes, *London Family*, p. 326.

outward travel: from J.A.R. Pimlott's *The Englishman's Holiday* (1947) to Richard Mullen's *The Smell of the Continent* (2010), the tourist has gradually moved from their local community into ever-greater circles. The local spa, the seaside resort, to France, the Holy Land, and eventually across the globe; there is a remarkably coherent desire to go farther, to move quicker, and, importantly, to do so as a mark of prestige.⁹⁹ Within a British context, as with most others, tourism has served as a mechanism for observation and recreation. In the first instance, cultural observation (i.e., the English in Scotland or Wales) has been characterised as artificial and staged. Alastair Durie and Katherine Grenier have pointed to the 'artificially tartanised' romantic landscape of Scotland, shaped and influenced in accordance with the expectations of visitors, and out of proportion to any real Scottish cultural displays.¹⁰⁰ In the second, relaxation has been the purview of the great seaside resorts. Places such as Margate or Scarborough, while popular among the moneyed classes, were dismissed as being 'carnavalesque' environments¹⁰¹ from their lack of social propriety, and full of 'artificial' and 'commercial' amusements.¹⁰² Such irreverence was manifest in a popular Edwardian music-hall song, 'I Do Like to be Beside the Seaside'.¹⁰³ The resort experience was often a passive, hedonistic affair occurring within a carefully-constructed habitat.

Tourism to London thus bears only a passing familiarity with other styles of Victorian tourism. The journey to London is, by contrast, an inherently inward-looking

⁹⁹ J. Steward, 'How and Where to Go: the Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840-1914', in J. Walton (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Channel View, Clevedon, 2005), p. 39.

¹⁰⁰ K.H. Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005), pp. 56-9; and see A. Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: a History of Tourism in Scotland, 1780-1939* (Tuckwell, East Linton, NJ, 2003).

¹⁰¹ J. Walton, 'British Tourism between Industrialization and Globalization', in H. Berghoff (ed.), *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000* (Palgrave, London, 2002), p. 111.

¹⁰² J. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: a Social History, 1750-1914* (University of Leicester Press, Leicester, 1983), pp. 156-7.

¹⁰³ The British Library, Music Collections VOC/1970/GLOVER-KIND (J.A. Glover-Kind, 'I Do Like to Be Beside the Seaside'), London, 1907.

voyage occurring on a much smaller scale than the examples above. Urban space is challenging, random, and uncertain, whose outward forms of travel appear familiar, but which result in markedly different outcomes. Where special excursion trains funnelled hundreds of visitors at a time into Brighton, London generally attracted individuals and small groups (the exhibitions notwithstanding). Nor was there present a social or cultural imperative which made tourism to London a yearly necessity as it did with other types.¹⁰⁴ Yet the major distinction which separated London from the seaside or the foreign tour was that of authenticity. Authenticity is a critical factor in imagined reconstructions of London, and especially for considerations of the modern city. It communicates something of the experiences and vitality of life in the capital to the visitor, whose guidebook edifications are often bland or limited. Crucially, authenticity serves to shatter the barrier between the individual and place: something of the 'superficial' receiving culture is replaced by a realistic and compelling connection linking the observer and the observed.¹⁰⁵ In so doing, the tourist receives (or creates) an image which is without moderation or mediation.

Such authenticity of place is illustrated in an incident during one of Charlotte Bousfield's visits to London in 1883. Charlotte, the wife of a successful Bedford investor, made frequent visits to the capital in order to visit her son Will, a clerk in town, but who was often busy. Charlotte thus spends the majority of her time in London engaged in sightseeing and idling. On one particular occasion, however, she experienced something altogether different:

Arriving at King St on our way to Mr Kelly's Office [to visit her son Will] we found ourselves in the midst of a crowd gathered to look at a scene of devastation

¹⁰⁴ In reference to the Season, this is an extremely exclusive gathering of the upper classes limited to socialisation, and not idle gazing in the city streets as would befit a tourist. Moreover, the Season was often marketed as one of the city's attractions alongside its more notable sites, as with Edward Mogg's advice to visit between June and July, as 'the Palace of the British Sovereign presents an appearance that, for beauty, brilliancy, rank, wealth, and respectability...This magnificent display is, nevertheless, not entirely confined to the interior...and in consequence becomes to the assembled multitude a great source of attraction; the company all superbly dressed....', E. Mogg, *Mogg's New Picture of London* (E. Mogg, London, 1848), p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ See D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class* (MacMillan, London, 1976), pp. 10-13, 91-107.

such as we had never before witnessed. The public buildings, shops, & houses of all descriptions as far as we could see in every direction had the windows so smashed that scarcely a whole one was to be seen, in some cases every pane of glass entirely gone...The whole caused by a single explosion it is supposed of a canister of dynamite placed in the stone balcony of one of the windows of the Government Office facing King St by some Fenian, or other wicked wretch, with the design of blowing it up.¹⁰⁶

The attempted destruction of a government office building in Whitehall by Irish agitators was a disruptive and violent event in the life of the city, which is recorded unshielded by the normal conventions of Victorian taste. Although Charlotte represents the chaotic scene in an orderly fashion, it evinces a randomness and potentiality to the city's personality which other, more conventional sites lack. London in this reading is neither romantic nor friendly, and accessing the urban system entails subjecting one's self to a degree of risk.

Away from evocations of danger, however, the city's authenticity is created through the encounters of the everyday. London's collection of street-sellers, hawkers, entertainers, and other work-a-day types paralleled similar occupations in provincial cities. Though they too are largely unnoticed, the occasional individual makes an impression strong enough to remind the tourist that the city is in constant motion, as it was before their arrival, and as it will be once they have gone. We recall here the words of Blanchard Jerrold: 'The work-a-day life of the metropolis, that to the careless or inartistic eye is hard, angular, and ugly in its exterior aspects, offered us pictures at every street corner.'¹⁰⁷

Indeed, little Margaret Howes in particular vividly recalled an encounter at Albert Smith's panorama of Mont Blanc in 1855. A huckster attempted to ply his 'trade':

One thing was about the man who took photographs. A man pretended to take photographs & showed Mr. Smith a piece of plain brown paper. 'Where is the photograph?' said Mr. Smith. (Man) 'On this piece of paper.' (Mr. Smith) 'I don't see it.' (Man) 'That is the beauty of it. It is there though you can't see it'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ C. Bousfield, *The Bousfield Diaries: a Middle-class Family in late-Victorian Bedford*, ed. R. Smart (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 71-2.

¹⁰⁷ B. Jerrold and G. Doré, *London, A Pilgrimage* (reprint, Anthem Press, London, 2005), p. xxviii.

¹⁰⁸ Howes, *Journal of Margaret Howes*, 5 Sept. 1855.

While Howes does not record the outcome of this event, its portrayal of urban life is equally as authentic as Charlotte Bousfield's more dramatic account. The tourist, like the citizen, is subject to the same pressures of urban existence by those looking to make (honest or dishonest) money in the street. In some respects, both Bousfield's and Howes' encounters may have given them a greater contact with 'authentic' urban living than either received in Bedford or Norwich: as Simon Gunn has pointed out, many areas of the provincial city were physically and socially inaccessible by the lower classes, which may paint provincial city life as relatively insular when compared to the hubbub of the capital.¹⁰⁹ In his memoirs, George Brodrick recalled just such a difference between London and King's Lynn:

The daily life at the Hall, as well as the Rectory, was then simple and monotonous. The servants were chiefly drawn from the neighbourhood, which also supplied all the domestic wants, and many of the domestic comforts, then known to owners of country houses. For most of them a visit to London was a rare and memorable event. Year in and year out they lived at home....¹¹⁰

The authenticity, then, of the capital and its tendency to random interactions between visitors and citizens, interactions far removed from the more ritualised social gatherings of the middle and upper classes, separated the urban milieu of London from its more sedate counterparts in the country, and even the provincial city. In many instances, the glittering bourgeois spaces of the provincial city grew up in a parallel and symbiotic fashion with those of the slums and other downtrodden areas. Steven Marcus, examining Engels' 1845 tour of Manchester, described the city as one of dual existence: the fancy streets and shops hid the presence of dirty tenements behind them. This was a structural design which promoted the vision of the clean and ordered city at the expense of the

¹⁰⁹ Gunn, *Public Culture*, p. 72; and Richard Sennett has pointed to the increasing localism among nineteenth-century towns carved up by streets and railways as aiding the decline of community and mutual involvement, R. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (Faber & Faber, London, 1993), pp. 136-43,

¹¹⁰ G.C. Brodrick, *Memories and Impressions, 1831-1900* (Nisbet & Co., London, 1900), p. 8.

‘illegible’ working-class districts, and in which space was therefore highly regulated.¹¹¹

The city was, in this sense at least, a rather inauthentic, segregated environment – artificially created, zoned, and sustained.

Yet these were also the sites for the articulation of new types of urbane individuals, those comfortable in the new modernity, and in particular, the new civic woman. The new meeting places were the tea-rooms, the department stores, the museums, and the theatres of the city. All were symbols of modernity and culture, and as icons of urban style had displaced the frivolous festivities and fairs of the early century. The social and sexual boundaries of the city have been broken down by the work of feminist historians, who in particular have pointed out that female status within the public sphere became a symbol of greater modernity than that of the male.¹¹² The innovations mentioned above were indeed largely geared towards women during the day (men, presumably, being off at work), and like the examples of Anne Jenkins and Margaret Howes in various restaurants, served to blur the distinction between private domesticity and a public performance. The growth in female-friendly stores and shops over the second half of the century gave, in addition to spatial significance, a temporal component to such displays. Women in the public sphere appeared as a secondary ‘invention’ of the Industrial Revolution. Places such as Whiteley’s ‘Universal Emporium’ in Bayswater, or Harrod’s in Knightsbridge, remained ahead of the curve by innovating with respect to feminine customers: public lavatories, writing rooms, and places of display provided respectable spaces of amusement. By the end of the century, the urban woman had become intertwined with consumerism, feminism and urbanism. Retailers believed that if they could replicate such conditions in public

¹¹¹ S. Marcus, ‘Reading the Illegible’, in *The Victorian City*, i, pp. 260-1; D. Ward, ‘Victorian Cities – How Modern?’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 1, 2 (1975), 136-7; and Highmore comments on this same argument in *Cityscapes*, pp. 35-9.

¹¹² See footnote 60 in Chapter Two; as well, see Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, pp. 62-71; and for a complete shattering of these boundaries see the fascinating description of the capital’s Lady Guide Association in Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, pp. 108-11.

spaces, they could draw women out to spend money in town.¹¹³ George Gissing's novel *In the Year of Jubilee* contains a delightful tweak on this idea from two individuals looking to set up a store in London which sells low-cost versions of expensive items. In a conversation between two characters, one of them explains how the upper classes perceive shops and shopping:

Every idiot of them will, at all events, come and look at the shop; that can be depended upon; in itself no bad advertisement. Arrange to have a special department—special entrance, if possible—with "The Club" painted up. Yes, by jingo! Have a big room, with comfortable chairs, and the women's weekly papers lying about, and smart dresses displayed on what-d'ye-call-'ems, like they have in windows. Make the subscription very low at first, and give rattling good value; never mind if you lose by it. Then, when you've got hold of a lot of likely people, try them with the share project. By-the-bye, if you lose no time, you can bring in the Jubilee somehow. Yes, start with the "Jubilee Fashion Club." I wonder nobody's done it already.¹¹⁴

Thus, the city is, on the one hand, a pre-existing and static location. The British Museum, Westminster Abbey, and London's other landmarks, are fitted into a general dialogue on social change. Yet on the other hand, parts of the city are actively engaged in fashioning themselves to better reflect the expectations of the modern citizen – not just the tourist. The rise of consumer culture and its connection with the overt iconography of urban modernity served as the new expressions of bourgeois urban life. The Underground, for instance, advertised for and attracted individuals as distant as one hundred miles with a promise of special 'night trains' which would depart after theatre closing time to take day-trippers back home.¹¹⁵ For our tourists, such consumerism – perhaps such commodification of leisure, space, and time – reinforced the appeal, and in some respects the quick spread, of modernity in Britain.

¹¹³ Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, p. 101; and for a general overview see Alison Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping, 1800-1914: Where, and in What Manner the Well-Dressed Englishwoman bought her Clothes* (Barrie & Jenkins, London, 1989).

¹¹⁴ G. Gissing, *In the Year of Jubilee* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1895), p. 85.

¹¹⁵ J. Simmons, *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914* (David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1986), p. 8.

Conclusion

To British tourists visiting Victorian London, the capital must have appeared to herald not only a new age of speed, excitement, and possibility, but also of noise, crowding, and perpetual movement. The metropolis echoed, through its periodic alterations of urban space, the same trends which defined the dialogue between modernity and anti-modernity over the course of the century. For the most part, however, our visitors – urban dwellers and professionals all – sympathised enthusiastically with the changes redrawing Victorian society. The *Traveller's Gazette* (1902), in a retrospective take on sixty-four years of London's development, remarked on the way in which the metropolis had responded to the challenges of modernity:

If those who knew the London of 1838 came again amongst us they would be impressed with the vast alterations that have taken place. Many streets are wider, all are cleaner; there is an elaborateness of display and fashion in the shops that is dazzling. There is greater traffic, but less confusion; infinitely more pedestrians, but it is easier to make one's way...The buildings are infinitely finer...With the growth of travel hotels have grown in number and size...the visitor loses his identity and becomes a number.¹¹⁶

Along with the arrival of new types of buildings and new modes of urban living, so too came a loss of private space and a great increase in the tempo of life; yet to the anonymous writer of the article even this has been decidedly beneficial. Moreover, London, by its hosting of periodic Exhibitions and fairs (in 1851, 1862, 1886, 1888, 1908, and 1924) further reinforced the connection between urban systems and modern innovations.

All of this raises the question of why London stood as the example of modernity? Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and other provincial cities were similarly pushing the boundaries of industrial technology, imported luxuries, or material comforts, as we have seen. Indeed, the London historian Francis Sheppard has argued that the capital ceded its

¹¹⁶ Thomas Cook Archives, 'London in 1838 and 1902', *Traveller's Gazette* (1902), 7

primacy to these outlets for a period around mid-century.¹¹⁷ Yet these cities did not captivate travellers in the same fashion. It was only London, however, which combined all of these factors into one system; according to H. Llewellyn Smith in the early 1890s, people came to London for

the contagion of numbers, the sense of something going on, the theatres and the music halls, the brightly lighted streets and busy crowds – all, in short, that makes the difference between the Mile End fair on a Saturday night and a dark muddy lane, with no glimmer of gas and with nothing to do. Who could wonder that men are drawn into such a vortex, even were the penalty heavier than it is?¹¹⁸

The tourist literature also suggests an additional answer to this question. Individuals came to London not only because of its concentrations of the interesting and unusual, but in order to satisfy a cultural imperative.¹¹⁹ London loomed large in the cultural memory of much of England, if not necessarily Scotland or Wales, as the essential centre of their historical legacy. As Emily Cook put it, '[t]he history of this mighty empire is bound up with the history of London. For, the history of London is that of England.'¹²⁰ Yet London's cultural significance occasionally appears in Celtic contexts, as with the Welsh National *Eisteddfod* being proclaimed at the Temple in London in 1886, and held at the Royal Albert Hall in 1887. Holding the festival, in the centre of the British capital sent a powerful message about the vitality of Welsh cultural and social forms. The 1887 festival appears as much a gesture of resistance against perceived Anglicisation as it does a celebration of Welsh values.¹²¹ Proclaiming the *Eisteddfod* from the Temple Gardens, a location intimately associated with the law and order of Britain, granted the festival an authoritative legitimacy as the centrepiece of Welsh heritage. By siting the *Eisteddfod* in

¹¹⁷ F. Sheppard, 'London and the Nation in the Nineteenth Century: the Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5, 35 (1985), 56.

¹¹⁸ Quote reprinted in Sheppard, 'London and the Nation', 55.

¹¹⁹ K. Meethan, *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2001), p. 35. Meethan suggests that as a society becomes more interconnected, modern, and globalised, there is a resurgence of the local and the regional cultural identity as 'the focus of both political and social identity'.

¹²⁰ Cook, *Highways and Byways*, p. 2.

¹²¹ In the same way that the 1911 investiture of the Prince of Wales at Caernarfon was an attempt at legitimising Welsh participation in British life. See J. Ellis, 'Reconciling the Celt: British National Identity, the Empire, and the 1911 Investiture of the Prince of Wales', *Journal of British Studies*, 37, 4 (1998), 392.

London, the *North Wales Chronicle* hoped, it ‘will give Englishmen of all shades of opinion the opportunity of judging for themselves whether or not it has any claim to be acknowledged as an institution of inestimable national value.’¹²² Part of London’s appeal, then, stemmed from its ability to maintain the links of a more tradition-oriented cultural consciousness, whether historical or national.¹²³

Yet, concerned as we are here with the small-scale, everyday life of tourists and visitors, we may say that they perceived their circumstances to be not only fortuitously changing personally – for instance, Anne Jenkins’ excitement at studying chemistry at University College, London¹²⁴ – but also that they were witnessing a reshaping of the world itself. This is, perhaps, the most crucial change that London had wrought: visiting tourists and provincials understood that their lives were slowly becoming more globalised, as they ate meat from Argentina or New Zealand, wore clothes spun from American cotton, or read the newspaper headlines on events in India or the Cape. Indeed, modernity often intruded in strange or unexpected ways, as with Margaret Howes’ experience at the London Zoological Gardens, where she saw a polar bear, and ‘we were going to see the Elephant etc but we met a man who was going to feed the Flamingoes so we went to see them fed.’¹²⁵ It does not occur to Margaret that she is in fact seeing the reach of the British Empire in establishing such a collection.

By the end of the century, it was clear, even to individuals such as Charles Oman, that the course of modern influence on British life could not be averted. London, standing as the undisputed global city, had in large part transformed itself and its citizens, and such changes were making their way through the rest of the country, even crafting an entirely

¹²² ‘The National Eisteddfod’, *The North Wales Chronicle*, 13 Aug. 1887.

¹²³ Or religious, as with Anne Jenkins, who as one of her first sites in London chose the Dissenters’ cemetery at Bunhill Fields.

¹²⁴ Jenkins, *Notebook*, 5-25 July 1888. Jenkins, while often noting that the work is very difficult and time-consuming, repeatedly expresses her interest and enjoyment of various lectures and labs, and felt ‘rather sorry to leave the place’ once her time had finished (p. 21).

¹²⁵ Howes, *Journal*, 8 Sept. 1855.

new literary tradition in which to explore such modernist fantasies – that of science fiction. The ravages of early industrialism had been long forgotten, and it was with a sense of excitement, even amidst an awareness of relative industrial decline,¹²⁶ that Britons looked forward to the twentieth century.

¹²⁶ See M. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004). Wiener has argued in favour of a bourgeois ‘distrust of materialism and economic change’ which, along with visions of mills and factories was ‘neither appealing nor quite legitimate as an expression of the English way of life,’ this is a somewhat unsatisfying conclusion given the degree to which British cities continued their commercial, consumer, and leisure-oriented expansion into the twentieth century (p. 127).

Chapter Four

‘England has no greatness left save in her industry’: the Continental Experience of London.

Introduction

‘This is a great centre of business, one meets lines of businessmen, grave and silent, no idlers, and the cars, the cabs, the omnibuses, is unheard of! Nothing similar exists in Paris. London, in this respect, is unique in this way.’¹ This was the way one anonymous French visitor to London in 1876 summarised the British capital. At the centre of the nineteenth-century commercial world, Victorian London was perceived by continental visitors as combining the extremes of urban life: it had fabulous squares and parks, yet was cold and mechanical. Continental visions of London differ widely from those found in the previous three chapters; they make of London a caricature which stands as the physical representation of the British political economy. Importantly, such a perspective permits us to see how the idea of modernity is differentiated: French and German visitors castigate the railways, wires, and crowds of the British metropolis as an example of the primacy of individualism and industrialism. Because of this choice, London (and thus Britain) does not possess the signs of an appropriately imperial city – large, wide boulevards, a centralised bourgeois presence, and similarly ‘democratising’ elements – the lack of which stigmatises the capital as un-modern when compared to Paris or Berlin. Moreover, this was felt to be reflection of the British system, the unique blend of free-market capitalism, governmental non-interference, and personal liberty which was

¹ Anon., *Voyage à Londres, 1876: Notes et Souvenirs* (Lille, 1876), p. 7. ‘C’est le grand centre du négoce, on ne rencontre que des files de gens affaires, graves et silencieux, pas de flâneurs, et des voitures, des cabs, des omnibus, c’est inoui! Rien de semblable n’existe à Paris. Londres, sous ce rapport, est unique dans son genre.’

to be found nowhere else in nineteenth-century Europe.² Thus Louis Énault could claim in 1859 that London was ‘The head and heart of the nation.’³

A strong current of discontent and disillusionment permeates the tourist narratives between 1850 and 1900. Why was this so? It appears at first glance that the social conditions on the Continent were broadly similar to those in Britain. France, Russia, and later Germany and Italy were all relatively strong expansionist powers, where living standards and purchasing power greatly improved during the latter half of the century.⁴ The burgeoning middle classes – from whom our visitors are drawn – had similar tastes, opportunities, and hobbies across most of Europe.⁵ The answer is found in the differences with British and continental cities: Paris, Berlin, and Vienna were symbolic expressions of a modernism which, through the proliferation of boulevards, cafes, and parks, emphasised public activity and the cultural economy as the foundation of urban life. In the eyes of continental visitors, the rejection of London was, therefore, a condemnation of both the British political economy which dehumanised its citizenry, and of an alien urban arrangement, which lacked the familiar icons of urban modernity so important to continental civic life. Indeed, Sophie Forgan has recently pointed to the existence of a culture of technology in the city, where between 1875 and 1900, change and progress were taken for granted by expanding professional bodies of engineers, surveyors, and architects, who sought ‘to demonstrate modernity by emphasising the forward march of technology’ in a rather aggressive fashion.⁶ Given Britain’s spectacular growth in the early nineteenth

² Much of this idea and this chapter’s argument may also be found repeated in my forthcoming article. See J. De Sapio, ‘A Reign of Steam: Continental Perceptions of Modernity in Victorian London, 1840-1900’, *London Journal*, 37, 1 (March 2012).

³ L. Énault, *Angleterre, Écosse, Irlande: Voyage Pittoresque* (Morizot, Paris, 1859), p. 6. ‘Tête et coeur de la nation, concentre sa pensée et sa vie.’

⁴ See C. Mooers, *The Making of Bourgeois Europe: Absolutism, Revolution, and the Rise of Capitalism in England, France and Germany* (Verso, London, 1991).

⁵ P. Clark, *European Cities and Towns, 400-2000* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009), pp. 290, 305.

⁶ S. Forgan, ‘From Modern Babylon to White City: Science, Technology, and Urban Change in London, 1870-1914’, in M. Levin, et al. (eds.), *Urban Modernity: Cultural Innovation in the Second Industrial Revolution* (MIT Press, Cambridge, 2010), pp. 76-84.

century, the judgement of continentals was harsh indeed; thus Flora Tristan, an early French socialist visiting throughout the 1830s and 1840s, expressed a desire to ‘blacken England’s reputation in the eyes of all Frenchmen’,⁷ while in 1862 the Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky thought London to be ‘some prophecy out of the Apocalypse being fulfilled before your very eyes.’⁸

Such phrases are suggestive of an echo of Friedrich Engels’ 1845 *Condition of the Working Classes in England*, which itself was predicated on the failures of the British political and social economies in coping with modern industrial capitalism. Indeed, continental criticism between 1850 and 1880, in caricaturing London into a synecdoche representing the nation’s larger issues, often parallels the themes found throughout Engels’ treatment. The narratives of French and German visitors, however, must be viewed in light of the distinction between late-Victorian London and early-Victorian Manchester. In particular, the dynamic between Manchester’s hidden slums and its clean and bustling shopping streets has been shown to be purposely created, an attempt to hide the poor labourers away from bourgeois sight. In London, however, these narratives paint a spectacle of a jumbled, incoherent city, without any particular purpose or design to its layout.

The rejection of British modernity signified not that European nations were better able to cope with similar problems, but rather an indication that in the tourist gaze, industrial technology was only one aspect of modern life. In other words, continental visitors differentiated between industrial modernism and social and cultural modernism. Thus, their rejection of London’s industrial modernity stemmed from a belief in the value of social and cultural iconography as superior indicators of urban civilisation. Continental class consciousness required the centralisation of bourgeois housing as a bastion of

⁷ F. Tristan, *The London Journal of Flora Tristan*, trans. J. Hawkes (Virago, London, 1982), p. 9.

⁸ F. Dostoyevsky, *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions*, trans. K. FitzLyon (reprint, Quartet, London, 1985), p. 45.

ideological display, while the proliferation of museums, galleries, squares, and arcades similarly reinforced their claims to respectability.⁹ Yet London was represented as being rather poor in terms of monuments, statues, and paintings, and its architecture was an often bizarre mix of styles and eras, diffused about the capital in an individualistic and haphazard fashion. Continental visitors, finding the capital to be a dense environment of steam, noise, and social division, a capital which lacked the proper signifiers of urban culture and class distinctions, rejected the city as a template for modern society. This is not to say that London was uniformly perceived in a negative fashion; indeed, there is much that is celebrated throughout the narratives, and many of the visitors examined below originally arrive in London with their minds on seemingly more important concerns.¹⁰ Yet even in these more positive accounts, where criticism is found, it remains consistent with the more negative narratives.

Such a rejection signals much about the differences between British and continental cities, and the processes which were taken as defining ‘modernity’. Whereas British urban culture seemed indifferent or bland, across the European continent, cities were extolling a new self-confidence as they colonized their own hinterlands.¹¹ In France, for instance, Eugen Weber aptly characterised such late-century feelings in *Peasants into Frenchmen*: ‘Outside the urban centres, over much of France there was no “common history to be experienced as common”’; it was only post-1871 that ‘...the civilisation of French by

⁹ B. Highmore, *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2005), p. 33.

¹⁰ For instance, Louis Énault (1824-1900) condensed his visit to London into a travel guidebook, which was then inserted into his wider collection of voyages around the Mediterranean. Flora Tristan (1803-44) and Frederika Bremer (1801-65), on the other hand, came to London to attract attention to the pitfalls and shortcomings of industrialism on the labouring and female portions of society. Bremer, in particular, was popular in her native Sweden for advancing women’s rights in this way. On the other hand, London has occasionally served as a refuge from legal troubles, as in the cases of Karl Peters (1856-1918) and Louis Blanc (1811-82). Peters remained in exile for ten years to avoid legal complications arising from his governorship of Moshi, in German East Africa (today’s Tanzania). Blanc similarly sought protection in England for twenty-two years, due to his opposition to Napoleon III. While in London, Blanc managed a successful writing career, penning his landmark *History of the French Revolution* in the capital.

¹¹ A. Lees and L.H. Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750-1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007), p. 130.

urban France, the disintegration of local cultures by modernity and their absorption into the dominant civilisation of Paris and the schools' took place.¹² Indeed, within a wider European context, Peter Clark has shown that cities became progressively greater controllers directing national influences: 'European city culture, increasingly self-assured and multifaceted, wiped off the last traces of rural tradition, and European cultural life turned urban', Clark wrote, 'The world of towns largely effaced the distinctive cultural universe of the countryside, and...urban cultural ideas, activities, and institutions were ever more powerful in national society.'¹³ It was the city which functioned as the central lever around which the nation and its affairs circled.

Certainly, this idea has received much support. Claire Hancock, studying comparative views of London and Paris at the turn of the nineteenth century, noted that each city came to represent a particular set of political policies: London was conservative and hierarchical, while Paris was decidedly more democratic and public in keeping with its 'revolutionary' nature.¹⁴ More recently, Louise McReynolds has termed St. Petersburg as '...consciously...playing out the debate about national direction...'¹⁵ while in 2005 Katja Zelljadt cast Berlin in particular – and European capitals in general – as being the keepers of both national myth and progress. Berlin in 1896, she noted, possessed an 'inferiority complex' precisely because it could not seemingly partake of this urban function.¹⁶ Zelljadt, while differing from Hancock and McReynolds by focusing her argument on the presentation of the city's own heritage, nevertheless positioned the 1896 Exhibition as 'a

¹² E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1976), p. 486.

¹³ Clark, *European Cities*, p. 305.

¹⁴ C. Hancock, 'Your City does not speak my Language: cross-Channel views of London and Paris in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Planning Perspectives*, 12 (1997), 12.

¹⁵ L. McReynolds, 'St. Petersburg: the National Destiny in the Cityscape', *Journal of Urban History*, 33 (2007), 858.

¹⁶ K. Zelljadt, 'Presenting and Consuming the Past: Old Berlin at the Industrial Exhibition of 1896', *Journal of Urban History*, 31 (2005), 307.

microcosm for industrializing Berlin.’¹⁷ What made the capital city so important for continentals was precisely its role as the champion of national progress and economic vitality. With this in mind, visitors to Britain attempted to fit London into a similar mould; instead, they were often frustrated at the seeming indifference of London to such a calling.

The effects of such a differentiation have significant repercussions for this study. Importantly, two major questions arise from the rejection of London: first, does modernity therefore have to be linked to urban centres? Second, does it have to mean technology or consumption or power? As continental visitors felt London to be a negative reflection on the value of industrial capitalism on human relationships and social processes, the answer to both suggests that the meaning of modernity is never fixed, nor is modernity as a characteristic one which can be applied without a specific point of reference. When compared to other cities, what constitutes ‘the modern’ in London is therefore called into question; on this basis, visitors challenge many aspects of the British capital by contrasting London with their home city. This pattern is found widely throughout the narratives: British technology is modern to French or German travellers, but is seen to lag inefficiently behind American versions. On the other hand, London’s cultural and artistic economies are much celebrated by imperial subjects as fine examples of innovative work, but these same items are condescendingly patronised by continentals. The process of travel thus highlights the major fallacy at the heart of modernity: namely, that what is perceived as ‘modern’ is constructed through the subjectivity of the individual, and is neither a universalising force nor a constant between socio-cultural contexts.

The Continental Context for Modernity

The continental foundation for impressions of London is considerably different from imperial, American, and British contexts. Those instances followed a remarkably

¹⁷ Zelljadt, ‘Presenting and Consuming’, 318.

similar trajectory: planted by British interests (even ephemerally), a material ascent to industrialisation, and a plateau during which the next stage of development was pondered. The relatively homogenous natures of the settler colonies and the United States, and their continuous contact with both the formal and informal products of the British world-system created an Anglophone system of (broadly) similar governance, legal processes, and cultural perspectives.¹⁸ The European continent, by contrast, was always politically and socially fragmented; a space in which states and societies underwent sustained periods of divergent and discursive evolution. Such a fractious environment must necessarily produce a spectrum of responses. Yet the Western European experience with industrialisation and urbanisation, while a decidedly non-linear one,¹⁹ eventually crystallised around several specific values which were seen as necessary to modern urban living: the growth of an urban bourgeois class and their rational pastimes of theatre, opera, and museum; the presence of the civic leaders in the centre of the city and not the suburbs, and the transformation of the capital into a city of cultural enlightenment and imperial splendour. Within these dynamics, conceptions of modernity came to be understood as adjuncts to status and wealth, and not necessarily intertwined with technological progress as it was in Britain.²⁰

Indeed, the western European situation deviated quite widely from the British experience. Thanks in part to a diversified resource base and proximity to water, the

¹⁸ G. Magee and A.S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010), pp. 16, 58, and see pp. 117-69.

¹⁹ W.O. Henderson, *The Industrial Revolution on the Continent: Germany, France, Russia, 1800-1914*, 2nd edn (Frank Cass, London, 1967), p. 136; Clark, *European Cities and Towns*, pp. 225-6; Lees and Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe*, p. 42.

²⁰ In France, for instance, modernity was judged as the social and political equality brought about by the 1789 revolution, a fact implicitly argued by Alexis de Tocqueville by his highlighting of the blight of the *ancien régime* on French society before the revolution, in *The Old Regime and the Revolution* (1856). Such social modernity is more explicit by his praise of the American state of liberty in his two-volume work *Democracy in America* (1835/40). In Germany, however, economic activity was indicative of modernism since at least the 1820s, reaching fruition through the 1860s and 1870s; see D. Blackbourn and G. Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984), pp. 177-9.

British industrial revolution had affected a large part of the population within a relatively short period of time. On the Continent, the experience with twin revolutions of urbanisation and industrialisation was geographically restricted. Briefly confining our gaze to the larger countries of Europe, we find that growth proceeded haphazardly due to political instability, the great distances between resource and market, and the rejection of technology by many whose livelihood depended upon manual or skilled labour, as had occurred in Britain in the early part of the nineteenth century.²¹ The French experience, until Napoleon III, had been marred by indecision and inefficient relationships between private joint-stock companies and public sponsorship. As late as the 1860s, the presence of guilds in some provincial cities fought to keep their traditions intact by barring new growth.²² Overall, French experience with industry's overt forms – heavy iron and steel, railways, ships – was extensive, and marked by many of the same social and traditional upsets found in other countries, but its specific geographical situation limited everyday exposure to certain areas.²³ Even as late as 1880 the resulting urbanisation generally favoured the new industrial areas around the northeast.²⁴ Given the size of the country, it is possible that some visitors never encountered mills, factories, or steam engines until later in the century.²⁵

²¹ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (Abacus, London, 2009; 1962), pp. 54-5.

²² Clark, *European Cities*, pp. 226, 258.

²³ Clark, *European Cities*, p. 225; and for the same argument in a Spanish context see J.R. Rosés, 'Why Isn't the Whole of Spain Industrialized? New Economic Geography and Early Industrialization', *Journal of Economic History*, 63, 4 (2003), 995-1022.

²⁴ P. Hohenburg and L.H. Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1994*, 2nd edn (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1996), p. 192.

²⁵ Indeed, in early-nineteenth-century France, there does not appear to have been a conception of the town as a market for labour and material production in the same way as British thoughts. In his 1836 work *Dictionnaire analytique d'économie politique*, Charles Ganihl included eight-six categories, on subjects such as 'Food', 'Agriculture', and the like, but the town does not merit an entry. Rather, issues of population, labour, and economics are lightly inserted into various overarching themes. See B. Lepetit, *The Pre-Industrial Urban System: France, 1740-1840* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994), p. 399.

The experience of Germany and Italy were marked by many of the same features: political fragmentation limited industrialisation (with the exception of Prussia) until unification late in the century. Whereas Germany began a rapid post-1871 period of expansion, Italy, rather poorer though relatively urbanised, took longer to follow.²⁶ The rates of urbanisation from 1800 to 1900 reflect such slow growth. According to Table 1, from 1800 until 1850 slow rates fell into two categories: large countries and politically unstable or fragmented ones. France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain are all illustrative of this pattern. Post-1850, the general period of peace and stability, as well as the increasing use of the railway to dissolve distance, allowed these countries to leap ahead with cities and towns.²⁷ Of the tourists under consideration in this chapter, about half originated from smaller towns – Oneglia, Bouziers, Brittany, Turku, and Neuhaus, to name a few. Given the continental model of diffusion from centre to hinterland,²⁸ it was the smaller towns which were the last to benefit from the new technologies, especially in central and eastern Europe. The fascination and apprehension with which industrial examples were regarded, and the subsequent rejection of urban systems may stem from this lack of familiarity, in much the same fashion as did that of early nineteenth-century labourers in the British north.²⁹ There are clues to this rural-urban divide within Max Schlesinger's 1853 account of London houses:

Table 1. Urbanisation Levels by Nation, 1800-1910.

Country	1800	1850	1910
Belgium	20	34	57
England	23	45	75
France	12	19	38
Germany	9	15	49
Italy	18	23	40
Netherlands	37	39	53
Portugal	16	16	16
Spain	18	18	38
Sweden	7	7	23
Switzerland	7	12	33
Europe	12	19	41

Percentages of population in settlements of greater than 5,000 people. Source: Lees & Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe*, p. 133.

²⁶ Hohenburg and Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe*, p. 237; and V. Zamagni, *The Economic History of Italy, 1860-1990* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), pp. 81-3.

²⁷ Lees and Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe*, p. 133.

²⁸ Clark, *European Cities*, pp. 220, 229; Henderson, *Industrial Revolution*, pp. 31, 135.

²⁹ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Pantheon, New York, 1963), p. 191, and indeed, Chapter 6, 'Exploitation', pp. 189-212, among many other sources.

Here are no moist, ill-paved floors, where horses and carts dispute with the passenger the right of way; where you stumble about in some dark corner in search of still darker stairs...There is no killing of animals in these peaceful retreats. All the animals which are destined for consumption, such as fowls, ducks, pigeons, and geese, are sold, killed, and plucked in the London shops.³⁰

Given the difficulties inherent to the western European nation with respect to distance, available resources (timber, coal, or iron), and access to capital in politically stable environments, it is unsurprising that mid-century conceptions of modernity should instead be associated with liberal social revolutions and the forces of urban culture. But such views could not and did not remain stable in the atmosphere of competition which prevailed after the rise of Germany in 1871. An early indication of this shift is present in the famous 1862 ‘Blood and Iron’ speech given by Otto von Bismarck:

Germany is not looking to Prussia's liberalism, but to its power; Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden may indulge liberalism, and yet no one will assign them Prussia's role; Prussia has to coalesce and concentrate its power for the opportune moment, which has already been missed several times; Prussia's borders according to the Vienna Treaties are not favorable for a healthy, vital state; it is not by speeches and majority resolutions that the great questions of the time are decided – that was the big mistake of 1848 and 1849 – but by iron and blood.³¹

Bismarck’s explicit connection between material (and national) progress and ‘blood and iron’ (industrialisation) signals the beginning of a movement away from the ‘mistakes’ of social liberalism and towards the more decisive indicators of technological modernism. The fruits of such a policy were apparent eight years later, with the Prussian army’s victory over France at Sedan, after which it was commonly said in France that ‘the German schoolmaster has defeated the French *instituteur*’³² While every major European country had begun industrialising by the closing decades of the century, such an uneven distribution of growth means not that many Europeans had no direct encounters with

³⁰ M. Schlesinger, *Saunterings in and about London*, trans. O. Wenckstern (Nathaniel Cooke, London, 1853), pp. 6, 10-11. Indeed, as Peter Hall made clear, Vienna was woefully behind London in this regard; as late as 1900, much of the city lacked running water, passenger lifts, telephones, and even bathrooms; P. Hall, *Cities in Civilization: Culture, Innovation, and the Urban Order* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1998), p. 5.

³¹ O. von Bismarck, 1862. Speech reprinted online at ‘Excerpts from Bismarck’s “Blood and Iron” Speech, 1862’, *German History Documents Online*, Source: <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=250&language=English> [Accessed 27 April 2011]

³² Quote reprinted in B. Singer, ‘From Patriots to Pacifists: the French Primary School Teachers, 1880-1940’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 12, 3 (1977), 425.

industrialisation before London, but rather lacked any comprehension of the scale of such things in London. ‘Enormous, enormous – this is the word which always recurs’, the French historian Hippolyte Taine wrote of his 1872 visit:

Everything is on a large scale here; the clubs are palaces, the hotels are monuments; the river is an arm of the sea; the cabs go twice as fast; the boatmen and omnibus drivers condense a sentence into a word; words and gestures are economised; actions and time are turned to the utmost possible account; the human being produces and expends twice as much as among us.³³

As useful and efficient as many innovations were, the major nations of Western Europe thus had only cautiously approached modern technology until the 1870s and 1880s.

Cities and Culture

Before proceeding to a discussion of London, it is first necessary to understand how cities, culture, and modernity are linked in nineteenth-century Europe and Britain. It is important to distinguish between culture more generally, and the culture within the cities. Urban culture, which figures here, is specifically concerned with ways of living, moving, consuming, and understanding the city. Urban culture can include monuments, department stores, wide streets, parks, and even slums, depending on one’s perspective. Comparisons within this chapter will largely detail the differences between British urban culture – represented by London – with that of the continent. It is necessary to inject a word of warning: the large variety of western European cities makes comparison with London prone to some generalisation, although for ease of contrast we shall look here only quickly at Paris and Berlin.

In what ways, then, were continental cities linked with cultural production instead of industrial technologies? The association between Paris and culture – artistic, literary, and urban – has been examined by Peter Hall in an extensive study on the links between cities and ideas. Nineteenth-century cities, Hall felt, were often marked by a single major idea or industry: in London it was utilitarian economics and railways; in Berlin, it was

³³ H. Taine, *Notes on England*, trans. W.F. Rae (Henry Holt, New York, 1885), pp. 16-17.

martial service and electrical engineering; and in Paris much of the century was marked by urban renewal and artistic experimentation. Even as cultural material was produced within the city, so too did the reconstruction of Paris occur in an artistic fashion, with wide boulevards lined with trees and stores, opening onto parks or churches, and all for the purpose of display.³⁴ This explanation is used to differentiate Paris from London: the former city was at the centre of a system which indulged experimentation, innovation, and efficiency, while the later embodied only a stagnant conservatism, which became the ‘apotheosis of laissez-faire and the minimalist state, directed by the purest utilitarian principles.’³⁵ The idea of urban culture as a synthesis of the physical fabric of the city and the artistic and recreational pursuits contained within is expanded in depth by Hall, who summarised Paris’ modern trajectory as a ‘decisive break with the linear perspective.’³⁶ Whereas Paris encouraged artists and architects to push the boundaries of the urban milieu, London appeared to remain stolidly neutral. As the French visitor Max O’Rell (better known as Leon Paul Blouet) noted in 1884, the Londoner seemed far too practical for such things: ‘Public monuments are frivolous things in his eyes.’³⁷ Frivolous they may have been, but the continental visitor found in them a reflection of his own progress and an indication of the relative success of his own city.

Such a transition from functional to aesthetic is characteristic of a greater pattern within nineteenth-century urban tourism. The discontent with industrialism between 1820 and 1850 ultimately stemmed from its (supposed) destruction of a pre-industrial idyll in which traditional rural rhythms had governed relationships. This was particularly evident in Berlin, which was for much of the century characterised by the presence of a traditional,

³⁴ Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, pp. 718-9.

³⁵ Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, p. 744; and see Chapter 23: ‘The Utilitarian City: London, 1825-1900’, pp. 657-705 and Chapter 24: ‘The City of Perpetual Public Works: Paris, 1850-1870’, pp. 706-45 for a better examination of the differences between the two capitals.

³⁶ Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, p. 205

³⁷ M. O’Rell, *John Bull and his Island*, trans. M. O’Rell (Simpkin, Marshall & Co., London, 1884), p. 81.

almost rural version of German culture which stressed ties to the local environment and the maintenance of the bonds of community and society.³⁸ It was only near the end of the century that industrial modernism began to change the face of the city, imposed upon the urban population by tying the benefits of modernity to a new mythology of German expansion and competition.³⁹ Yet this process remained marked by ambivalence and ambiguity (of which more shall be said below). As the writer Ernst Rudorff argued in 1901, '[w]hat has become of our beautiful, beloved home district with its picturesque mountains, rivers, castles, and old towns...On the one hand, the exploitation by the various industrial establishments of all natural power and treasures, the devastation of the landscape by power lines, railways, the wood industry...for material gain alone....'⁴⁰ Indeed, it appeared to contemporaries that Berliners were 'wracked by a nervous sickness bordering on collective insanity', to use David Large's expression.⁴¹

The perceived death of the picturesque Romantic landscape signalled a corresponding loss of the 'sublime'. The new towns, noisy and crowded, could not replace such imagery. Catherine Cocks' superb study on urban tourism in the United States, *Doing the Town*, expands this argument. Urban tourism, she points out, grew out of the search for a new sublime landscape.⁴² The phenomenon grew more popular as American tourists substituted a new 'artificial' sublime landscape – centred on the icons of modernity (the

³⁸ H. Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe: a Cultural History* (Polity, Cambridge, 2008), pp. 58-71.

³⁹ As, for instance, indicated by Hermann Muthesius, who in 1915 made clear the relationship between the benefits of modernity and the 'new' German outlook: 'It is not just a question of ruling the world, financing the world, educating it, or providing it with goods and products. It is a question of shaping its appearance. Only when a nation accomplishes this act can it truly be said to stand at the top of the world: Germany must be that nation.' Quote reprinted in M. Umbach, *German Cities and Bourgeois Modernism, 1890-1924* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009), p. 142, and see also 144-56 for an excellent discussion on how modernity became the focus of a new cultural vision in late-century Germany.

⁴⁰ Quote reprinted in Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, p. 27.

⁴¹ D.C. Large, *Berlin: a Modern History* (Penguin, London, 2002), p. 49.

⁴² C. Cocks, *Doing the Town: the Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001), p. 144; and see C. Bell and J. Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime* (Praeger, Westport, CT, 2002), pp. 51-70 for a description of the sublime and Romantic landscape in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century tourism. Ian Ousby has also put together a good study on the Romantic in early nineteenth century Britain, expressed through such imagery as ruins, country houses, and the rugged landscape, in *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel, and the Rise of Tourism* (Random House, London, 1990), pp. 9-38.

hotel, park, and department store) – in place of the old rural landscapes and ‘natural’ romantic picturesque. While Cocks characterised much of nineteenth-century American cities as marked by ‘ugliness and vulgar commercialism’,⁴³ once the early issues surrounding industrialism had been dealt with, a new urban era of high-rises, illumination, and consumption began.⁴⁴ A recent paper by David Gilbert and Claire Hancock offers support on this transition: European travellers to New York, for instance, partook of a new consumer culture which was defined by the spectacle of glittering shops and high-rise buildings.⁴⁵ In the minds of these visitors, the American metropolis was thus defined as a symbol of consumerism and fast-paced modernity. In much the same way, London came to be associated with the ‘new industrialism’ and Paris with *avant-garde* artwork in the mid-nineteenth century. With this substitution of the new urban sublime, cities thus came to represent various meanings in nineteenth-century modern culture.

These arguments connecting urban culture and physical surroundings share similarities with that of French historian Claire Hancock. Both Hancock and Geneviève Massard-Guilbaud called attention to urban development as part of a wider meaning, finding that French cities were decidedly more democratic both on a communal and an individual level.⁴⁶ The division between society and the self – or, perhaps, between public and private urban life – was not as extreme in Paris, for instance, when compared to London. In a French context, the *quartier* system blurred the distinction between public

⁴³ Cocks, *Doing the Town*, p. 11.

⁴⁴ T. Weiss, ‘Tourism in America before World War II’, *The Journal of Economic History*, 64, 2 (2004), 303-10; Weiss supports Cocks’ argument by pointing out the overall (estimated) increases in American tourists to major cities before 1900, but also by illustrating several examples where small towns have grown into major tourist attractions through the presence of hotels, railways, or stores. Weiss proceeds in a slightly different direction, however, by noting that above all, American urban tourists sought fun and carefree excitement after the grim years of mid-century.

⁴⁵ D. Gilbert and C. Hancock, ‘New York City and the Transatlantic Imagination: French and English Tourism and the Spectacle of the Modern Metropolis, 1893-1939’, *Journal of Urban History*, 33, 77 (2006), 78.

⁴⁶ Hancock, ‘Your City does not speak my Language’, 12; C. Hancock, *Paris et Londres au XIXe siècle: Représentations dans les guides et récits de voyage* (CNRS, Paris, 2003), pp. 131-3; and G. Massard-Guilbaud, ‘The Genesis of an Urban Identity: The Quartier de la Gare in Clermont-Ferrand, 1850-1900’, *Journal of Urban History*, 25 (1999), 779.

and private, domestic and commercial. With multiple-family dwellings, apartment buildings housing both living space and shops, any clear division between spheres was difficult to make. Distinctions were made through external architecture, which as Hancock pointed out, removed the ‘uncomfortable feeling of undeterminancy’ over class and rank.⁴⁷ The result, to these historians, is an understanding of the city as the embodiment of the prevailing social economy – that is, while Paris was the ultimate expression of public, democratic space (in keeping with the themes of *fraternité* and *égalité* from the French Revolution), London was perceived instead as a logical conclusion to the British constitution – a respect for private activity and individual rights, above those of the State.

In terms of urban culture, Hall and Hancock are clear that Paris led the way in this regard, thanks to the creative layout of its spaces. Indeed, the imagery surrounding the spaces and movements of the street forms one of the most significant themes separating continental cities and London. The street is, according to Richard Sennett in *The Fall of Public Man* (1993), one of the building-blocks of urban life, part of the foundation from which the citizen constructs his or her identity. Sennett argues that as the city grew, the street and its relationships became progressively more necessary to the citizen, grounding their daily lives in a particular locality. Indeed, the daily commute to work, or the market, or elsewhere, rendered the city in terms of a small collection of similar localities to the citizen, never a homogeneous whole.⁴⁸ This is why, in Haussmann’s reconstruction of Second Empire Paris, specific streets are associated with bourgeois respectability, where traditional promenading and cafe culture are assiduously maintained: both important ways of ‘seeing and being seen.’⁴⁹ Indeed, Vienna’s Ringstrasse, St. Petersburg’s Nevskii Prospekt, and Berlin’s New Town were all (re)constructed with the same rationale in

⁴⁷ Hancock, ‘Your city does not speak my language’, 4.

⁴⁸ R. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (Faber & Faber, London, 1993), p. 136. And see also R. Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization* (Penguin, London, 2002), pp. 324-5.

⁴⁹ J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd edn (Sage, London, 2002), p. 125.

mind.⁵⁰ What does this mean for views of London, for whom these local identifiers are limited or non-existent? In Paris, the place of street culture encouraged the individual or couple to sit and idly view the passerby, inserting themselves into the role of the *flâneur*.⁵¹ Thus, for the European, the street acts as the foundation of their personal identity and network of relationships. In Emile Zola's *L'Assommoir* (1877), for instance, the cafe ('L'Assommoir') is clearly at the centre of not only the protagonist's life, but also the *quartier's* neighbourhood:

On both of the narrow foot-pavements there were hurrying footsteps, swinging arms, and endless elbowings. The late-comers, the men detained by their work, with looks sulky through hunger, crossed the road with long strides and entered the baker's opposite; and when they emerged, with a pound of bread under their arm, they went three doors higher up, to the 'Two-Headed Calf,' to partake of an ordinary at six sou a head. Next door to the baker's was a greengrocer, who sold fried potatoes and mussels cooked with parsley; a continuous procession of workwomen, in long aprons, carried off potatoes done up in paper and mussels in cups; others, pretty girls with delicate looks, and their hair coquettishly arranged, purchased bunches of radishes. When Gervaise leant forward she could catch a glimpse of a pork-butcher's shop full of people, out of which came children holding cutlets, sausages, or pieces of hot black-pudding wrapped up in greasy paper in their hands. Along the roadway slippery with black mud...some workmen who had already left the eating-houses passed strolling along in bands...heavy with food, quiet, and slow in the midst of the jostling throng.⁵²

Compared to this intense localism, the streets of London appeared as little more than tools to conduct traffic through the city, from one distant point to another, condemning the intermediate spaces to ignorance or noise. There was no tradition of cafe culture nor leisure, a fact which repeatedly struck the continental visitor as unsettling. 'London streets are certainly more useful than ornamental,' Max O'Rell noted, 'Nothing in them invites you to loiter; on the contrary, everything induces you to push on.'⁵³

London therefore functioned as a reflection of more than just an alternative political and economic system; it demonstrated an entirely different method in coping with

⁵⁰ See T. Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Urban Development* (Chapman & Hall, London, 1997) for greater technical details on each particular project.

⁵¹ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, pp. 125-6; and M. Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: the Experience of Modernity*, 3rd edn (Verso, London, 2010), p. 151.

⁵² E. Zola, *L'Assommoir*, trans. E. Vitezelly (Vitezelly & Co., London, 1885), pp. 21-2.

⁵³ O'Rell, *John Bull and his Island*, p. 81.

the challenges and advantages of urban living, and, importantly, a different idea on what the city meant in a British context. Whereas Paris had been redesigned to demonstrate the vitality of the city as a cultural space – filling the boulevards with theatres, cafes, and such *grands magasins* as the Bon Marché, Printemps, and the Galeries Lafayette⁵⁴ – London often appeared in the narratives to represent the very opposite: to the British, the city existed as a place of work only, and refuge was not to be found along street-side cafes, but in far-flung suburban privacy. While Paris and London experienced the same convulsions common to modern cities, the divergence between their responses suggested to tourists that the British metropolis had subsumed its human element in favour of an unadorned, and frequently brutal, programme of industrial solutions.

Continental Perceptions of London

During the early nineteenth century, cross-Channel travel to Britain had become a routine phenomenon, albeit an expensive and time-consuming one. Suffering an uncomfortable ride to the French coast, the traveller booked passage aboard a ship bound for Folkestone or Dover, whereupon they coached the remaining distance to London, or sailed up the Thames to Deptford or Greenwich. Such privations ensured that visitor numbers remained relatively low. Yet with the post-1840 introduction of the railway and steamship, and their correspondingly reduced demands on time and money, leisure travel was brought within the reach of millions of individuals.⁵⁵ Certainly the 1851 Great Exhibition provided a further impetus for travel. Despite the newfound mobility of large portions of the European population, London continued to place a distant second to Paris as the ‘first city’ of Europe. Perhaps Max Schlesinger characterised the attraction of Paris

⁵⁴ David Jordan has asserted that this commercialisation of Haussmann’s streets did more to project the image that Haussmann was aiming for than did the actual reconstruction itself; D.P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: the Life and Labours of Baron Haussmann* (Free Press, New York, 1995), pp. 352-3.

⁵⁵ Jean Hawkes, the translator of Flora Tristan’s *London Journal*, estimates that in 1851, there were approximately 26,000 foreigners in London, of whom 5,900 were French. Presumably, this is discounting the Great Exhibition. Editor’s footnote, *London Journal*, p. 34.

best; its popularity stemmed from its humanity, expressed in Romantic terms: ‘the charms of the Boulevards, the gracefulness of the women, the deep blue of the Paris sky, and the merry, careless, exciting disposition of Parisians generally.’⁵⁶ For most travelling Europeans, Paris was the social and cultural capital of not only the Continent, but of civilisation more generally.

This situation changed dramatically with the warfare and destruction during the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune during 1870-71. Struggling with internal revolution, major damage, and the German occupation, Paris found its role as Europe’s tourist capital rather diminished. The ongoing tensions in France during the reconstruction of Paris and the political intrigues surrounding the early days of the Third Republic meant that London acquired the reputation as a safe-haven and neutral terrain for suspicious continental travellers who regarded their neighbours warily. An editorial in *The Times* in 1872 picked up on this idea, finding that ‘[o]ur capital has always been a tolerably cosmopolitan city, but the number of our foreign guests appears to be increasing in a remarkable degree. In all public places and large assemblies, a Babel of strange tongues may now be heard.’⁵⁷ The paper continued on to state:

Berlin has made a sudden start of late, but can hardly hope to supplant Paris as the chief place of Europe; Vienna is under a cloud, and St. Petersburg too remote. So, for the moment, it has come to pass that London is in fashion. The Germans who are kept away from Paris, and the French who will not go to Berlin, are willing to meet in London, and other nations find that the rendezvous is not an inconvenient one.⁵⁸

In common with the majority of the travellers examined in this study, continental visitors were awed by London’s size. Yet the capital never sparkled in the same way that Paris seemed to be the imperial centre of illumination. Its often wet and overcast weather, and coal-blackened architecture, painted a depressing first sight for these travellers, and

⁵⁶ Schlesinger, *Saunterings in and about London*, p. 175.

⁵⁷ ‘Our Foreign Visitors,’ *The Times*, 13 May 1872.

⁵⁸ ‘Our Foreign Visitors,’ *The Times*, 13 May 1872.

seemed to paint an image of the future as one of industrialism taken to extremes. On an individual level, the city's streets and railways appeared to reduce the Londoner to a role as a living cog in a vast machine, and indeed, this idea of a mechanical regimentation of British urban life appears throughout the narratives. London, at first sight, appeared as a physically and morally repugnant entity, a semi-living creature which existed to drain the life from all who entered. The cold, sallow pallor of its citizens marked it out as a city of the dead:

London has a terrifying face: you seem to be lost in the necropolis of the world, breathing its sepulchral air. The light is wan, the cold humid; the long rows of identical sombre houses, each with its black iron grilles and narrow windows, resemble nothing so much as tombs stretching to infinity, whilst between them wander corpses awaiting the hour of burial.⁵⁹

Using similar language, the Swedish reformer Frederika Bremer recorded 'black-robed, shadow-like forms gliding about the streets more resembling ghosts than creatures of flesh and blood.'⁶⁰ On the basis of these somewhat exaggerated images, London therefore was represented as an anonymous and dark place – almost as the anti-sublime – an example of the breakdown of society when its sole relationship was Carlyle's 'cash nexus'.⁶¹ This distortion of London's urban life was responsible for generating much anxiety on the part of our visitors, often manifesting itself in apocalyptic visions and metaphors.⁶²

⁵⁹ Tristan, *London Journal*, p. 22.

⁶⁰ F. Bremer, *England in 1851, or, Sketches of a Tour in England*, trans. L.A.H. (Merridew, Boulogne, 1853), p. 1.

⁶¹ Tristan, *London Journal*, p. 70. She casts the relationship between worker and owner in proto-Marxist terms: '...there is no bond between the English worker and his master. If the employer has no work to offer, the worker dies of hunger; if he falls ill, he dies on his wretched straw pallet...if he is old, or crippled in an accident, he is dismissed and has to resort to begging, but then he has to be careful not to be arrested for vagrancy. All in all, his position is so appalling that you feel he must be possessed of either superhuman courage or total apathy to be able to endure it.'

⁶² P. Parrinder, 'These Fragments I have Shored against my Ruins: Visions of Ruined London from Edmund Spenser to J.G. Ballard', in S. Onega and J.A. Stotesbury (eds.), *London in Literature: Visionary Mappings of the Metropolis* (Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg, 2002), p. 20; and see Bell and Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime*, p. 72. For Bell and Lyall, the 'inverted sublime' was evocative of a descent into a (usually) hellish environment, whether physically underground or textually constructed as with the more negative of London's sites (i.e., see Flora Tristan's trip through a gasworks); and D. Skilton, 'Tourists at the Ruins of London: the Metropolis and the Struggle for Empire', *Cercles*, 17 (2007), 93-6.

But these elements were already appearing in continental cities, and industrialism was slowly challenging the traditional order on the continent. In this respect, as Andrew Lees has argued, Britain was a ‘social laboratory’; the country manifested ‘processes and problems already evident to a lesser degree or soon to make their appearance in other countries as well...a vast experiment that might instruct and benefit foreign as well as domestic observers.’⁶³ The city of London became in John Walton’s words the ‘other collective’; it was ‘exotic, challenging, different, dangerous and (in crucial senses) inferior, thereby rendering them attractive for tourism purposes....’⁶⁴

For continental visitors, London’s industry and technology exerted a certain grim fascination. What modern historians would group as the ‘traditional’ sights of London – the Tower, Parliament, the Abbey, etc. – are accompanied, and sometimes supplanted, by railway stations, hotels, factories, and dockyards. The productive elements of industrial Britain formed tourist attractions in their own right. Indeed, such things aroused attention throughout the middle of the nineteenth century: in 1862, Dostoyevsky was intrigued by the

screech and howl of machinery, the railways built above the houses (and soon to be built under them) the daring of enterprise, the apparent disorder which in actual fact is the highest form of bourgeois order, the polluted Thames, the coal-saturated air, the magnificent squares and parks, the town’s terrifying districts such as Whitechapel with its half-naked, savage and hungry population, the City with its millions and its world-wide trade, the Crystal Palace, the World Exhibition....⁶⁵

As in Dostoyevsky’s passage, the propensity of smoke and soot from chimneys and factories granted London its own bubble, inside which all was dark and dim. One French traveller likened it to a shroud, as though the city were in mourning: ‘The eye is surprised at first, then grieves and grieves that all objects are a uniform black colour, dull black,

⁶³ A. Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1985), p. 59.

⁶⁴ J. Walton (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, and Conflict* (Channel View, Clevedon, 2005), p. 7.

⁶⁵ Dostoyevsky, *Winter Notes*, p. 45.

without vigour...the black coal dust is subtle, impalpable, attached to everything, penetrating everywhere, and dusted with graphite, all monuments are in mourning.⁶⁶ The fog and soot was itself rendered as an agent of death: under it, the whole city ‘seemed dead and buried.’⁶⁷ Max O’Rell had the best summary; he believed that he was witnessing the ‘reign of steam’.⁶⁸ His conclusion highlights a common theme: Londoners were believed to live and work in a dystopian environment, in near-perpetual dark and damp.

Such was the profligacy of the machine that Londoners appeared inseparable from them, and indeed, defined by the same measures of mechanisation and automation. Such a characterisation was explicitly visible in the words of Paul Villars, another French writer viewing London in 1887. He felt that, in the streets, the Londoner was impersonal and unfriendly: ‘[h]ere everyone seems to run rather than to walk. The City man goes straight forward like a shot from a cannon. He takes the shortest cuts: his minutes are valuable. Do not stop him to make any inquiry, you will not succeed.’⁶⁹ Villars’ writing is a return to the imagery of the city as machine – the cogs required their own inputs to properly function: ‘[t]he English public is very eager for information – correct, precise, and rapid. Everyone reads two newspapers a day.’⁷⁰

This lack of hospitality was not confined solely to the street: the Londoner barricaded himself behind a sturdy house to preclude any chance meetings. As Max Schlesinger found in his 1853 visit, ‘Every English house has its fence, its iron stockade and its doorway bridge. To observe the additional fortifications which every Englishman invents for the greater security of his house is amusing...Every Englishman is a bit of a

⁶⁶ Énault, *Angleterre, Écosse, Irlande*, p. 19. ‘L’oeuil s’étonne d’abord, et bientôt s’afflige et s’attriste de cette couleur noire uniforme que revêt tous les objets, noir sans éclat et sans vigueur...c’est le noir du charbon, dont la poussière subtile, impalpable, s’attache à tout, pénètre partout, et saupoudre de mine de plomb tous les monuments qui sont en deuil.’

⁶⁷ O’Rell, *John Bull and his Island*, p. 82.

⁶⁸ O’Rell, *John Bull and his Island*, p. 26.

⁶⁹ P. Villars, *England, Scotland and Ireland: A Picturesque Survey of the United Kingdom and its Institutions*, trans. H. Frith (Routledge & Son, London, 1887), p. 7.

⁷⁰ Villars, *England, Scotland and Ireland*, p. 15.

Vauban.⁷¹ Louis Énault found that '[t]he general impression, when one crosses these bourgeois streets, is a feeling of sadness: all repels you, you are not welcome.'⁷² Francis Wey, found such things distinctly unnerving during his voyage up the Thames in 1856:

Life on the Thames is a pantomime; faces do not laugh; lips are dumb; not a cry, not a voice is heard in the crowd; every individual seems alone; the workman does not sing; passengers travelling to and fro gaze about them without curiosity, without uttering a word. In London one communes with oneself, one thinks soberly; one minds one's own business; everybody works hard, and always silently.⁷³

Citizens appeared to be automatons whose goal was to serve the greater purpose of commerce, politics or industry. Francis Wey suggested that the result of the pervasiveness of this servitude meant '[a] permanent case of melancholy and uneasiness', and continued, 'in this over-populated and monotonous country is the want to individuality, the sensation of non-existence, the mortification of feeling oneself a mere grain of sand in the desert.'⁷⁴ The nineteenth-century industrial city, desperately overcrowded, placed a high value on personal space and privacy.

Yet this characterisation suggests an apparent disconnect between reality and perception on the part of the tourist. London's urban economy was not manufactory-based; it was, for the most part, concentrated into two halves: a commercial sector and its associated service economy.⁷⁵ Industry remained primarily workshop-based, although the presence of large gas-works, brick makers' yards, and railway sidings provided the occasional reminder of more large-scale applications.⁷⁶ The conflation between London

⁷¹ Schlesinger, *Saunterings in and about London*, pp. 3-4.

⁷² Énault, *Angleterre, Écosse, Irlande*, p. 19. 'L'impression générale, quand on traverse ces rues bourgeoises, c'est une impression de tristesse: tout vous repousse, rien ne vous accueille.'

⁷³ F. Wey, *A Frenchman sees the English in the 'Fifties*, trans. V. Pirie (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1935), pp. 5-6.

⁷⁴ Wey, *A Frenchman sees the English*, p. 65.

⁷⁵ For an excellent in-depth survey, see F. Sheppard, *London, 1808-1870: the Infernal Wen* (Secker & Warburg, London, 1971), especially Chapter Five, 'Industry and Commerce', pp. 158-201.

⁷⁶ Tristan, *London Journal*, pp. 72-3. Tristan's journey through a gas-works is evocative of a trip through (industrial) hell, a particularly apt metaphor given the tone of her writing: 'We went into the big boiler-house; the row of furnaces on either side were burning brightly; the scene was not unlike the descriptions the poets of Antiquity have left us of Vulcan's forges, save that the Cyclops were animated with divine activity and intelligence, whereas the black slaves of the English furnaces are sullen, silent and impassive...the floor

and industrial capitalism, and its evocation as the ‘national life’ of the British is thus founded on a misconception. The factories of Manchester or the mills of Lancashire would – and did, for commentators like Friedrich Engels – provide a greater connection. Yet while Manchester was easily inserted into a wider critique of the British political economy, similar criticisms of London attack it on the basis of its perceived social and cultural differences. The apparent dedication to preserving a *laissez-faire* attitude had not only given London its solitary citizens, poverty, and smoke, but had denuded it of worthwhile artefacts: artwork, museums, and statues, leaving Flora Tristan to exclaim that ‘England has no greatness left save in her industry.’⁷⁷ Of particular concern, the city was often rendered as being devoid of great avenues, and by extension lacked the imperial grandeur of Vienna, Paris, or Saint Petersburg. Likewise, with few exceptions, the city came off the poorer for artistic monuments and statues. Karl Peters, spending a great deal of time in London in the 1890s, found ‘London itself is very poor in good monuments. Whatever we have here of statues is, with few exceptions, rubbish pure and simple.’⁷⁸

Despite such negative overtones, continental perceptions of London were not uniformly bleak. The anonymous French visitor of 1876, for instance, found that upon arriving in Hyde Park, ‘my eyes are immediately attracted to the splendid monument erected in memory of the very late Prince Albert (known as the Good) called The Albert Memorial. This monument is the veneration of Englishmen, is very impressive, especially its location and composition.’⁷⁹ Another French author, Paul Villars, was much taken with London’s parks during his 1887 stay: ‘Nothing strikes the stranger more than the extensive parks situated in various districts, even in the centre of London, by which the air

was so hot that the heat penetrated my shoes immediately...I could not stay in this veritable hell; the heat was suffocating, the smell of gas was making me dizzy, and my chest felt as if it would burst.’

⁷⁷ Tristan, *London Journal*, p. 70.

⁷⁸ K. Peters, *England and the English* (Hurst & Blackett, London, 1904), p. 43.

⁷⁹ Anon., *Voyage à Londres*, p. 8. ‘...mes regards sont aussitôt attirés vers le splendide monument élevé à la mémoire du très-regretté Prince Albert (dit le Bon) appelé *The Albert Memorial*. Ce monument qui fait la vénération des Anglais, est très-remarquable, surtout par sa situation et sa composition.’

is purified and renewed...the English are aware of this, so they do not grudge the funds necessary for the maintenance of these gardens.’⁸⁰ There is a clear differentiation in tone between their perceptions of an intrusive and discordant technology, and the more positive appeal of culture in the form of parks, galleries, and museums. Indeed, in the second half of the nineteenth century, there is a gradual transition between the two perspectives: as London’s conditions are improved through sanitation, transportation, and poverty reform, so too is the manner in which the city is judged. Near the end of the century, as the capital became progressively more organised under the auspices of the London County Council, both technological and cultural modernities could be successfully integrated together: i.e., the electrification of theatres, hotels, and the British Museum. As the German teacher R. Schmidt exclaimed at the end of the century, both versions of modernity could be accommodated peaceably; London, Schmidt felt, ‘unites to-day very strangely and most attractively the conditions of modern life and the fabric and memorials of antiquity.’⁸¹ Indeed, tourist perceptions of late-century London are useful in showing how the gap between the two systems has narrowed; as France and Germany catch up with London, both technologically and imperially, the negativity which characterised mid-century narratives is replaced by an appreciation for – and deeper understanding of – London’s accomplishments in the face of new challenges.

The most immediate difference is the change in focus from industrial London – which, in the wake of continental progress in this area, did not seem so industrial as first supposed – towards interest in British urban living. This shift began to occur around the late 1870s, and the commentators of the 1880s and onward generally strike a more sociological tone, interested instead in how life in the modern capital defines the British character: why does the bourgeois class live away from the structures of power and

⁸⁰ Villars, *England, Scotland & Ireland*, p. 127.

⁸¹ Schmidt, *A Visit to London*, p. 7.

culture, which would signify their own status? Why has British culture emphasised the individual over the community? Perhaps most importantly, there is an implicit questioning of what the city means to the British running throughout the narratives. Yet there were also subtler forces at work guiding visitor perceptions: as the influences of imperialism and nationalism made themselves known on the Continent, late-nineteenth-century London was inserted into these debates as well, as a cipher for the anxieties – and benefits – of imperial expansion. As Karl Peters understood it,

The London of to-day is no longer merely the capital of Great Britain and Ireland; it is the natural centre of the Anglo-Saxon world – aye, it is its very prototype...the position it occupies in the national life of England – nay, in the political economy of the world...represents the mighty pump, through whose suction pipes British capitalism penetrates into every single county of our planet with the object of making the supply of labour, available there, more or less subservient to its own purposes.⁸²

Despite such prestige, Peters nevertheless found in London a darker side to overseas expansion, noting that the empire found its ‘last and most brutal expression’⁸³ in the city’s warehouses of imported goods, blackened dockyards, and downtrodden labourers. For all this, Peters could nevertheless conclude that to be a citizen of London was to be a citizen of a modern, globalised empire.

In some ways, this explains the views of those visitors who concern themselves with the disparate locations of London’s bourgeois class, or the strange forms British urban culture seemingly took. Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, among others, occupied a central position in the life of their respective nations; for the most part, they attracted artisans, labourers, merchants, and industrialists from the rural areas to the central core, as we have seen. London, however, operated on a wholly different plane, as an international and global city, attracting talented and interested individuals from any number of locations both within and without the British Empire. Indeed, for Paul Villars, only by considering

⁸² Peters, *England and the English*, pp. 60-2.

⁸³ Peters, *England and the English*, p. 63.

London's domestic and international roles together could one hope to form an idea of the metropolis' importance.⁸⁴ Moreover, if London was the global city, local power structures mattered but little; international prestige cared little for the locations of suburbs or class boundaries. Indeed, the Londoner was often pleased to be away from such things, bombarded as he was with political, commercial, and cultural information through a plethora of newspapers, advertising, journals, and personal contacts. Considerations of class consciousness were largely unnecessary; as J.J. Weber, a German travel publisher working decades before Baedeker, noted in 1851, '[a]n Englishman dislikes nothing more than the vulgar flattery involved in the pompously repetitious use of titles.'⁸⁵

The ramifications for this perspective completely alter considerations of London's urban culture. In the nineteenth century, the modern city was too networked, too connected with events, peoples, and materials in disparate regions to resist external influences. Consider the popularity of medieval French and Italian Gothic in Victorian building styles, for instance. Paris had a tradition of incorporating such influences into its urban culture: emulating Japanese and Spanish artistic styles in the 1860s and African styles in the 1890s.⁸⁶ The phenomena of increased immigration and mobility further widened the field of ideas; London was home to many 'colonies' of immigrants, as Henry Mayhew commented in 1862:

And as there are several foreign colonies scattered throughout the British Capital - as Hatton Garden and its purlieus, swarming with glass-blowers and organ-grinders, is the Metropolitan ITALIA; the neighbourhood of Leicester Square, with its congregation of beards and soft hats, the Cockney GALLIA ULTERIOR; and the parish of St. Giles, where the courts and cellars teem with hod-men and market-women, the London HIBERNIA.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Villars, *England, Scotland & Ireland*, pp. 2-3.

⁸⁵ Quote taken from W.L. Arnstein, 'A German View of English Society: 1851', trans. W.L. Arnstein, *Victorian Studies*, 16, 2 (1972), p. 197. Arnstein's translation of a chapter of Weber's work appears to be the only extant English version.

⁸⁶ Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, p. 218.

⁸⁷ H. Mayhew and J. Binny, *The Criminal Prisons of London, and Scenes of London Life* (Griffin, Bohn & Co., London, 1862), p. 71.

That London should be described as a ‘cultural desert’ by visitors or historians is a flawed assumption.⁸⁸ London’s traditional iconography of cultural production, i.e., statues, monuments, and paintings, revealed that the metropolis was influenced to a great degree by its empire, a fact particularly in evidence in the reactions of visitors to the British Museum. Continental visitors, as had colonial subjects, American tourists, and British students before them, felt the museum to offer more than knowledge: instead, the museum appears as a symbol of the dominance of the British Empire. Fredericka Bremer, in London for the Great Exhibition, stated plainly that the British Museum

offer[ed] to the English a view of England’s power and greatness; it was England’s spirit that compelled Egypt and Greece to bring hither their statues of Gods and Heroes...England has withdrawn Nineveh from its thousand years sleep beneath the sands of the desert; England has raised from their graves those witnesses of art and grey antiquity, known by the name of ‘Nineveh Marbles,’ those Majestic, but enigmatical forms, called Nineveh Bulls, to lift up their heads under England’s skies....⁸⁹

There was much fusion between imperialism and British culture, which existed in a somewhat symbiotic relationship with one another.⁹⁰ Exotic locations and spectacles informed metropolitan theatricals: the Northwest Passage, for instance, served as the setting for Wilkie Collins’ and Charles Dickens’ successful 1856 play *The Frozen Deep*; while portrayals of ‘darkest’ Africa and West Indians had been a popular theme since the mid-eighteenth century.⁹¹ Throughout the city, the more physical reminders of imperialism

⁸⁸ J.A. Schmiechen, ‘Free-market Capitalism: Fundamentally Philistine?’, *Albion*, 23, 2 (1991), 269.

⁸⁹ Bremer, *England in 1851*, p. 81.

⁹⁰ See the compilations edited by J. MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1986) and *Popular Imperialism and the Military* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1992) for examples of this process. MacKenzie’s work is disputed by that of Bernard Porter, who argues instead that British society thought little about the empire on a day-to-day basis. In his introduction to *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004), Porter noted that ‘...direct and overt signs of the “imperialising” of Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are elusive. Colonial issues rarely aroused any great interest in Parliament, unless they involved major wars’, (p. 2). Yet given the extensive literature on the Empire’s reach into British society, it seems prudent to conclude that British imperial contacts certainly influenced bourgeois notions of their culture and mission. See as well Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, pp. 112-23 for some examples of how imperial contexts were folded into British (and other European nations’) culture, from politics, to entertainment, to ideas of ‘mission’.

⁹¹ F.A. Nussbaum, ‘The Theatre of Empire: Racial Counterfeit, Racial Realism’, in K. Wilson (ed.), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), p. 71.

were on display: the tombs of Wellington and Nelson in St. Paul's; the armouries of the Tower; the paintings in the Houses of Parliament. London's triumphal evocation of overseas success, often at the expense of French ambitions, often excited disparaging remarks from continental visitors looking to assuage their national pride. In one instance, Nelson's statue in Trafalgar Square is depicted in rather unflattering terms:

He is wearing a hat of which the brim has been hollowed out so deeply on either side that, seen in profile, it looks like a pair of horns. The angular, square torso does not follow the movement of the head and is most ungainly; in fact, viewed from the river, the statue might be a presentment of Beelzebub himself. Behind the hero the sculptor has coiled an enormously thick cable, which could not fail to suggest to any Gallic mind the most unseemly ideas.⁹²

Hippolyte Taine was similarly unsentimental, describing the monument in no uncertain terms: '[t]hat hideous Nelson, stuck on his column with a coil of rope in the form of a pig-tail, like a rat impaled on the top of a pole!'⁹³ More prosaically, the anonymous writer of *Voyage à Londres* politely commented that Wellington's statue might be 'of doubtful taste.'⁹⁴

Nevertheless, it was this violent, often martial status – a global phenomenon – which appeared to generate the greatest influence upon London's more artistic productions. It provided an extra-European cultural dimension which broadened the gaze of some visitors, such as Edmondo de Amicis: 'London's grandeur and wealth made upon me a different impression at every moment. Sometimes I felt my Italian *amour propre* crushed; I would remember with contempt the petty boasts to which we give utterance at home, comparing ourselves only with ourselves.'⁹⁵ One of the more important effects of this visualisation of empire was that cross-Channel travellers perceive London to be almost non-European itself. Rather, the metropolis' primary concern is facilitating global trade and annexing overseas territory. Correct or not, it is the *image* of London which influences

⁹² Wey, *A Frenchman sees the English*, p. 18.

⁹³ Taine, *Notes on England*, p. 10.

⁹⁴ *Voyage à Londres*, p. 20. 'D'un goût plus que douteux.'

⁹⁵ E. De Amicis, *Jottings on London* (Alfred Mudge & Son, Boston, 1883), p. 53.

these visitors' readings of the city's culture. The culture of the capital was thus seen as a fusion of London's imperial and domestic roles. It combined the martial symbolism of the empire with the outwardly dull simplicity of British home life. However, this martial culture, as primitive as it may have appeared, also marked a lengthy passage of history. London, displaying the dust and victories of the past, whether through the Tower or Westminster Abbey, defined its nineteenth-century self as unequivocally modern: it had triumphed over the barbarism and dangers which had befallen other ages and, in the objects of Cleopatra's Needle, or the Ninevah Bulls, had subdued all other empires.

London's urban culture was thus affected by a greater variety of cultural dictates than its French or German counterpart. Continental perceptions of the Briton as a stolid, unemotional individual who required loud or overt cultural iconography remained at odds with the apparent subtleties and lightness of continental designs. London's artistic collections were somewhat ill-fitting for such an imperial capital. As Émile Boutmy and Max O'Rell's comments make clear, at heart was the issue of individuality; the Londoner did not wish to expend much public (or often private) money on statues, museums, or architecture for the benefit of others.⁹⁶ Such thriftiness was often at odds with the continental system; as Peter Hall summarised: 'The British, a nation of shopkeepers, were always inclined to count the cost of everything; not for them the Roman tradition of *grands travaux*, which flourished on the other side of the Channel,'⁹⁷ and where central government planned and led projects of all sorts, persuading private interests to contribute vast sums. To the continental visitor, for whom modernity was a spectacle to be enjoyed, tasted, and savoured, urban culture represented a means towards achieving that objective;

⁹⁶ According to M.H. Port, Londoners were loathe to spend money decorating government offices as well; a plain, inexpensive building was deemed suitable for their needs. See M.H. Port, 'Government and the Metropolitan Image: Ministers, Parliament, and the Concept of a Capital City, 1840-1915', in D. Arnold (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London, c.1750-1950* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1999), p. 102.

⁹⁷ Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, p. 705.

for the Briton, urban culture was instead a means of demonstrating the proficiency of true modernity – technological and economic activities.

The Culture of Urban Modernity

The forms of urban modernity have so far been viewed from various perspectives: the tourists examined in the previous chapters have variously understood modernity as meaning political change, global power, or domestic comforts. In this last chapter it has acquired an additional form, that of artistic experimentation and cultural production. In linking the idea of modernity to the urban system, we also attach it to the themes which govern nineteenth-century urban life: consumption, mobility, and innovation in areas as diverse as engineering, architecture, and fashion. Simon Gunn's argument that the city channelled such imagery is particularly apt; factories, railways, squares, and museums were symbols of 'technical and aesthetic innovation' which proclaimed the new 'urban modernity'.⁹⁸ Yet Victorian London embodied a modernity perceived to be 'oversized, dehumanised, and mechanised...void of all human qualities,' in the words of Hagen Schulz-Forberg.⁹⁹

How do we reconcile the differences between the two? The city in both systems was regarded as the epitome of modernity, the showpiece of national vitality. In this, their physical makeup was rather similar. London, Paris, Berlin, and other capitals all contained examples of fine art, fine housing, crooked streets, railways and telegraphs, and urban renewal projects. What differs are the cultural preconditions which inform the visitor's gaze, directing him or her to focus on specific markers by which he or she judges a city's (which translates into a nation's) success. However, since each visitor or group identifies certain markers as 'modern' while others do not, this effectively reworks the idea of

⁹⁸ S. Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2001), p. 39.

⁹⁹ H. Schulz-Forberg, *London-Berlin: Authenticity, Modernity, and the Metropolis in Urban Travel Writing from 1851-1939* (P.I.E. – Peter Lang, Brussels, 2006), p. 13.

‘modernity’ into a subjective label onto small-scale urban features. That is to say, cities are certainly ‘modern’, but as the visitors here make clear, the reason for their modernity is often something much more local – trains, art, political thought, etc. – all of which are encased in the urban setting. Modernity is thus a collection of different factors, which can vary according to time period and individual taste, and the modern city is modern because of the sum of its parts.

Examining the relationships between London and Berlin in nineteenth-century travel narratives, Schulz-Forberg captured this spirit of inclusion, a distinctly urban phenomenon: ‘The metropolis is the prime expression of modernity. It sets the standards on all levels. Within the metropolis kaleidoscopic and contradicting narratives of modernity are both created and found.’¹⁰⁰ For Schulz-Forberg, the nineteenth-century city embodied not just new ways of living and moving, but new ways of thinking about living and moving. The metropolis consolidated the discourse of modernity, with all of its national, racial, technological, and historical overtones, into small, digestible pieces. While Schulz-Forberg examines the ways in which nineteenth-century urban modernity displayed the national and racial characteristics of the new Germany, his analysis detaches modernity from straightforward technological progress and associates it with abstract cultural, social, and technological ideals. While these ideals are not always positive ones from a twenty-first-century perspective,¹⁰¹ the point being made is that the urban system is itself a collection of modernities. The discourse of modernity is not one linear narrative, but the sum of many smaller, and often divergent, factors and changes. These ‘kaleidoscopic and contradictory’ formations confounded attempts at holistic comprehension, necessitating, as Patricia Howe has shown, the ‘practical and narrative

¹⁰⁰ Schulz-Forberg, *London-Berlin*, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ Such as his argument that nineteenth-century German culture increasingly enshrined anti-Semitism: ‘Generally, anti-Semitism grew to be regarded as an integral part of German identity’; Schulz-Forberg, *London-Berlin*, pp. 315-9

strategies' of reducing London to smaller objects, both on foot and textually.¹⁰²

Continental visitors, finding the British capital to be a great agglomeration of manufactories, misery, and Mammon, rejected the city and its connotations for British society.

Indeed, the work of Bernard Porter supports the continental idea that Londoners had little time or inclination to devote themselves to cultural production at the expense of economic activity. Porter argues that free-market capitalism was inherently philistine, requiring a shift in inherent valuation; cultural considerations were downplayed in favour of profitable industry. While Porter has been challenged by a number of historians, Martin Wiener would later offer implicit agreement with this viewpoint. As the first-generation of industrialists and capitalists made their fortunes, their sons and grandsons left the businesses to managers, instead devoting themselves to an idealised image of a country gentleman. Porter's and Wiener's arguments would suggest a binary division: one had time for either work or play, but not both.¹⁰³

Both Porter and Wiener (and their detractors) nevertheless agree that the shaping of urban modernity, regardless of its devotion to either leisure or work, was influenced by specific cultural attitudes which had their root in historical precedent. This was certainly understood at the time, especially by a French political scientist named Émile Gaston Boutmy (1835-1906). Boutmy, a Parisian for most of his life, studied law before switching his focus to the relationship between cultural history, civilisation, and architecture, with a particular focus on France, England, and the United States. In

¹⁰² P. Howe, 'This World of Diamonds and Mud': Women Travellers in mid-Nineteenth-Century London', in P. Alter and R. Muhs (eds.), *Exilanten und andere Deutsche in Fontanes London* (Akademischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1999), p. 177. Howe notes that London was incomprehensible both in viewing and in writing the city; it was therefore an unknowable quantity except for one's local surroundings.

¹⁰³ This is a minor argument which need not distract us here, but for further details, see B. Porter, 'Was Laing Right?', *Albion*, 23, 2 (1991), 285-9; and one of several rebuttals, Schmiechen, 'Free-market Capitalism', 269-74. See also M. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), p. 127.

particular, Boutmy's 1901 study *Essay on the Political Psychology of People in Nineteenth-Century England* (*Essai d'une psychologie politique du peuple anglais au XIXe siècle*) connected the differences between Britain and France to divergent paths created by their physical environments, which in turn shaped a specific socio-cultural outcome:

Among the influences which mould a nation natural phenomena have most weight and efficacy...customs, laws engraved on stone, religious rites, epic poems, &c – were, even in the beginning, the products of physical environment...But the great natural influences continue to exist, and enclose on every side that human society which they initiated.¹⁰⁴

The condition of Britain's dull climate, and the island's isolation from the general mixing of intra-European affairs had, Boutmy concluded, produced in the Briton a lack of attachment to society and its meanings: 'The Englishman is less social than men of any other nationality; I mean, he is less conscious of the ties that bind humanity together, his moral formation owes little to his relations with other men, he scarcely troubles himself about what they think.'¹⁰⁵ Boutmy felt that such a loss of sensation required the bright and bombastic forms of urban culture found in London:

Any one who has spent a week in London cannot have failed to notice the usual method of advertising, which consists in the senseless and incessant repetition of the same word, a candidate perhaps, posted up by hundreds over huge spaces. Our livelier minds are wearied and stunned by it, but these thousand repetitions are absolutely necessary in order to penetrate the thick covering which, with the English envelops the organ of perception. Our literary taste is offended by the exaggerated and distorted types, over-coloured pictures, and venomous coarse irony, which are to be found in the works of even their most cultured authors.¹⁰⁶

Such path dependency may be applied to other differences between Britain and the Continent, to explain, for instance, the uneven rates of industrial and agricultural development.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ E.G. Boutmy, *English People: A Political Psychology*, trans. E. English (Knickerbocker Press, London, 1904), pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁵ Boutmy, *English People*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁶ Boutmy, *English People*, pp. 12-3.

¹⁰⁷ See P.K. O'Brien, 'Path Dependency, or Why Britain became an Industrialized and Urbanized Economy long before France', *Economic History Review*, vol. 49, no. 2 (1996), 239-41.

These varying cultural predilections also account for the stylistic changes occurring within continental cities. Consider the repeated mentions of crooked streets and confusing alleys; while often bewildering, their organic arrangement reveals a nominal independence from the forces of national government – something which had set London apart from other cities for 700 years. London’s confusing patchwork of streets and alleys were one of the more visible distinctions between itself and the artificially-straight boulevards of Haussmann’s Paris or Hobrecht’s Berlin.¹⁰⁸ While the metropolis had acquired ample experience of reconstruction – whether creating the Metropolitan Railway, or clearing slums – these efforts were often characterised by only small-scale changes in the local structures of affected neighbourhoods. In addition, they often remained directed by either individual or private enterprise, or governed by inefficient civil administration (as with the Metropolitan Board of Works).

By way of contrast, the redevelopment of Paris throughout the 1850s and 1860s was designed specifically with political motivation as its *raison d’être*, and closely depended on directives from the central State.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, W.O. Henderson and Peter Clark both argue that autocratic meddling in the urban affairs of continental cities was more or less a fact of late-nineteenth-century life. London, conversely, jealously defended itself from all but the most determined efforts toward a centralised government, with often predictable results: as noted by the Abbé Poisson: ‘Civil administration in this respect is lacking in this country. Sometimes the streets are designated by the word street, sometimes by those of terrace, of road, of circus, of crescent, of place. The word *street*, however, is the most widely used. These diverse names are confusing for the stranger.’¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Hall, *Planning Europe’s Capital Cities*, p. 195.

¹⁰⁹ Henderson, *The Industrial Revolution on the Continent*, pp. 141-2; and see Jordan, *Transforming Paris*, pp. 91-3.

¹¹⁰ L’Abbé Poisson, *Angleterre, Écosse, Irlande* (H. Herluison, Orleans, 1895), p. 28. ‘L’administration civile sous ce rapport manque dans ce pays. Ainsi tantôt les rues sont désignées par le mot *street*, tantôt par

What constitutes the modern aspect of late-Victorian cities is thus derived from traditional cultural influences, but which in the nineteenth century were beginning to disappear underneath the weight of new global connections and ideas. The reconstruction of Paris to avoid political agitation recalled Napoleon III's own tumultuous ascent to power in 1848. The perception of London as the industrial capital of the world was confirmed by the Great Exhibition in 1851. Both London and Paris' experiments with the technologies of urban modernity – subterranean railways, department stores, glass and iron – all pointed to the immediate desire to solve a potential problem or fill a potential market, both opportunities which usually entailed some degree of catering to the new urban elites. The new modernity, which had sundered the old rhythms of rural existence, was informed by, and confined to, events shaping life in the cities.

Conclusion

These thoughts permit the historian to return to the two questions initially addressed at the beginning of this chapter: is it necessary for the idea of modernity to be linked to the city; and does modernity have to refer to technology, motive power, or consumption? The answer to the first questions is, surprisingly, yes; the answer to the second is no. As Lewis Mumford made clear in *The Culture of Cities*, the fourth stage of urban development – megalopolis, which might be said to include both London and Paris – was marked by the deployment of ever-greater technological and monumental undertakings to cement the place of the city as the 'prestige symbol for the whole civilization.'¹¹¹ Paris and Berlin certainly imagined themselves to fulfil this function. In reconstructing Paris, and giving it a new urban culture of bright department stores, large streets, and harmonious architecture, Haussmann had created 'a business capital, a

ceux de *terrace*, de *road*, de *circulus*, de *crescent*, de *place*. Le mot *street* cependant est le plus employé. Ce dénominations diverses font d'abord confusion dans l'esprit de l'étranger.'

¹¹¹ L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1938), p. 233.

showpiece of Imperial grandeur, and a congenial playground for a rising bourgeoisie.’¹¹² Similarly, the construction of Berlin’s New Town in the 1890s signalled a shift towards an imperial status, with similarly wide streets and parks.¹¹³ As urban culture developed on the Continent to include not only technology, but also social and economic factors, London at times appears to stand out as a one-dimensional system.

Yet one cannot escape the conclusion that the tourist narratives here make of London a caricature, and persist in such exaggerations even while empirical evidence proves otherwise. The apparent popularity with which London and the British political economy continued to be distorted over a period of several decades suggests that, even beyond the idea that continental visitors constructed modernity in varying ways, British success came to be regarded with a great deal of wariness and, perhaps, fear. Fear not necessarily of British military superiority or other strategic gains, but fear instead of cultural dilution and labour replacement by machines, striking at the heart of pre-industrial rural communities. We have seen how Andrew Lees pointed to such criticisms in late-century Germany, and it is possible that a similar case exists for France. As France especially put a significant degree of importance on her status as a centre of cultural production, the threat of industrialisation damaging or lessening such a status seems, from the implicit clues throughout the material here, to be a serious possibility in the minds of investigators like Flora Tristan and Hippolyte Taine. England, it seems, under the pressures of industrialism, cannot get architectural form, street layout, or artistic sculptures to look ‘quite right’.

This is at the heart of many continental critiques: the modernity espoused by the British urban system is lacking the softer counterbalances of artistic expression and communal socialisation to offset its harsher imagery. Even the process of eating is

¹¹² P.G. Nord, *Paris Shopkeepers and the Politics of Resentment* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986), p. 101.

¹¹³ Hall, *Planning Europe’s Capital Cities*, pp. 195-6.

ultimately affected, as witnessed by Paul Villars at a City chop-shop: ‘This manner of eating – standing, like animals from a rack – has something lowering in it, something that is repugnant to the French taste and instincts; but it is the custom, and that word explains everything.’¹¹⁴ Yet both forms are indisputably modern, urban phenomena. The large gas-works, the small art-dealer, the department store, and the railway station all depend upon a wide market – a specific density of end-users – for their services, and, in many respects, the newest techniques and materials available to provide a quality product. Urban modernity, in the continental context, differs from London only in the way in which cultural factors directed the use of such innovations, not the invention of them.¹¹⁵ German urban commentators, for instance, maintained a strong anti-urban bias well into the twentieth century over fears that the large city would erode the national characteristics of the German nation.¹¹⁶ The technologies of modernity – factories and mines – attracted many immigrants to urban areas, diluting the indigenous population who was perceived as being the ‘fundamental source of Germany’s strength as a nation.’¹¹⁷ Even as late as 1913, in Baedeker’s *Guide to Germany*, the collection of interesting industrial and commercial

¹¹⁴ Villars, *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, p. 8.

¹¹⁵ See for instance Leonard Berlanstein’s history on the Paris Gas Company between 1855 and 1885; in particular, he notes that gas consumption remained limited among Parisians not only because of cost, but also due to a range of cultural factors such as a preference for ‘civilised’ fresh air, a dislike of perceived ‘financial feudalism’ in large corporations, and a lack of social prestige from its use. As Berlanstein summarises, ‘gas did not have many applications and did not always accord with bourgeois life-styles.’ L.R. Berlanstein, *Big Business and Industrial Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Paris: a Social History of the Paris Gas Company* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991), pp. 22-5.

¹¹⁶ A. Lees, ‘Critics of Urban Society in Germany, 1854-1914’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40, 1 (1979), 62-8. Yet Martina Hessler has argued that a modern ‘scientific culture’ could only be created in late-nineteenth-century Berlin by jettisoning continuity with this past urban culture and traditions. Berlin’s civic and scientific elites embarked upon a pervasive plan to modernise not only the city, but its population. Hessler cites the provision of technical and educational institutions, public lectures and museums of science, and the attraction of large engineering and industrial firms to the area as three ways in which this revolution was accomplished. See M. Hessler, ‘“Damned Always to Alter, But Never to Be”: Berlin’s Culture of Change around 1900’, in: M. Hessler, *et al.* (eds.), *Urban Modernity: Cultural Innovation in the Second Industrial Revolution* (MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 2010), pp. 172-80.

¹¹⁷ Lees, ‘Critics of Urban Society in Germany’, 66. Yet Lees also shows that at the end of the century, German views of British cities became more positive as Britain tackled the problems of administration, sanitation, and housing. He gets around the apparent contradiction by arguing that Germans were impressed not with the cities themselves, but by the British capacity for organisation. See A. Lees, ‘Between Anxiety and Admiration: Views of British Cities in Germany, 1835-1914’, *Urban History*, 36, 1 (2009), 42.

sites remained subsumed beneath historical and cultural locations.¹¹⁸ Yet Germany still became a productive and competitive industrial nation by 1900. Anti-urban sentiment towards London was not directed at the city itself, but at the cultural choices which had made the city what it was.

What, then, are the implications of these answers for our study? The modern city in the nineteenth century was a subjective space. Indeed, this meaning originated from what John Urry termed ‘themed’ spaces; that is, urban spaces and sites were assigned specific meanings by visitors on the basis of a particular perception. According to Urry, such spaces could be considered, ‘national’, ‘ethnic’, ‘industrial’ or a variety of other types.¹¹⁹ Schmidt’s characterisation of Westminster Abbey as ‘England’s Temple of Fame’, for instance, thus marks the cathedral as a national and historical space.¹²⁰ Yet the important feature of themed space was that its meanings were a product not of some objective reality, but of the subjective tourist ‘gaze’. In consequence of this gaze, cross-Channel visitors’ understandings of London thus rest on unstable foundations, generated out of a haphazard and often limited experience with British ‘culture’. Thus could Karl Peters warn his readers in 1904:

Foreigners who do not know England are generally under the impression, that it is devoted to a narrow-minded materialism, which leaves no place for the fine arts. “The English are materialists, entirely given up to gold-hunting.” Nothing, however, is more incorrect...London is, indeed, a focus of universal culture and civilisation, well worthy to be the capital of the British Empire.¹²¹

Perceptions of British modernity, informed by visions of omnipresent factories, ubiquitous railways, urban poverty, and the pursuit of wealth at all costs, distressed continental travellers, and raises a question which connects each narrative looked at here: to what

¹¹⁸ R. Koshar, ‘What Ought to be Seen: Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identity in Modern Germany and Europe’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33, 3 (1998), 333.

¹¹⁹ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, pp. 130-37; and K. Meethan, *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2001), p. 37. Meethan similarly argues that tourist space ‘involves the material environment and the socio-economic circumstances which give rise to its form as well as encapsulating symbolic orders of meaning for both hosts as much as guests.’

¹²⁰ Schmidt, *A Visit to London*, p. 12.

¹²¹ Peters, *England and the English*, pp. 41, 44.

degree did London, with its successes in the commercial and industrial arts, represent the future of society? If there was to be no ‘urban sublime’, what did this mean for the future of continental cities, many of which (seemed) more closely tied to the cultures and fortunes of their nations? Could Paris, Berlin, Vienna or any other city hope to escape the problems which plagued London? In effect, the emphasis on cultural and artistic production in these urban centres was to give their city a soul, to maintain a modicum of humanity if indeed industrialism was ultimately to triumph.

In all of this, however, what of the differences in modernity between Britain and the Continent? By the end of the century, continental visions (and versions) of what is modern are largely similar to those of Britain. As the rural regions of Germany, France, or Russia fell increasingly under the grip of centralised government, who in turn stimulated widespread industrialisation, old rhythms were similarly erased. Shipping, railways, arms, finance, communication, and education were all as valued on the Continent as in Britain. In a wider context, the commercial and territorial success of the British Empire provided ample evidence for the success of such a model. The benefits of this relationship were, however, in no way felt by all of London’s citizens, whose lot within an industrial society was often a difficult one. Taken together, the narratives of the travellers examined here represent both a warning and a call to action – modern cities must strike a balance between intervention and individualism. It is important to note that these visitors do not fear modernity, *per se*; rather, having seen revolution and anarchy emerge in response to changes that happen too slowly, wish instead to proceed without London’s seeming recklessness, framing their own development from a basis of clear ideas and cautiousness.

Conclusion

‘The vast curiosity-shop of the all the world’: London and Globalisation

Introduction

In 1900, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, the novelist and newspaper editor Thomas Wemyss Reid penned a retrospective article on the changes which had occurred in London over the past few decades. Reid had spent much of his professional life broadcasting the revolutions of London daily life to provincial Britain, serving as the London correspondent for the *Leeds Mercury* in 1867, and later working as the manager of Cassell’s publishing house, and editor of the Liberal journal *The Speaker*.¹ Reid was therefore well-suited to comment on the changes, many of which he had personally witnessed, which distinguished *fin-de-siècle* London from its mid-century self. While Reid’s list of changes is not overly extensive, especially given the scale of London, there are two significant differences which stood out in his mind. First, new technologies such as the Underground and electric vehicles had broken down spatial relationships in the city: ‘Those were, indeed, the days of stupendous distances in London. The dweller in Highgate was more remote from the sojourner in Brompton than from his friends in Brighton. A journey from Fulham to the City and back was full occupation for a working day.’² As the centre of London was opened to members of both sexes, new modes of thinking next conquered gendered geographies, making the public realm an inclusive space:

Ladies, one need hardly say, frequented no public restaurants in the middle of the century. It is well for them that they did not, for assuredly the restaurants of those days were sorry places...Who are the patrons and patronesses of the showy second-class restaurants that cluster about Piccadilly Circus, Shaftesbury Avenue, and Oxford Street? Who but persons of that middle class whose female members

¹ G. L. Norgate, ‘Reid, Sir Thomas Wemyss (1842–1905)’, rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35720>, accessed 6 July 2011]

² T.W. Reid, ‘London – After Forty Years’, *The Anglo-Saxon Review: a Quarterly Miscellany*, 6 (1900), 10.

forty years ago would have almost died of shame if they had been asked to dine at a public house of entertainment?³

The most immediate consequence of these changes, and the one which Reid felt changed the entire aspect of the city when compared to its mid-century ancestor, was that modern Londoners actually celebrated their urban system:

No longer do we shut ourselves inside our own houses. We eat and drink and live our lives in public, to an extent that would have astounded and scandalised the last generation...[Mid-century London] resented any attempt to imitate the ways of Paris, and believed that hotels and restaurants and other places of public entertainment ought to hide themselves away in back streets and make no attempt by their outward appearance to attract the attention of the world.⁴

For Reid, the hundreds of tiny alterations in the physical and social landscapes of the capital were part of a greater pattern, each building on top of the other to produce a cumulative effect – what Lewis Mumford would call the ‘urban emergent’⁵ – whereupon the entire aspect of the city underwent a dramatic change from a private to a public system. Yet despite these positive changes, Reid concluded that in some respects, modernity had replaced what for him was the soul of London: ‘But to some of us of the older generation there are memories and associations connected with the dingy London of the past...and to us at least the London that is gone shines with a glamour that is lacking in the more brilliant city that we know to-day.’⁶ The capital had become faster and more efficient, but at the cost of its personality.

I begin here with Reid’s retrospective on London for a reason, finding that it serves as a compelling bookend to this study. Through the previous chapters, we have seen how visitors from all parts of the industrialising world perceived London in their own terms, noting here or there particular portions of the metropolis which whetted their interests. As with Reid and his depictions, these visitors each understood only a tiny portion of

³ Reid, ‘London – After Forty Years’, 11-12.

⁴ Reid, ‘London – After Forty Years’, 12.

⁵ L. Mumford, *The City in History* (Secker & Warburg, London, 1961), pp. 29, 470.

⁶ Reid, ‘London – After Forty Years’, 17.

London's physical and social matrix. Yet when considered as a whole, these piecemeal contributions become their own 'emergent': they transform into a mountain of material illustrating not only the changing life of a nineteenth-century city, but the ways in which modernity had affected both the travel experience and the visitors themselves. Thomas Reid reacted with a sense of nostalgia; others with excitement, or fear, or pride. It is through such reactions that the individuals and groups studied here situate themselves with respect to nineteenth-century modernity.

Indeed, this question of situation, laid out in the introduction, has throughout the previous four chapters remained present in the background, displaced by the more immediate concern over how London's modernity was perceived by particular cultural groups. These concerns were, perhaps, a minor deflection from the original purpose of the travel experience, which is ultimately to reflect upon one's own circumstances as much as those of foreign cultures.⁷ Jill Steward, examining the relationship between social/cultural identity and nineteenth-century travel writing, characterised the tour as conducive to reinforcing such bonds. As she summarised it, the travel experience was a 'vehicle for the expression of distinctive personal and social identities in ways that laid the foundations for the...formation and codification of the cultural practises through which different social groups defined themselves and others.'⁸ Such a perspective was not lost on contemporary travellers, either; an anonymous Manitoba teacher on a 1910 excursion to Britain later recalled that

In a new country, we are cut off in a measure from tradition. In Canada, we look forward to the future rather than back to the past, and yet the visitors envied the

⁷ K. Meethan, *Tourism in Global Society: Places, Culture, Consumption* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2001), p. 35; A. Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes: Colonial Perceptions of Imperial Britain* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2000), pp. 27-8.

⁸ J. Steward, 'How and Where to go: the Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism', in J. Walton (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Channel View, Clevedon, 2005), pp. 39-40.

people of the Old Land something of their close association with the traditions of the past, even though they felt and knew that these belong also to them.⁹

So the nineteenth-century tour contained elements of self-discovery, and when added together with similar narratives, entailed a cultural process of coming to grips with the globalisation of modernity.

Yet this also leads us to other questions; namely, did the tourists constitute such a critical mass of opinion that they reshaped political, cultural, or social debates at home? Were those most sympathetic to modernity the same individuals who pushed their respective societies forward? Finally, and perhaps most importantly, what does the visit to London tell us about the ways in which societies viewed the spread of modernity? This study has concentrated on the urban centre as the node from which such things dispersed; the city as the most visible example of this process of change. Indeed, for both London and the visitors, the process of change emphasised not only the alteration of the present, but a sense of continuity with the past, as the city had *always* been changing. Most visitors, however, found in London not only continuity with the past, but a bold and often startling image of the future. The spread of little Britains beyond the sea, in Southeast Asia, North America, Australia, and Africa, and the similarly assertive examples of American or continental modernities, appeared to the visitor to indicate a worldwide phenomenon. The ease of travel, and the spread of new technologies, philosophies, artworks, and political ideas made the late-nineteenth-century world seem both boundless and borderless.

Indeed, a major theme of this work has been to show how the nineteenth-century world fundamentally transformed the nature of global relations through the creation of connections, whether telegraph cables, news media, or population movements and

⁹ F. Ney (ed.), *Britishers in Britain: Being the Record of the Official Visit of Teachers from Manitoba to the Old Country, Summer 1910* (The Times Book Club, London, 1911), p. 227.

emigration – the world was, as Ben Highmore noted, ‘insistently multicultural.’¹⁰ The voyage across vast landscapes and oceans was, while not without an element of danger, nevertheless tamed and subdued in the era of the railway and steamship. The ease with which the traveller could transition from one national context to another – often encouraged by governments as a method of population control – and the growing ability of the individual to possess some form of global connection, whether foreign newspaper, friends and acquaintances abroad, or their own travel experiences, appeared to indicate the rise of what Adna Ferrin Weber termed the ‘single industrial society.’¹¹ The march of technology, it seemed, would ultimately dissolve national boundaries and render them meaningless. Indeed, much of Karl Marx’s writing on capital flows and history argued for just such a revolution, if accompanied by violence.

Yet there seems to be a reaction opposing this connectivity: as the individual and the nation are drawn more fully into an industrialised world-system, the importance of possessing an exclusive identity, sense of community, or national heritage increases. Group identities become defined by racial, national, or ethnic characteristics which serve to isolate members from ‘the other’. The value of a particular social identity becomes steadily more apparent as the century wears on. Witness the pride of the Americans in their ‘Yankee goaheadativeness’, or the staunch resistance to British industrial forms (including potential social ones) on the part of continental visitors. The result is to characterise the latter half of the nineteenth century as ambivalent and uncertain: the enjoyment of travel opportunities and greater mobility nevertheless provokes nationalism and societal exclusion.¹² The implications of this have in turn three consequences for this

¹⁰ B. Highmore, *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2005), p. 63.

¹¹ A.F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: a Study in Statistics* (Macmillan, New York, 1899), pp. 158-9.

¹² This idea also forms part of Jonathan Culler’s work in his excerpt ‘The Semiotics of Tourism’, from *Framing the Sign: Criticism and its Institutions* (University of Oklahoma Press, Tulsa, 1990), p. 4.

study, all of which run through the chapters above: first, modernity is therefore a social construct, particularly defined along specific socio-cultural lines; second, as it is the travel process which identifies the differences between societies, it must also therefore identify the differences between modernities; and third, to relate this to London, as the capital lies at the centre of these conditions, it must therefore become an object of ambivalence itself: the centre of modernity and the very absence of it.

Modernity as a Social Construct

The great social investigators of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Karl Marx, Ferdinand Tönnies, Émile Durkheim, and Max Weber, for instance, all emphasised the role of the collective in organising and defining modern life. This organisation, whether in the division of labour, or religious affiliation, or communal service, separated the modern society from its tribal and primitive state. They held, to one degree or another, the belief that this organisation of collective society was paradigmatic in ‘achieving’ modernity. This collective was responsible for shaping the ideas and institutions which would then govern the entire unit. This stands in contrast to supposedly ‘primitive’ societies where personal charisma, martial prowess, and the ‘Big Man’ theory address allegiance to a specific individual or group.¹³ Nevertheless, through the evolution of its institutions, the society similarly evolves all of its constants – units of measurement, norms of behaviour, ideas of time, and so on – which are particular and specific to that group. As Durkheim noted in his *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912),

Since the world expressed by the total system of concepts is the world that society represents, society alone can provide us with the most general notions according to which it must be represented...the world’s historical eras are determined by those of society. What measures this impersonal and global duration, what fixes the reference points that determine its division and organization, are society’s

¹³ Most recently, the argument that the stability proceeding from the strict development and definition of such institutions leads to a prosperous society is the foundation for Francis Fukuyama’s *The Origins of Political Order* (Profile, London, 2011).

movements of concentration and dispersal – more generally, the periodic necessities of collective renewal.¹⁴

The view of late-nineteenth-century societies is thus one in which the collective's actions are not only the paramount drivers of development, but also the ones defining what that development is. Whether influenced by religion (as indicated by Weber and Durkheim) or labour and the control of capital (according to Marx and Weber), the idea of society is thus as a group struggling towards some Hegelian dialectical end point. While most authors did not take their analyses to such extremes as Marx's calls for revolution, they are nearly all in agreement that the efficient organisation and resulting prosperity would, to one degree or another, result in attaining 'civilisation'.¹⁵

In some respects, it seemed that this age of civilisation was coming to pass. The impact of the American Revolution, the French Revolution of 1789 (and subsequent revolts in 1830, 1848, and 1871), and the German and Italian struggles for unification illustrated to some thinkers the successive iterations of societies attempting to forge for themselves the institutions and cultures which would better permit them to organise themselves into more productive states.¹⁶ Such a characterisation runs throughout Thomas Carlyle's *The French Revolution* (1837). While Carlyle's version requires the mediation of some individual or group to chart a course through the blur of social ideas, the underlying theme is nevertheless a struggle for social evolution. For all of its destruction, '...shall one unspeakable blessing seem attainable. This, namely: that Man and his Life rest no more on hollowness and a Lie, but on solidity and some kind of truth.' To reach a state of modernity was less a technological or industrial challenge – this would 'naturally' accrue

¹⁴ E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. C. Cosman (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008), pp. 337-8.

¹⁵ See. M. Weber, *The Protestant Work-Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons (reprint, Routledge, London, 1992), pp. 102-25; Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, pp. 155, 338-40; K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (reprint, Echo, Teddington, 2009), p. 29.

¹⁶ T. Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History* (reprint, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1896), p. 209. This thought is especially prevalent throughout Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* series (see Chapter Four),

to societies with the proper institutions in place to make such things worthwhile – than it was a series of societal ruptures (and conflicts) to replace unworkable superstition, totemism, and ignorance with rational and enlightened liberalism.

Yet the point of all this is not to illustrate the finer philosophical points of social development, but to show that in each case, modernity is defined by the presence of specific social and cultural influences operating within a particular society – and in some instances, this definition is affected by influences injected from an external source.¹⁷ As S.N. Eisenstadt has shown, this ‘entailed the continuous selection, reinterpretation and reformulation of such themes, giving rise to a continual crystallization of new cultural and political programs of modernity, and the development and reconstruction of new institutional patterns.’¹⁸ In some respects, the twentieth century would offer greater examples of this theory with its various fascist and communist upheavals and demises. Yet for the nineteenth century, it is crucial to note that the idea of modernity as a specific social construct more thoroughly explains the results of this work. The various societies under consideration examine London in their own way, accepting or rejecting it as they attempt to reconcile London’s modernity with visions of their own. As one French visitor to London’s aquarium noted in 1876, ‘Indeed, [it] is beautiful, entirely modern, and in the best taste for relaxation.’¹⁹ Yet away from the cultural iconography of the city, so importantly a facet of the urban environment for French visitors, the anonymous traveller felt London to be cold and grave.²⁰

¹⁷ As Anthony King succinctly put it, the ‘material world constructs the mental and the mental, the material.’ A.D. King, ‘The Global, the Urban, and the World’, in: A.D. King (ed.), *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System* (Macmillan, London, 1991), p. 150; and see for an example of the interaction between these forces, S. Hall, ‘Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities’, in the same work, pp. 41-68.

¹⁸ S.N. Eisenstadt, *Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities* (2 vols., Brill, Leiden, 2003), ii, p. 526.

¹⁹ Anon., *Voyage à Londres, 1876: Notes et Souvenirs* (Lille, 1876), p. 17.

²⁰ See the remarks at the opening of Chapter Four.

This connection between the differentiation of societies and their differentiation of modernities has important implications not only for the phenomenon of mass travel, which I shall discuss momentarily, but for the nineteenth-century debate between tradition and modernity. When societies are steered by what Eisenstadt called a high ‘transformative capacity’, the process of adaptation to new modes of living in and understanding the world become easier.²¹ Under this interpretation, the voyage to London acts as a liminal threshold; that is, as a rite of passage between an ‘outsider’ and a wider community of membership (which shall be discussed below).²² As a fundamentally modern act, travelling – especially abroad – fulfils not only a sense of curiosity and identity, but connects those with high transformative capacities to alternative institutions and cultural processes, some of which may benefit their home society. As the American visitor William Drew remarked in 1852, some of London’s urban processes should have been particularly adopted in American cities: ‘We wish our American cities whilst they were young, and when lands were cheap, had done one-half as much as old London has done to bring the country into town, and mingle verdure with pavements, and rural sweetness with dust and confusion.’²³

Through the experiences of the visitors examined from the colonies, America, or elsewhere, we thus see this pattern played out across the latter half of the century. The visit to London is meant to provide the tourist with an experience outside of their own social constructs, and, ultimately, to further define their own modernity according to what they see. Such a perspective also accounts for the seeming rejection of London in several

²¹ Eisenstadt, *Comparative Civilizations*, i, p. 145.

²² A. Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, 2nd edn (Routledge, London, 2004), pp. 28-33; and V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969), pp. 94-5; Turner, in particular, equated liminality with an ambiguous status: ‘During the intervening “liminal” period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the “passenger”) are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state’ (p. 94).

²³ W. Drew, *Glimpses and Gatherings during a Visit and Voyage to London and the Great Exhibition* (Homan & Manley, Augusta, 1852), p. 149.

instances, but what is important is not the rejection itself, but why this happens, and which modernity replaces it. In some cases, modernity depends upon a close relationship with more traditional institutions, as with the white settler-colonies. In others, modernity means a severance and a reinvention of these to more quickly confront the changes in society, as with the late-century United States. One can conclude here that in such a division, it seems apparent that the colonial model above must generally have a low transformative capacity, while the American model's continual 'recrystallisations', to borrow Eisenstadt's term, possesses a correspondingly high capacity for both institutional and social changes. The British chapter suggests that Britain itself is technologically liberal, but socially and structurally conservative, while the experience of continentals is accordingly opposite.

In their use of technological implements, another important aspect of nineteenth-century modernity, these societies demonstrated their ability to not only forge a collective consciousness, but also to integrate (and perhaps, inculcate) the idea of modernity into the popular imagination more generally.²⁴ Yet in each case, the use of such things remains tied to the ways in which these societies understand the changes occurring about them. The colonies, in their use of transcontinental railways and telegraphs, wished to link geographical territory with inclusion within a specific political and social narrative (i.e., 'imperial' and 'Canadian'/'Australian'); America followed a similar trajectory, but placed more emphasis on the ideological and national (here, 'expansion' and 'American') qualities rather than allegiance to a particular historical tradition – perhaps because they had broken with theirs in the previous century. The British use of technology increased efficiencies and comfort both at home and throughout their empire – the longevity of their cultural memory preceding such inventions; while the continental examples used technology to centralise and organise the state along political and cultural lines. The point

²⁴ M.T. Carroll, *Popular Modernity in America: Experience, Technology, Mythohistory* (SUNY Press, Albany, 2000), pp. 8-13; and B. Benedict, 'International Exhibitions and National Identity', *Anthropology Today*, 7, 3 (1991), 5.

to be made here is that there is a relationship between the use – and visualisation of – technology in society and the ways in which they conceive of modernity, and thus, position themselves amidst the various changes taking place.²⁵

Travel, London, and Modernity

With this perspective in mind, it is an easy leap to ask the next logical question, that is, if ideas of modernity are constructed out of specific socio-cultural influences, what are the implications of this for the travel phenomenon? Ultimately, the travel that we see visitors undertaking throughout this study is not merely about leisure or recreation or even constructing authority to shape public debates; rather, it exists to ground the traveller, and by extension their imagined community, within the shifting processes of global change. These travellers choose London for a specific reason: the metropolis is nothing less than a microcosm of global modernity, a representation of the world which allows travellers to measure their own progress, and define their own identity, against that of a foreign ‘other’. Additionally, since we have seen that the examples of culture, history, and architecture within London’s urban environment represent more of a fusion between British and imperial contexts, rather than being solely ‘British’, there also existed the opportunity to view firsthand the results of the blending of modernities discussed above. This is where London’s status as a global city comes into play; the city is a critical terrain, where the process of blending occurs in a very physical and literal fashion, whether between history and progress, different societies (and their visitors), or cultural productions and

²⁵ See D. Cannadine, ‘Imperial Canada: Old History, New Problems’, in C. Coates (ed.), *Imperial Canada, 1867-1917: a Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh’s Centre of Canadian Studies Conference – May 1995* (Centre of Canadian Studies, Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 1-19; J. Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: the Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2000), pp. 223-47; Carroll, *Popular Modernity in America*, p. 10; and A. Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1985), p. 306.

iconography. London is, as one visitor announced, ‘the vast curiosity-shop of all the world.’²⁶

The relationship between the city and modernity was therefore something of a mixing ground, or perhaps an experimental laboratory. Indeed, there was often a kind of tug-of-war between the various influences at work within the urban system. Compare, for instance, Andrew Hassam’s argument that Australian tourists found late-Victorian London, with its river embankments and miles of lights, to be ‘too modern’, with Sophie Forgan’s assertion that professionally-minded engineers felt that London was not modern enough.²⁷ While it is obvious that similar pressures and dichotomies existed in other cities, the important feature of London’s landscape was that all of these mixings – cultural, technological, social – were occurring within a city which, arguably, headed the most successful commercial and political entity in the nineteenth-century world. Indeed, there appears to be a correlation between a city’s degree of cosmopolitanism and the strength of its political and social economies, although defining which part of that relationship began first is difficult, if not impossible. New York and Paris were similarly successful, though on slightly smaller scales.²⁸

Such cosmopolitanism is visible in areas far removed from the West, with other cities creating their own regional structures. Consider, for instance, the work done by Ali Mazrui. In his 1996 investigation into global cities, Mazrui argued that the forces of culture, history, and global connectedness did not exist independently of each other within an urban setting. Grounding his assertion with the example of Mombasa, Kenya, Mazrui presented the city as a collection of varying geographical, historical, and cultural

²⁶ A. Dickinson, *My First Visit to Europe* (George Putnam, New York, 1851), p. 122.

²⁷ Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, pp. 127-8; and see footnote 85 in Chapter Four for Forgan’s beliefs in this regard.

²⁸ P. Hall, *Cities in Civilization* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1998), pp. 223-5; 746-50.

influences, the sum of which was to propel the African city to global status.²⁹ Importantly, the modern country of Kenya had little actual effect on the port city save benefiting from global flows. The country is described as ‘a 20th century political entity [sic]’ which is still coming to terms with ‘geographical contiguities’ and ‘historical continuities’, while Mombasa is ‘a phenomenon of at least a millennium’.³⁰ For Mazrui’s study, Mombasa describes not a physical city, but a relationship between a historical past and a modern identity. The local blends of Indian cooking, South African music, Middle Eastern religions, East African tribalism, Western capital, and now global transport have, over the years, grafted a multicultural identity onto the city. It is a product of, and an actor within, a network which ranges across temporal and geographical contexts. As Anthony King informs the debate, the global city is a result of the confluence of ‘processes and flows’.³¹

The nineteenth-century global city is no less a product of these things than its twentieth-century counterpart. Victorian London incorporated Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, and English historical influences, blended Atlantic and South Asian trade with European markets, hosted a wide variety of ethnic quarters and immigrants,³² represented wide varieties of art and culture in grand museums, and functioned as a major transport hub. Under this interpretation, the ability to be a ‘global’ city is not strictly limited to their ability to command ‘global control’ of markets and factors of distribution,³³ as Saskia Sassen argued in 2001. Rather, the mantle of global city, as the examples above illustrate, rests upon the urban system’s incorporation and propagation of many competing socio-

²⁹ A.A. Mazrui, ‘Mombasa: Three Stages towards Globalisation’, in A.D. King (ed.), *Re-presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital, and Culture in the 21st Century Metropolis* (New York University Press, New York, 1996), pp. 158-9

³⁰ Mazrui, ‘Mombasa: Three Stages towards Globalisation’, *Re-presenting the City*, p. 175.

³¹ King, *Re-presenting the City*, p. 15.

³² See A. Sherwell, *Life in West London: A Study and a Contrast* (Methuen, London, 1896), Appendix X, p. 186, which lists 16,562 individuals from twenty-five different nationalities. This number must be considered very conservative given London’s total population; additionally, Sherwell does not state whether these are immigrants for the 1895 year or if they were born in England to immigrant parents.

³³ S. Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, 2nd edn (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001), p. 6.

cultural influences. Nineteenth-century London, as with twentieth-century Mombasa (or New York, or Tokyo) owes its existence to no single group or culture. Visitors often relate to the city not only in its context as a British metropolis, but also through one of these myriad influences. 'Here is a city whose history dates back to the time of Caesar and every street of which is rich with the traditions and stories of an ancient past,'³⁴ one colonial visitor announced during his 1890 visit. The American Elizabeth Forbes was more poetic:

And now I feel, for the first time, the awe of treading the threshold of the Old World – that long desire of a lifetime. The very air we breathe is redolent of past ages – the soil we seek to tread rich in classic memories. We come to lay hold of tangible links in the chain that binds the Present to the immutable Past, and must, at every step, kindle a torch of remembrance, whose light shall shine amid the lengthening shadows of our lifelong path – an Aladdin's lamp, whose touch shall bring to light visions which put to shame the fairy dreams of Arabian lore.³⁵

Through its cosmopolitanism, then, London was the success story of the nineteenth century. It became the 'prestige symbol for the whole civilization',³⁶ personifying not only the British Empire, but a remarkable thousand-year history of what seemed like unbroken expansion. Eva-Marie Kröller's assertion that 'there was an almost limitless interest in all phases of London's history',³⁷ describing Canadian travellers, could be applied with equal measure to all of the visitors in this work. Whether imperial, American, or British, to view and understand the processes which had shaped London and which had created such power, was in some small way a method of working towards achieving similar objectives. For continentals, with histories and cultures stretching back in a similar fashion, the rejection of London was at heart a validation of their own achievements.

The nature of the metropolis and its use as a representation of the debate on history, identity, and modernity thus figure prominently in putting London ahead of other

³⁴ J.E. Wetherell, *Over the Sea: A Summer Trip to Britain* (Evans Brothers, Strathroy, 1890), p. 22.

³⁵ E. Forbes, *A Woman's First Impressions of Europe* (Derby & Miller, New York, 1865), pp. 20-1.

³⁶ L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1938), p. 233.

³⁷ E.-M. Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851-1900* (University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1987), p. 109.

destinations. Its ability to reconcile and integrate competing modernities was an instructive method for industrialising nations looking to replicate or avoid the examples of the British revolutions of industrialism and urbanism. Importantly, travel becomes a key medium by which these things are accomplished, as the empirical evidence from physically walking London's streets offers more insight than any newspaper article or literary publication. This separates the phenomenon of urban tourism from other types of leisure travel by virtue of the urban tourist taking an active, engaging role within the city to see for themselves how identities are constructed and problems solved within a rapidly-shifting physical environment.

The Traveller in the City

The relationship between the traveller and the city is ambiguous, and often contradictory. The expressions and symbols of urban life, the 'madding crowds', or the long lines of railways, or the tangles of close-packed houses, were remarkable for their scale and pace, but serve as little more than framing devices throughout the narratives. Of greater significance were the 'tangible links' which connected tourist and city, that is, the way in which the city correlated with their original visions, and which could be as minor as a street-side name-plate or as overt as Westminster Abbey. Consider the American Curtis Guild's visit in 1871:

How odd it seemed to see such names as Strand, Cheapside, Holborn, Hatton Garden, flash out occasionally upon a corner near a gas-light! What a never-ending stream of vehicles! What singularly London names there were over the shop doors! What English-looking announcements on the dead walls and places where bills were posted!³⁸

For Guild, the streets (Strand, Cheapside, etc.) are noted as having 'singularly London names' and complement the 'English-looking' handbills on the walls. Importantly, they are bound within the urban matrix ('a corner near a gas-light' with a 'stream of vehicles'): here, while the city forms the physical medium for Guild's sights, it ultimately occupies a

³⁸ C. Guild, *Over the Ocean, or, Sights and Scenes in Foreign Lands* (Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1871), p. 154.

secondary position in favour of the historical connotations from ‘dead walls’. Augustus Hare spoke of a similar consideration in his *Walks in London* (1878). In particular, he envisioned the modern city as the expression of a continuous and conscious historical past:

The great landmarks are the same in London now that they were in the time of the Plantagenets: the Tower is still the great fortress; London Bridge is still the great causeway for traffic across the river; St. Paul’s and Westminster Abbey are still the great churches; and Westminster Palace is only transferred from the sovereign to the legislature.³⁹

The connecting links between visitor and city are therefore a matter of personal interpretation. Hare and Guild both visualised London through a historical filter, only one of its many components. In this regard, it is the tourist who completes what Heida Johansdottir termed the ‘play of meaning’ by which the tangible (physical) and intangible (historical) themes are drawn together to produce a newfound sense of identity or place.⁴⁰ For travellers to the city, the most relevant feature was not the physical entity of London, but rather that filter they used to judge their experiences.

Such ‘filters’ are, as we have seen, constructed out of a wide variety of preconceptions, images, and culturally-ingrained assumptions. They are, furthermore, subject to the same sorts of socially-defined constraints that we have seen mentioned above. However, they ultimately form only half of the equation; the remainder of this meaning is filled by the signs and codes of the city’s spaces and activities. Dana Arnold’s 1999 paper on London Bridge as a ‘symbol of urban and national supremacy’⁴¹ is a good example of this. Closely linking London Bridge with the wealth and prerogatives enjoyed by the City, Arnold establishes a multiplicity of meanings on a single structure. The bridge for so long represented the balance of power within the city; the creation of new bridges (Westminster, Southwark, etc) was seen as limiting or diminishing the power of the City in

³⁹ A. Hare, *Walks in London* (2 vols., Daldy, Isbister & Co., London, 1878), i, p. xxiv.

⁴⁰ H. Johansdottir, ‘Under the Tourist Gaze: Reykjavik as the City that Never Sleeps’, in A. Eysteinnsson (ed.), *The Cultural Reconstruction of Places* (University of Iceland Press, Reykjavik, 2006), p. 116.

⁴¹ D. Arnold, ‘London Bridge and its Symbolic Identity in the Regency Metropolis: the Dialectic of Civic and National Pride’, *Art History*, 22, 4 (1999), 545.

favour of Parliament at Westminster.⁴² Although Arnold invests several other meanings, her main point is that individual entities within an urban system claim an influence well beyond their physical structure. Arnold's analysis is extended by that of Shanti Sumartojo, who, in addition to finding meaning in tangible objects such as Nelson's Column, also cast the spaces in the city as channelling meaning. Although her example of Trafalgar Square as a vigil site in 2005 is beyond our period, it nevertheless associates elements of a national consciousness with an explicitly urban setting.⁴³ Its importance, she notes, stemmed from the fact that the Square 'framed...events with a version of British history.'⁴⁴

This explanation attempts to reconcile the two opposing lines of thought prevalent throughout tourist-historical studies. Within the city, the viewer's gaze may be 'authoritative and encompassing'⁴⁵, according to investigators such as Deborah Parsons; but conversely, it may be the city which 'reveals its social or class structure in each of its important spatial arrangements.'⁴⁶ Yet as this study has shown, there exists no clean division between the two sides. The production of meaning may be based on what MacCannell decried as 'superficial' experiences, but it is also aided by messages from Urry's 'themed spaces', and to the viewer this meaning nevertheless constitutes a significant reality. The commodification of meanings in the city, regardless of whether the tourist is an active or a passive seeker of such things, is unavoidable. Even conceptions of a Baudelairean or Benjaminian *flâneur*, an exemplar of the invisible and anonymous street-stroller, nevertheless manage to generate images and meanings of the city as a meshing of

⁴² Arnold, 'London Bridge', 548.

⁴³ S. Sumartojo, 'Britishness in Trafalgar Square: Urban Place and the Construction of National Identity', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 9, 3 (2009), 414.

⁴⁴ Sumartojo, 'Britishness in Trafalgar Square', 411.

⁴⁵ D. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City, and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000), p. 8.

⁴⁶ S. Marcus, 'Reading the Illegible', in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (2 vols., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1973), ii, p. 261.

their passive gaze and the activities within urban space.⁴⁷ Indeed, the *flâneur* is a useful counterpoint to the idea of the traveller. Usually a resident of the city, the traditional image of the *flâneur* is of an individual who blends into the street-scene to idly observe the goings-on occurring around him or her.⁴⁸ The *flâneur* is significant in that they commence their strolling without a specific plan, nor a concrete preconception of where they wish to go, or what they wish to see. Importantly, the spaces of the city remain a blank canvas upon which scenes of activity and meaning are later imprinted only as the *flâneur* comes to witness them. Charles Baudelaire, for instance, in his poem *The Widows*, casts the *flâneur* as a reader of the signs of the crowd:

In features which are rigid or dejected, in eyes which are sunken back and lacklustre, or glittering with the last glow of battle, in those deep and numerous furrows, in those slow steps and jerky strides, can immediately be deciphered countless tales of love deceived, of devotion misunderstood, of exertions unrewarded, of hunger and cold humbly and silently borne.⁴⁹

The traveller, on the other hand, while similarly filled with curiosity at the scenes of modern urban life, nevertheless arrives in London (or any particular city) with some vestige of an idea as to what the city looks like, and what sort of activities occur there. He or she has already imagined the urban system; it remains only to view the physical spaces to complete their full understanding. A good example with this occurs in the Australian novelist Louisa Mack's 1902 work *An Australian Girl in London*. The protagonist, Sylvia Leighton, undertakes a journey to London as a sign of 'coming of age' in colonial Australian society. Even before her journey commences, however, she has already constructed an imagined London in her mind:

⁴⁷ See for instance E. Kilian, 'Exploring London: Walking the City – (Re)-Writing the City' in *The Making of Modern Tourism*, p. 267, who notes that even the basic activity of 'walking the city...also means constructing one's specific vision of the city.'

⁴⁸ E.D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000), pp. 116-22; C. Nesci, 'Flora Tristan's Urban Odyssey: Notes on the Missing Flâneuse and her City', *Journal of Urban History*, 27 (2001), 709-11; and M. Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: the Experience of Modernity*, 3rd edn (Verso, London, 2010), pp. 131-71.

⁴⁹ C. Baudelaire, 'Poem XIII – The Widows', *Charles Baudelaire and the Prose Poems and La Fanfarlo*, ed. R. Lloyd (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991), p. 45.

London! I see it every night. I have been there hundreds of times already...And this great grey mass is all inextricably mixed; the streets are twisted and never-ending. I shall *never* be able to go outside the door without someone to show me the way. And it's partly beautiful, and partly fearful. *London! To be in London!*⁵⁰

Upon arriving in London and spending time strolling through the streets, Sylvia modifies her original imagined metropolis with the spaces she encounters. The buildings and streets modify Sylvia's London from a dirty, tangled mass into something with a semblance of tidiness and order:

What do I think of London? My very first impression was that it looks so clean. Why do they call it dirty London? Long streets, long terraces of brown houses, grey houses, drab houses, without roofed balconies, packed neatly back along the side-walks. It is the absence of balcony that give the streets that quiet, flat, tidy look.⁵¹

So it is with the international traveller; superficially similar to the *flâneur* in their actions and activities, but deviating in through the way in which they construct their imagined cities.

Such a blending between the individual and the city over this production of meaning produces several effects. The city in one's imagined narrative becomes an irrational entity. The perception of streets, of crowds, and even time itself become jumbled and disjointed, as in Edmondo de Amicis' experience in 1878:

After having wandered about a bit, I went through a doorway and found myself outside. I seemed to have fallen into chaos. The rumbling of carriages I could not see, the whistling of railroad trains which passed I could not understand where, a confusion of lights above and below, on all sides and at all heights, a fog which would not let me make out shapes nor distances, and a going and coming of people who seemed to be fleeing, - such was the first spectacle which presented itself to me... next there came uppermost in my mind, as always happens in an unknown city, a thousand diverse images of persons and things, which I used formerly to portray to myself in this city as on the background of a picture; certain stout merchants in Dickens's novels, Queen Elizabeth, an English family I saw one day before Ghiberti's doors at Florence, a gesture my father once made as he said, 'How much I would give to see London!' and the portrait of Garrick I saw in an illustrated paper.⁵²

⁵⁰ L. Mack, *An Australian Girl in London* (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1902), pp. 2-3.

⁵¹ Mack, *Australian Girl in London*, p. 126.

⁵² E. de Amicis, *Jottings on London* (Alfred Mudge & Son, Boston, 1883), pp. 7, 11.

This mapping of the urban system thus follows a somewhat bizarre, stream-of-consciousness fashion. To aid in this production of meaning, the tourist guidebook and associated maps were attempts to rationalise the urban system, but of greater significance here is the difference between ‘maps’ and ‘mapping’. Maps are a tool designed to permit the viewer to situate himself within a bounded space – a regimentation of relationships between the individual, the map, and the city. On the other hand, ‘mapping’ involves an entirely different relationship: ‘an imperative of consciousness – the need to situate ourselves within a world that is beyond our immediate perceptual reach.’⁵³ Carroll’s ‘imperative of consciousness’ accurately describes the results of this ‘mapping’ of the city in textual form. What emerges is not an overly useful ‘guidebook’ for walking the city’s streets, but a narrative of the ways in which the viewer or traveller has constructed their own map. That is, the relationship they have built, through the process of ‘mapping’, between themselves and the city. These mental maps permit the traveller to situate themselves not in physical space, but rather with respect to the intangibles represented by their unique view of the city: culture, modernity, consumption, and the like.

Indeed, when it came to Victorian London, perception played an important part in visualising and characterising the city. London was no single collective dispatching pages of news or literature to far-off lands in some kind of imperialising mission. In fact, the city’s influence was a product instead of a commodified picture of London – a sort of Victorian ‘brand image’ – simply, the city as a *representation*. London’s image represented a particular facet or desirable quality to the traveller. Colonial tourists found it the home of the monarchy and ‘honoured dead’, representing stability, pride, and an awareness of where they had originated. Americans found instead the city’s economic and technological feats to represent a rival to their plans for great-power status. Britons instead

⁵³ Carroll, *Popular Modernity in America*, pp. 2-5.

found represented their own increasingly modern and consumption-oriented life. Even cross-Channel visitors, though London fared negatively here, found it to be a representation of all they considered wrong with the Anglo-Saxon social system. In each case, the visitor turned physical landmarks and tangible spaces into a statement of particular relevance to themselves.

The relationship between urban systems, modernity, and the traveller is thus one in which perception and imagination play a vital part. The stories, literature, traditions, and images of London told throughout the colonies, America, and elsewhere have already created a million different versions of the city in a million different minds; moreover, the presence of only *one* physical London does nothing to draw together or correct all of these imagined Londons. The city is subject to a ‘denationalisation’ of sorts; it becomes not a British capital, but a capital of intangibles: the metropolis of modernity, a city of the dead, a hub of information, and so on, depending on what the visitor is inclined to look for. Ultimately, it remains only to acknowledge that it was these million images of London which, taken together, were far more powerful in shaping ideas and societies than the city itself ever was.

Travelling Future Paths

The best way to understand nineteenth-century travel to London is to view it not as travellers experiencing a straightforward journey or list of sights, but of individuals educating themselves on the realities of the new industrial order. London’s prominence as a global city, uniting or dividing the past from the present, was a focal point for a similar process of reckoning occurring in most industrialising nations. Such a confluence is highlighted in Richard Lovett’s 1890 appraisal of the city:

Perhaps the best starting-point for any journey of inspection within this central London is...the Mansion House, a spot which during the hours of daylight is thronged with foot and carriage traffic. Upon it converge Cheapside, one of the most ancient thoroughfares in the capital; Queen Victoria Street, one of the newest

and handsomest of streets; Princes Street and Threadneedle Street, names which at once bring up associations connected with the greatest financial transactions of the modern world; Cornhill, Lombard Street, King William Street, and Walbrook, names which enshrine chapters of the ancient and modern history of the capital.⁵⁴

It is somehow fitting that as London is considered the ‘capital of the human race’⁵⁵ or even the ‘greatest city in the universe’⁵⁶ (according to a *British* visitor, no less), that it should be at the forefront of such a widespread process as the diffusion of, and reconciliation with, urban and specifically metropolitan culture. The city’s influence lay not only with its ability to join disparate regions and networks in a great web of cultural exchange and soft power, but also in its almost-literal presentation of the substance of both sides. History, enshrined in Westminster Abbey, St. Paul’s, or the many winding alleys and courts of the city, was increasingly out of place in a modern, functional capital. On the other hand, the socio-cultural implications of apparent rampant industrialism were seen as undesirable, potentially leading to a breakdown of humanity and relationships. Alarming, this process was explicitly tied to urbanisation, and the growth of cities and towns appeared to be proceeding at an increasing rate across Europe.⁵⁷ Tourists and travellers, moving between sites, were uniquely suited to position themselves into the changing trends of the period. Witnessing the differential between home and destination, but also considering the tools used to make the journey, were important elements in the constitution of any greater identity than a regional scale.⁵⁸

We are left merely to question the outcome of this dialogue between identity, history, and modernity. To most, it would prove highly beneficial. Near-instantaneous news and information from the centres of power, the connection of rural and rugged areas

⁵⁴ R. Lovett, *London Pictures: Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (The Religious Tract Society, London, 1890), p. 16.

⁵⁵ H. James, *English Hours* (Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1905), p. 13.

⁵⁶ T. Lacy, *Home Sketches on Both Sides of the Channel* (Hamilton, Adams & Co., London, 1852), p. 68.

⁵⁷ A. Lees and L.H. Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750-1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007), p. 57.

⁵⁸ C. Morgan, *Happy Holiday: English-Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2008), pp. 17-8.

with overseas markets and opportunities, and the use of moral lessons from the past to inform conduct in the present would all shape the nineteenth-century individual's perception of who they were, and where they were going. It was a self-confidence which was to have an unfortunate resolution. For on the negative side, the question is not merely academic: the application of this triple relationship would find a deadly and grotesque outlet on the heels of the Victorian era. Here, Ruskin, Carlyle, and the like would find themselves proven correct. Contemporaries such as Arnold Toynbee were well aware of the dangers of glamorising modernity:

The fact is, that the more we examine the actual course of affairs, the more we are amazed at the unnecessary suffering that has been inflicted upon the people. No generalities about natural law or inevitable development can blind us to the fact, that the progress in which we believe has been won at the expense of much injustice and wrong, which was not inevitable.⁵⁹

Yet even Carlyle would come to praise high technology and its effects on society in his own taciturn manner, noting in *Sartor Resartus* (1840) that 'without Tools [man] is nothing, with Tools he is all.'⁶⁰ More akin to a warning was his notion that people began to take such things for granted,

He digs up certain black stones from the bosom of the Earth, and says to them, *Transport me, and this luggage, at five-and-thirty miles an hour*; and they do it: he collects, apparently by lot, six hundred and fifty-eight miscellaneous individuals, and says to them, *Make this nation toil for us, bleed for us, hunger and sorrow, and sin for us*; and they do it.⁶¹

The ascendancy of technology, science, and an identity linked to country or empire would ultimately prove disastrous for Europe – and indeed, the world – as the First World War showed the folly of such an unchecked belief. And yet, even then, in the killing fields of the Marne and Ypres, an element of tradition was maintained as French soldiers charged machine gun nests in resplendent uniforms from an earlier age, on horseback as if still

⁵⁹ A. Toynbee, *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England: Popular Addresses, Notes and Other Fragments*, by the late Arnold Toynbee, ed. B. Jowett (Rivingtons, London, 1884), p. 58.

⁶⁰ T. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus: the Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh* (James Munroe & Co., Boston, 1840), p. 40.

⁶¹ Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, p. 41.

fighting at Waterloo. Considered from this perspective, it seems that London, and tourism, as large as they are, form only tiny element in an even larger process which continued to play itself out into the twentieth century.

For the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, the city still stood at the apex of these trends, defined as much by its modernity as it was by its history. The tour became a tool for the purposes of cultural and moral instruction, for both good and ill, and in which the visitor was able to make use of London's unique position as a world-city to interact with both the past and the future. Indeed, this dual sentiment was perfectly captured by the American visitor Henry Tuckerman in 1853:

I began to trace, on a map of the city, the silver lines, which, as a web of light, intersect and overlay the crowded streets and dingy buildings of the modern Babel, with the memories of those who thence sped arrows of thought and dreams of romance over the world; and bequeathed intellectual dignity and enchantment to what otherwise is but a vast aggregation of bricks, mortar, traffic, population, magnificence and want.⁶²

For a brief period, London unified the strands of history with the explosion of modernity; the city served as the central focus for a phenomenon which girdled the globe. In standing at the junction between these two forces, the city offered visitors the ability to better understand the changes occurring around them, and enabled the traveller to define themselves both in the present, with respect to the London's immediate landmarks, and in the future, through the ways in which they reflected on the changes foretold by the modern city.

⁶² H. Tuckerman, *A Month in England* (Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1982), p. 27.

Bibliography

Manuscript and Archival Sources

British Library:

Music Collections, VOC/1970/GLOVER-KIND (Glover-Kind, J.A., 'I Do Like to Be Beside the Seaside'), London, 1907,

Cornwall Records Office:

AM/1162 (Adams, W.G., *Diary of William Grylls Adam*, 1864).

House of Commons Parliamentary Papers:

House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1887, lvi.1, (Proceedings of the Colonial Conference, 1887), speech given by Queen Victoria proroguing Parliament, p. vii.

National Archives, Kew:

RAIL 252/429 (Bruton, J., Contract with Great Western for advertising, 1871).

National Archives of Scotland:

GD1/1160/155 (Graham, G., *Diary of a Visit to London*, 1851).

National Library of Wales:

M/1 (Jenkins, A., *Anne Jenkins' Notebook*, 1888).

Norfolk Records Office:

MC 340/7 (Howes, M., *Journal of Margaret Howes*, 1855).

State Library of Victoria, Australia:

MS 12390 (Carter, W., *Diary of a Voyage from Melbourne to London*, 1852-56).
MS 8985 (Fox, W., *Diary of William R. Fox*, 1882).

Thomas Cook Archives:

Anon. 'London in 1838 and 1902'. *Traveller's Gazette*, (1902): 7-8.

University of Nottingham Archives:

Gr.C/12 – Gr.C/38 (Granger, F., *Frank Granger Papers*, 1883-6).
Wr. D/16 – D/41 (Wrench, E., *Diary of Edward Wrench*, 1871-96).

Printed Primary Sources

Newspapers

Bayswater Chronicle

Caledonian Mercury

Glasgow Herald

Illustrated London News

Manchester Times

Morning Post

New York Times

North Wales Chronicle

The Argus

Times of London

Washington Post

Books, Literature, and Journals

- Anon., *A Visit to the States: a Reprint of Letters from the Special Correspondent of The Times* (G.E. Wright, London, 1887).
- Anon. 'Conflicting Views of History', *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art*, 6, 271 (1889), 145-7.
- Anon., *Hints to Railway Travellers, and Country Visitors to London, by an Old Stager* (Bradbury & Evans, London, 1852).
- Anon., 'Our Foreign Visitors', *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 33, 863 (May 1872), 591-2.
- Anon., 'The Bitter Cry of Fog-Bound London', *The Speaker*, 5 (2 Jan. 1892), 4.
- Anon., 'The Influence of British Cities upon British Civilization', *Sharpe's London Journal*, 11 (1850), 25-6.
- Anon., *Voyage à Londres, 1876: Notes et Souvenirs* (Lille, 1876).
- Arnold, E., *India Revisited* (Roberts, Boston, 1886).
- Baedeker, K., *London and its Environs: a Hand-Book for Travellers* (K. Baedeker, Leipzig, 1889, 1894).
- Bahadur, S.M.B., *My Jubilee Visit to London*, trans. K.S. Rao (Thacker & Co., Bombay, 1899).
- Banks, E.L., *Campaigns of Curiosity: Journalistic Adventures of an American Girl in London* (F.T. Neely, New York, 1894).
- Baudelaire, C., *Charles Baudelaire and the Prose Poems and La Fanfarlo*, ed. R. Lloyd (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991).
- Bhuyan, S.K., *London Memoirs from a Historian's Haversack* (Gauhati Publications Board, Assam, 1979).
- von Bismarck, O., 'Excerpts from Bismarck's "Blood and Iron" Speech, 1862', *German History Documents Online*. Source: <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=250&language=English> [Accessed 27 April 2011]
- Black A. and Black, C., *London and its Environs: a Practical Guide to the Metropolis and its Vicinity* (Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh, 1862).
- Blake, M.E., *A Summer Holiday in Europe* (Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1891).
- Blanqui, J.A., *The History of Political Economy in Europe*, trans. E. Leonard (Putnam, London, 1885).
- Blumenfeld, R.D., *R.D.B's Diary* (Heinemann, London, 1930).
- Bousfield, C., *The Bousfield Diaries: a Middle-class Family in late-Victorian Bedford*, ed. R. Smart (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, Woodbridge, 2007).
- Boutmy, E., *English People: A Political Psychology*, trans. E. English (Knickerbocker Press, London, 1904).
- Braddon, E., *Life in India* (Longman's, Green & Co., London, 1872).
- Braman, W.A., *Glimpses of Europe* (J.B. Savage, Cleveland, 1901).
- Bremer, F., *England in 1851, or, Sketches of a Tour in England*, trans. L.A.H. (Merridew, Boulogne, 1853).
- Brodrick, G.C., *Memories and Impressions, 1831-1900* (Nisbet & Co., London, 1900).
- Bullard, Mrs. A.T.J., *Sights and Scenes in Europe: A Series of Letters from England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy in 1850* (Chambers & Knapp, St. Louis, 1852).
- Camden, W., *Britannia, or, a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland, Together with the Adjacent Islands*, trans. E. Gibson (2 vols., Ware, London, 1753), ii.

- Canada – A Hand Book of Information for Intending Emigrants* (Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 1877).
- Carlyle, T., *Sartor Resartus: the Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh* (James Munroe & Co., Boston, 1840).
- Carlyle, T., 'The Signs of the Times – the Mechanical Age', *The Collected Works of Thomas Carlyle* (3 vols., Chapman and Hall, London, 1858), iii.
- Carlyle, T., *The French Revolution: A History* (3 vols., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1896), iii.
- Carlyle, T., *Past and Present* (Ward, Lock, & Bowden, London, 1897).
- Cassell's Household Guide to Every Department of Practical Life* (24 vols., Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., London, 1881-3), i.
- Chadwick, E., *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (W. Clowes, London, 1843).
- Champney, E., *Three Vassar Girls in England: a Holiday Excursion of Three College Girls through the Mother Country* (Estes & Lauriat, Boston, 1884).
- Chaudhuri, N.C., *A Passage to England* (Hogarth Press, London, 1959).
- Cook, E.C., *Highways and Byways in London* (Macmillan, London, 1902).
- Cook, J., *A Holiday Tour in Europe* (David Mackay, Philadelphia, 1889).
- Coxe, A.C., *Impressions of England, or, Sketches of English Scenery and Society* (Dana, New York, 1856).
- Crawford, T., *English Life* (Lovell, New York, 1889).
- Dasa, I., *A Brief Account of a Voyage to England and America* (Presbyterian Mission Press, Allahabad, 1851).
- Davidson, J., *A Random Itinerary* (Copeland & Day, London, 1894).
- De Amicis, E., *Jottings on London* (Alfred Mudge & Son, Boston, 1883).
- De Tocqueville, A., *Democracy in America*, trans. H. Reeve (2 vols., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1946).
- De Tocqueville, A., *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, trans. F. Furet (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998).
- Dickens, C., *Hard Times* (J.M. Dent & Sons, London, 1854).
- Dickens, C., *Dickens's Dictionary of London* (London, 1879).
- Dickenson, A., *My First Visit to Europe* (George Putnam, New York, 1851).
- Disraeli, B., *Coningsby: or, the New Generation* (3 vols., Henry Colburn, London, 1844), ii.
- Dorr, J., *The Flower of England's Face: Sketches of English Travel* (Macmillan, New York, 1895).
- Doss, N.L., *Reminiscences, English and Australasian: Being an Account of a Visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Ceylon, etc.* (Herald Press, Calcutta, 1893).
- Dostoyevsky, F., *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions*, trans. K. FitzLyon (Quartet, London, 1985).
- Drew, W.A., *Glimpses and Gatherings during a Voyage and Visit to London and the Great Exhibition* (Homan & Manley, Augusta, 1852).
- Durkheim, E., *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. C. Cosman (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008).
- Elliott, J.R., *Rambles in Merrie, Merrie England: Glimpses of its Castles, its Cathedrals, its Abbeys, its Traditions, and its Rural Life* (J. & A. McMillan, St. John, 1897).
- Emerson, R.W., *English Traits* (Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston, 1856).
- Énault, L., *Angleterre, Écosse, Irlande: Voyage Pittoresque* (Morizot, Paris, 1859).

- Engels, F., *The Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844*, trans. F.K. Wischniewetzky (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1892).
- Ferguson, E., *The Impressions of Janey Canuck Abroad* (Toronto, 1902).
- Fleming, S., *England and Canada: A Summer's Journey between Old and New Westminster* (Dawson Brothers, Montreal, 1884).
- Forbes, E., *A Woman's First Impressions of Europe* (Derby & Miller, New York, 1865).
- Ford, F.M., *The Soul of London: a Survey of a Modern City* (Alston Rivers, London, 1905).
- Garneau, F.-X., *Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833* (Ottawa, 1986).
- Gissing, G., *In the Year of Jubilee* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1895).
- Godden, J., *Notes and Reminiscences about a Journey to England* (John Lovell, Montreal, 1878).
- Guild, C., *Over the Ocean, or, Sights and Scenes in Foreign Lands* (Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1871).
- Haight, C., *Here and There in the Home Land: England, Scotland and Ireland as seen by a Canadian* (William Briggs, Toronto, 1895).
- Hare, A., *Walks in London* (2 vols., Daldy, Isbister & Co., London, 1878), i.
- Hare, A., *Walks in Rome* (2 vols., George Allen, London, 1897), i.
- Head, G., *A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England in the Summer of 1835* (Harper Bros, New York, 1836).
- Hobson, J.A., *Imperialism: A Study* (James Pott & Co., New York, 1902).
- Hogan, J.F., *The Australian in London and America* (Ward & Downey, London, 1899).
- Holman, A., *My Wander Year: Some Jottings in a Year's Travel* (William Brooks, Sydney, 1913).
- Hoppin, J., *Old England: its Scenery, Art, and People* (Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1867).
- Hughes, M., *A London Family, 1870-1900* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981).
- James, H., *English Hours* (Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1905).
- Jang, F.N., *An Indian Passage to Europe: the Travels of Fath Nawaz Jang*, trans. O. Khalidi (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006).
- Jerrold, B. and Doré, G., *London, A Pilgrimage* (Anthem Press, London, 2005).
- Krout, M., *A Looker-On in London* (Dodd, New York, 1899).
- Lacy, T., *Home Sketches on Both Sides of the Channel* (Hamilton, Adams & Co., London, 1852).
- Locke, D., *Nasby in Exile, or, Six Months of Travel* (Locke, Toledo, 1882).
- Loftie, W.J., *In and Out of London, or, the Half-Holidays of a Town Clerk* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1875).
- Lovett, R., *London Pictures: Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (The Religious Tract Society, London, 1890).
- Machray, R., *The Night Side of London* (T. Werner Laurie, London, 1906).
- Macaulay, T.B., *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second* (5 vols., Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1876), ii.
- Mack, L., *An Australian Girl in London* (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1902).
- MacKinnon, J., *Travels in Britain, France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium and Holland* (Schurman & Taylor, Summerside, 1887).
- Mahomed, H.S.S., *Journal of my Tours Round the World, 1886-1887 and 1893-1895, Embracing Travels in Various Parts of Africa, Australia, Asia, America and Europe* (Duftur Ashkara, Bombay, 1895).
- Malabari, B., *The Indian Eye on English Life, or, Rambles of a Pilgrim Reformer* (Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1893).

- Marx, K. and Engels, F., *The Communist Manifesto* (Echo, Teddington, 2009).
- Matthews, J.N., *My Holiday: How I Spent It* (Martin Taylor, Buffalo, 1867).
- Mayhew, H. and Binny, J., *The Criminal Prisons of London, and Scenes of London Life* (Griffin, Bohn & Co., London, 1862).
- Miller, R., *Travels Abroad* (J.P. Bell, Lynchburg, 1891).
- Mogg, E., *Mogg's New Picture of London* (E. Mogg, London, 1848).
- Morley, C., *Travels in London* (Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1916).
- Morrison, L.A., *Rambles in Europe: in Ireland, Scotland, England, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and France* (Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston, 1887).
- Mozoomdar, P.C., *Sketches of a Tour Round the World* (S.K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta, 1884).
- Mukharji, T.N., *A Visit to Europe* (W. Newman & Co., Calcutta, 1889).
- Murray, J., *Handbook to London as it is* (J. Murray, London, 1879).
- Nadkarni, R.B., *Journal of a Visit to Europe in 1896* (D.B. Taraporevala & Sons, Bombay, 1903).
- Ney, F. (ed.), *Britishers in Britain: Being the Record of the Official Visit of Teachers from Manitoba to the Old Country, Summer 1910* (The Times Book Club, London, 1911).
- Oman, C., *England in the Nineteenth Century* (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1899).
- O'Rell, M., *John Bull and his Island*, trans. M. O'Rell (Simpkin, Marshall & Co., London, 1884).
- Ossoli, M.F., *At Home and Abroad, or, Thoughts and Things in America and Europe* (Brown, Taggard & Chase, Boston, 1860).
- Pennington, W., *A Trip to the Old Country* (R.L. Crain, Ottawa, 1894).
- Peters, K., *England and the English* (Hurst & Blackett, London, 1904).
- Phillips, M., *Abroad and At Home: Practical Hints for Tourists* (Brentano's, New York, 1891).
- Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian Spectacles* (The Vijayanti Press, Madras, 1897).
- Poisson, L'Abbe, *Angleterre, Ecosse, Irlande: Souvenirs et Impressions de Voyage* (H. Herluison, Orleans, 1895).
- Prentis, N., *A Kansan Abroad* (G.W. Martin, Topeka, 1878).
- Reade, W.W., *The African Sketch-Book* (2 vols., Smith, Elder, & Co., London, 1873), i.
- Reid, W., 'London – After Forty Years', *The Anglo-Saxon Review: a Quarterly Miscellany*, 6 (1900), 7-17.
- Rideing, W.H., 'The Transatlantic Trip', *The Cosmopolitan: a Monthly Illustrated Magazine*, 10, 3 (1891), 351-8.
- Ruskin, J., *The Stones of Venice* (2 vols., Belford, Clark, & Co, Chicago, 1851), ii.
- Sala, G.A., *Twice Round the Clock, or, the Hours of the Day and Night in London* (Houlston & Wright, London, 1859).
- Seeley, J.R., *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (Roberts Bros., Boston, 1883).
- Schlesinger, M., *Saunterings in and about London*, trans. O. Wenckstern (Nathaniel Cooke, London, 1853).
- Schmidt, R., *A Visit to London and some Old English Towns and Castles* (R. Heironymus Buchdruckerei, Neumünster, 1903).
- Scott, R., *London Pictures: Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (The Religious Tract Society, London, 1890).
- Sherwell, A., *Life in West London: A Study and a Contrast* (Methuen, London, 1896).
- Shields, R., *My Travels: Visits to Lands Far and Near, European, British, American and Canadian* (W. Briggs, Toronto, 1906).

- Silliman, B., *A Visit to Europe in 1851* (Putnam, New York, 1853).
- Sims, G.R., *How the Poor Live and Horrible London* (Chatto & Windus, London, 1889).
- Smith, G., *A Trip to England* (Macmillan, New York, 1892).
- Smith, W., *A Yorkshireman's Trip to the United States and Canada* (Longman's, Green & Co., London, 1892).
- Stephenson, B.C. (ed.), *The American Visitor*, 1 (1884), 9-11.
- Stevenson, W., *Sights and Scenes in Europe, or, Pencilings by the Way* (M.S. Elmore, Flint, 1882).
- Stow, J., *A Survey of London Written in the Year 1598*, ed. W. Thomas (Whittaker, London, 1842).
- Taine, H., *Notes on England*, trans. W.F. Rae (Henry Holt, New York, 1885).
- Taylor, C.C., *Toronto 'Called Back' from 1886 to 1850* (W. Briggs, Toronto, 1886).
- The Westminster Palace Hotel Guide to the Metropolis* (London, 1883).
- Thomas, E., *Letters from Europe, being Notes of Tour through England, France, and Switzerland* (Swormstedt & Poe, Cincinnati, 1856).
- Toynbee, A., *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England: Popular Addresses, Notes and Other Fragments, by the late Arnold Toynbee*, ed. B. Jowett (Rivingtons, London, 1884).
- Trafton, M., *Rambles in Europe: in a Series of Familiar Letters* (Charles Pierce & Co., Boston, 1852).
- Tristan, F., *The London Journal of Flora Tristan*, trans. J. Hawkes (Virago, London, 1982).
- Tuckerman, H., *A Month in England* (Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1982).
- Turner, C.T., *Collected Sonnets, Old and New* (Macmillan, London, 1884).
- Turner, F.J., *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Henry Holt, Boston, 1921).
- Vaughan, R., *The Age of Great Cities, or, Modern Civilization Viewed in its Relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion* (Jackson & Walford, London, 1843).
- Villars, P., *England, Scotland and Ireland: A Picturesque Survey of the United Kingdom and its Institutions*, trans. H. Frith (Routledge & Son, London, 1887).
- W.S.J., 'Conservatism and Progress', *The New York Evangelist*, 69, 47 (1898), 9.
- Warren, W.H., *Touring in Britain, or, Brief Sketches of a Recent Visit to England and Scotland* (Paterson & Co., St. John, 1899).
- Weber, A.F., *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: a Study in Statistics* (Macmillan, New York, 1899).
- Weber, M., *The Protestant Work-Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons (Routledge, London, 1992).
- Wetherell, J.E., *Over the Sea: A Summer Trip to Britain* (Evans Bros., Strathroy, 1890).
- Wey, F., *A Frenchman sees the English in the 'Fifties*, trans. V. Pirie (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1935).
- White, R.G., *England Without and Within* (Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, 1881).
- Whitten, W., *A Londoner's London* (Methuen, London, 1913).
- Whyte, W., *O'er the Atlantic, or, a Journal of a Voyage to and from Europe* (American News Co., New York, 1870).
- Zola, E., *L'Assommoir*, trans. E. Vitezelly (Vitezelly & Co., London, 1885).

Printed Secondary Sources

- Agathocleous, T., *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011).
- Aitchison, C., MacLeod, N.E. and Shaw, S.J., *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes: Social and Cultural Geographies* (Routledge, London, 2000).
- Alexander, M., *Medievalism: the Middle Ages in Modern England* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2007).
- Allen, R.C., *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009).
- Alter, R., *Imagined Cities: Urban Experience and the Language of the Novel* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2005).
- Annett, D.R., *British Preference in Canadian Commercial Policy* (Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1948).
- Anstruther, I., *The Knight and the Umbrella: an Account of the Eglinton Tournament, 1839* (Geoffrey Bles, London, 1963).
- Appadurai, A., *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2002).
- Arnold, D., 'London Bridge and its Symbolic Identity in the Regency Metropolis: the Dialectic of Civic and National Pride', *Art History*, 22, 4 (1999), 545-66.
- Arnstein, W.L., 'A German View of English Society: 1851', trans. W.L. Arnstein, *Victorian Studies*, 16, 2 (1972), 183-203.
- Auerbach, J., *The Great Exhibition of 1851: a Nation on Display* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999).
- Auerbach, J. and Hoffenberg, P., *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2008).
- Baigent, E., 'Hare, Augustus John Cuthbert (1834-1903)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33710>, accessed 5 April 2011].
- Bailey, P., 'A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures: the Victorian Middle Classes and the Problem of Leisure', *Victorian Studies*, 21, 1 (1977), 7-28.
- Bailey, P., *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (Methuen, London, 1987).
- Ballantyne, T. and Burton, A. (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire* (University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 2009).
- Barker, T.C. and Robbins, M., *A History of London Transport: Passenger Travel and the Development of the Metropolis* (2 vols., George Allen & Unwin, London, 1975), i.
- Barton, S., *Working-class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2005).
- Bayly, C.A., *Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988).
- Bayly, C.A., *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Blackwell, Oxford, 2004).
- Beaverstock, J.V., Doel, M.A., Hubbard, P.J. and Taylor, P.J., 'Attending to the World: Competition, Cooperation, and Connectivity in the World City Network', *Global Networks*, 2, 2 (2002), 111-32.
- Bell C. and Lyall, J., *The Accelerated Sublime: Landscape, Tourism, and Identity* (Praeger, London, 2002).

- Bell, D., 'The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution, and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860-1900', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34, 1 (2006), 3-21.
- Bellamy, L. and Williamson, T. (eds.), *Life in the Victorian Village: the Daily News Survey of 1891* (2 vols., Caliban Books, London, 1999), i.
- Benedict, B., 'International Exhibitions and National Identity', *Anthropology Today*, 7, 3 (1991), 5-9.
- Bennett, T., 'Useful Culture', *Cultural Studies*, 6, 3 (1992), 395-408.
- Berger, C., *The Sense of Power: Studies in the idea of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1970).
- Berger, M., *The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860* (Columbia University, New York, 1943).
- Berlanstein, L.R., *Big Business and Industrial Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Paris: a Social History of the Paris Gas Company* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991).
- Berman, M., *All That is Solid Melts into Air: the Experience of Modernity*, 3rd edn (Verso, London, 2010).
- Berton, P., *The Arctic Grail: the Quest for the Northwest Passage and the North Pole, 1818-1909* (McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1988).
- Blackbourn, D. and Eley, G., *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984).
- Blumin, S., 'Explaining the New Metropolis: Perception, Depiction, and Analysis in Mid-Nineteenth-Century New York City', *Journal of Urban History*, 11 (1984), 9-38.
- Boli, J. and Lechner, F.J., 'Globalization and World Culture', in Smelser, N. and Baltes, P. (eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences* (16 vols., Elsevier, Amsterdam, 2001), ix, pp. 6261-6.
- Boorstin, D., *America and the Image of Europe: Reflections on American Thought* (Meridian Books, New York, 1960).
- Boot, H.M., 'Real Incomes of the British Middle Class, 1760-1850: the experience of clerks at the East India Company', *Economic History Review*, vol. 52, no. 4 (1999), 638-88.
- Borm, J., 'Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology', in Hooper, G. and Youngs, T. (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004), pp. 13-27.
- Bowen, F.C., *A Century of Atlantic Travel, 1830-1930* (S. Low, Marston, London, 1932).
- Boyce, P., *The Queen's Other Realms: the Crown and its Legacy in Australia, Canada and New Zealand* (Federation Press, Sydney, 2008).
- Briggs, A., *Victorian Cities* (Odhams, London, 1963).
- Buckner, P., 'Introduction', in Buckner, P. and Francis, R.D. (eds.), *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration and Identity* (University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 2006), pp. 1-9.
- Burns, E.M., *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ, 1957).
- Burton, A., *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998).
- Buzard, J., *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993).
- Campbell, C.S., *From Revolution to Rapprochement: the United States and Great Britain, 1783-1900* (Wiley, New York, 1974).

- Cannadine, D., 'Imperial Canada: Old History, New Problems', in Coates, C. (ed.), *Imperial Canada, 1867-1917: A Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh's Centre of Canadian Studies Conference, May 1995* (Centre for Canadian Studies, Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 1-19.
- Carroll, M.T., *Popular Modernity in America: Experience, Technology, Mythohistory* (SUNY Press, Albany, 2000).
- Chakrabarty, D., 'The Muddle of Modernity', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 116, no. 3 (2011), 663-75.
- Cherry, D., 'Algeria In and Out of the Frame: Visuality and Cultural Tourism in the Nineteenth Century', in Crouch, D. and Lübbren, N. (eds.), *Visual Culture and Tourism* (Berg, Oxford, 2003), pp. 41-58.
- Clark, P., *European Cities and Towns, 400-2000* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009).
- Clarke, A., 'The Power to Define: Meanings and Values in Cultural Tourism', in Robinson, M. (ed.), *Expressions of Culture, Identity and Meaning in Tourism: Reflections on International Tourism* (The Centre for Travel and Tourism, Newcastle, 2000), pp. 23-36.
- Coates, C.M., 'French Canadians' Ambivalence towards the British Empire', in Buckner, P. (ed.), *Canada and the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008), pp. 181-99.
- Cocks, C., *Doing the Town: the Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001).
- Codell, J.F., 'Introduction: Imperial Co-Histories and the British and Colonial Press', in Codell, J.F. (ed.), *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press* (Rosemont Publishing, London, 2003) pp. 15-28.
- Cohen, E., *Contemporary Tourism: Diversity and Change* (Elsevier, Oxford, 2004).
- Cohn, B., *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: the British in India* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996).
- Cole, D., 'The Problem of 'Nationalism' and 'Imperialism' in British Settlement Colonies', *Journal of British Studies*, 10, 2 (1971), 160-82.
- Cook, R., 'Smith, Goldwin', *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, vol. XII. Source: http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=7075 [Accessed 14 Jan. 2011].
- Culler, J., *Framing the Sign: Criticism and its Institutions* (University of Oklahoma Press, Tulsa, 1990).
- Daly, N., *Literature, Technology, and Modernity, 1800-2000* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004).
- Daly, N., *Sensation and Modernity in the 1860s* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009).
- De Certeau, M., *The Practise of Everyday Life*, trans. S.F. Rendall (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984).
- Dennis, R., *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008).
- Docker, J., *The Nervous Nineties: Australian Cultural Life in the 1890s* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991).
- Donald, J., 'Metropolis: the City as Text', in Boccock, R. and Thompson, K. (eds.), *Social and Cultural Forms of Modernity* (Polity, Cambridge, 1992), pp. 417-70.
- Dossal, M., *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: the Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996).

- Driver, F., 'Distance and Disturbance: Travel, Exploration and Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), 73-92.
- Driver, F. and Gilbert, D., 'Heart of Empire? Landscape, space and performance in imperial London', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16 (1998), 11-28.
- Driver, F. and Gilbert, D., 'Imperial Cities: Overlapping Territories, Intertwined Histories', in Driver, F. and Gilbert, D. (eds.), *Imperial Cities* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2003), pp. 1-20.
- Dubow, S., *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility and White South Africa, 1820-2000* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006).
- Dubow, S., 'How British was the British World? The Case of South Africa', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37, 1 (2009), 1-27.
- Dulles, F.R., *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1964).
- Dunch, R., 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity', *History and Theory*, 41 (2002), 301-25.
- Durie, A., *Scotland for the Holidays: a History of Tourism in Scotland, 1780-1939* (Tuckwell, East Linton, NJ, 2003).
- Eade, J., *Placing London: From Imperial Capital to Global City* (Berghahn Books, New York, 2000).
- Edwards, J.D., 'Why Go Abroad? Djuna Barnes and the Urban Travel Narrative', *Journal of Urban History*, 29, 1 (2002), 6-24.
- Eisenstadt, S.N., *Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities* (2 vols., Brill, Leiden, 2003).
- Ellis, J., 'Reconciling the Celt: British National Identity, the Empire, and the 1911 Investiture of the Prince of Wales', *Journal of British Studies*, 37, 4 (1998), 391-418.
- Ford, L.R., *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996).
- Foran, S., 'From Modern Babylon to White City: Science, Technology, and Urban Change in London, 1870-1914', in Levin, M. et al. (eds.), *Urban Modernity: Cultural Innovation in the Second Industrial Revolution* (MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 2010), pp. 75-132.
- Fox, S.R., *The Ocean Railway: Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Samuel Cunard, and the revolutionary world of the great Atlantic steamships* (Harper Perennial, London, 2004).
- Freeman, M., *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999).
- Fukuyama, F., *The Origins of Political Order* (Profile, London, 2011).
- Geddes, P., *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (Williams & Norgate, London, 1915).
- Gennep, A. Van., *The Rites of Passage*, 2nd edn (Routledge, London, 2004).
- Geppert, A.T.C., *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010).
- Giddens, A., *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Polity, Cambridge, 1991).
- Gilbert, D., 'London in all its glory – or how to enjoy London: Guidebook Representations of Imperial London', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25, 3 (1999), 279-97.

- Gilbert, D. and Hancock, C., 'New York City and the Transatlantic Imagination: French and English Tourism and the Spectacle of the Modern Metropolis, 1893-1939', *Journal of Urban History*, 33 (2006), 77-107.
- Granqvist, R., *Imitation as Resistance: Appropriations of English Literature in Nineteenth-Century America* (Associated University Presses, London, 1995).
- Grenier, K.H., *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005).
- Griffith, P., 'Oman, Sir Charles William Chadwick (1860-1946)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35312, accessed 13 June 2011].
- Griffiths, J., 'Were there Municipal Networks in the British World, c.1890-1939?', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37, 4 (2009), 575-97.
- Guha, R., 'A Colonial City and its Time(s)', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 45, 3 (2008), 329-51.
- Gunn, S., *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2001).
- Gunn, S., 'How Manchester is Amused: the Cultural Economy of the Industrial City, 1860-1920', in Hessler, M. and Zimmermann, C. (eds.), *Creative Urban Milieus: Historical Perspectives on Culture, the Economy, and the City* (Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, 2008), pp. 101-18.
- Hall, C. and Rose, S.O. (eds.), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006).
- Hall, P., *Cities in Civilization: Culture, Innovation, and the Urban Order* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1998).
- Hall, S., 'Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities', in King, A.D. (ed.), *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System* (Macmillan, London, 1991), pp. 41-68.
- Hall, T., *Planning Europe's Capital Cities: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Urban Development* (Chapman & Hall, London, 1997).
- Hancock, C., 'Your City does not speak my Language: cross-Channel views of London and Paris in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Planning Perspectives*, 12 (1997), 1-18.
- Hancock, C., *Paris et Londres au XIXe siècle: Représentations dans les guides et récits de voyage* (CNRS, Paris, 2003).
- Hannerz, U., 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture'. *Theory, Culture, Society*, 7 (1990), 237-51.
- Harley, C.K., 'Trade, 1870-1939: from globalisation to fragmentation', in Floud, R. and Johnson, P. (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain* (3 vols., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), ii, pp. 161-89.
- Harris, J., *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993).
- Harris, R., *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996).
- Harvey, D., *Paris: Capital of Modernity* (Routledge, New York, 2006).
- Hassam, A., *Through Australian Eyes: Colonial Perceptions of Imperial Britain* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2000).
- Headrick, D., *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981).
- Headrick, D., *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988).

- Heafford, M., 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism: British Travellers to Switzerland in a Period of Transition, 1814-1860', *Journal of Transport History*, 27, 1 (2006), 25-47.
- Henderson, W.O., *The Industrial Revolution on the Continent: Germany, France, Russia, 1800-1914*, 2nd edn (Frank Cass, London, 1967).
- Hessler, M., "'Damned Always to Alter, But Never to Be": Berlin's Culture of Change around 1900', in Hessler, M., et al. (eds.), *Urban Modernity: Cultural Innovation in the Second Industrial Revolution* (MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 2010), pp. 167-204.
- Hietala, T., *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism and Empire* (Cornell, Ithaca, 2003).
- Highmore, B., *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2005).
- Hill, K., 'Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece: Symbolism and Space in Victorian Civic Culture', in Kidd, A. and Nicholls, D. (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999), pp. 99-111.
- Hill, K., *Culture and Class in English Public Museums, 1850-1914* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005).
- Hind, R.J., 'We Have No Colonies – Similarities within the British Imperial Experience', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 26, 1 (1984), 3-35.
- Hirst, J., *Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000).
- Hobsbawm, E., *Industry and Empire from 1750 to the Present Day* (Penguin, London, 1990).
- Hobsbawm, E., 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1-14.
- Hobsbawm, E., *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (Abacus, London, 2009).
- Hobsbawm, E., *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (Abacus, London, 2009).
- Hobsbawm, E., *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (Abacus, London, 2009).
- Hoffenberg, P., *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001).
- Hoganson, K.L., *Consumer's Imperium: the Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2007).
- Hohenburg, P. and Lees, L.H., *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1994*, 2nd edn (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1996).
- Hopkirk, P., *The Great Game: On Secret Service in Central Asia* (John Murray, London, 2006).
- Hosgood, C., 'The "Knights of the Road": Commercial Travellers and the Culture of the Commercial Room in late-Victorian and Edwardian England', *Victorian Studies*, 37, 4 (1994), 519-47.
- Howe, P., 'This World of Diamonds and Mud: Women Travellers in mid-nineteenth century London', in Alter, P. and Muhs, R. (eds.), *Exilanten und andere Deutsche in Fontanes London* (Akademischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 174-97.
- Inglis, F., *The Delicious History of the Holiday* (Routledge, London, 2000).
- Inglis, K.S., *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History, 1788-1870* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1974).
- Jacobs, J., *The Economy of Cities* (Random House, New York, 1969).

- Jafari, J., 'Tourism Models: the Sociocultural Aspects', *Tourism Management*, 8 (1987), 151-9.
- James, L., *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (Little, Brown & Co., London, 1997).
- Jervis, J., *Exploring the Modern: Patterns of Western Culture and Civilization* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1998).
- Johansdottir, H., 'Under the Tourist Gaze: Reykjavik as the City that Never Sleeps', in Eysteinnsson, A. (ed.), *The Cultural Reconstruction of Places* (University of Iceland Press, Reykjavik, 2006), pp. 111-21.
- Jones, R., *Interiors of Empire: Objects, Space and Identity within the Indian Subcontinent, c.1800-1947* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2007).
- Jordan, D.P., *Transforming Paris: the Life and Labours of Baron Haussmann* (Free Press, New York, 1995).
- Kapferer, J., *Being All Equal: Identity, Difference and Australian Cultural Practice* (Berg, Oxford, 1996).
- Keene, D., 'Cities and Empires', *Journal of Urban History*, 32, 1 (2005), 8-21.
- Killian, E., 'Exploring London – Walking the City – (Re-)Writing the City', in Berghoff, H. (ed.), *The Making of Modern Tourism: the Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000* (Palgrave, London, 2002), pp. 267-84.
- Killingray, D., 'A Good West Indian, a Good African, and, in Short, a Good Britisher': Black and British in a Colour-Conscious Empire, 1760-1950', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 3, 36 (2008), 363-81.
- King, A.D., *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976).
- King, A.D., *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalization of London* (Routledge, New York, 1990).
- King, A.D., 'The Global, the Urban, and the World', in King, A.D. (ed.), *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System* (Macmillan, London, 1991), pp. 149-54.
- Kirk, R., *America's British Culture* (Transaction, New Brunswick, NJ, 1993).
- Koshar, R., 'What Ought to be Seen: Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identity in Modern Germany and Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33, 3 (1998), 323-40.
- Kröller, E.-M., *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851-1900* (University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1987).
- Kubicek, R., 'British Expansion, Empire, and Technological Change', in: Porter, A. (ed.), *Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), pp. 247-69.
- Lahiri, S., *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880-1939* (Frank Cass, London, 2000).
- Large, D.C., *Berlin: a Modern History* (Penguin, London, 2002).
- Latour, B., *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. C. Porter (Harvester, New York, 1993).
- Law, C., *Urban Tourism: Attracting Visitors to Large Cities* (Mansell, London, 1993).
- Lees, A., 'Critics of Urban Society in Germany, 1815-1914', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40, 1 (1979), 61-83.
- Lees, A., *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1985).
- Lees, A. and Lees, L.H., *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750-1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007).
- Lees, A., 'Between Anxiety and Admiration: Views of British Cities in Germany, 1835-1914', *Urban History*, 36, 1 (2009), 42-66.

- Lees, L.H., 'Being British in Malaya, 1890-1940', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 76-101.
- Lefebvre, H., *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Blackwell, Oxford, 2004).
- Lepetit, B., *The Pre-Industrial Urban System: France, 1740-1840* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994).
- Lester, A., *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (Routledge, London, 2001).
- Lester, A., 'Historical Geographies of British Colonization: New South Wales, New Zealand and the Cape in the Early Nineteenth Century', in Potter, S.J. (ed.), *Imperial Communications: Australia, Britain, and the British Empire, c.1830-50* (King's College Australia Centre, London, 2005), pp. 91-120.
- Lindert, P. and Williamson, J., 'English Workers' Living Standards During the Industrial Revolution: A New Look', *Economic History Review*, vol. 36, no. 1, (1983), 1-25.
- Lockwood, A., *Passionate Pilgrims: the American Traveller in Great Britain, 1800-1914* (Cornwall Books, New York, 1981).
- Lury, C., 'The Objects of Travel', in Rojek, C. and Urry, J. (eds.), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (Routledge, London, 1997), pp. 75-95.
- Lynn, M., 'British Policy, Trade, and Informal Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in Porter, A. (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), pp. 101-21.
- MacCannell, D., *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Macmillan, London, 1976).
- MacKenzie, J. (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1986).
- MacKenzie, J. (ed.), *Popular Imperialism and the Military* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1992).
- MacKenzie, J.M., 'Empire and Metropolitan Culture', in Porter, A. (ed.), *Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), pp. 270-93.
- MacKenzie, J.M., 'Empires of Travel: British Guidebooks and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries', in Walton, J.K. (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, and Conflict* (Channel View, Clevedon, 2005), pp. 19-38.
- MacLaren, R., *Commissions High: Canada in London, 1870-1971* (Queen's University Press, Kingston, 2006).
- Magee, G. and Thompson, A.S., *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods, and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010).
- Marcus, S., 'Reading the Illegible', in Dyos, H.J. and Wolff, M. (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (2 vols., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1973), i, pp. 257-76.
- Massard-Guilbaud, G., 'The Genesis of an Urban Identity: The Quartier de la Gare in Clermont-Ferrand, 1850-1900', *Journal of Urban History*, 25 (1999), 779-808.
- Mazrui, A.A., 'Mombasa: Three Stages towards Globalisation', in King, A.D. (ed.), *Representing the City: Ethnicity, Capital, and Culture in the 21st Century Metropolis* (New York University Press, New York, 1996), pp. 158-78.
- McCartney, P.T., *Power and Progress: American national identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 2006).

- McGowan, P.J. and Kordan, B., 'Imperialism in World-System Perspective: Britain, 1870-1914', *International Studies Quarterly*, 25, 1 (1981), 43-68.
- McReynolds, L., 'St. Petersburg: the National Destiny in the Cityscape', *Journal of Urban History*, 33 (2007), 857-63.
- Meethan, K., *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2001).
- Melman, B., *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past 1800-1953* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006).
- Metcalf, T., *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002).
- Metcalf, T., *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2008).
- Mooers, C., *The Making of Bourgeois Europe: Absolutism, Revolution, and the Rise of Capitalism in England, France and Germany* (Verso, London, 1991).
- Morgan, C., 'A Wigwam to Westminster: Performing Mohawk Identity in Imperial Britain, 1890s-1990s', *Gender and History*, 15, 2 (2003), 319-41.
- Morgan, C., *Happy Holiday: English-Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2008).
- Morgan, M., *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Palgrave, New York, 2001).
- Morris, R., *Sheridan: the Life and Wars of General Phil Sheridan* (Crown Publishing, New York, 1992).
- Morton, W.I., *The Canadian Identity* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1961).
- Mowat, R.B., *Americans in England* (George Harrap & Co., London, 1935).
- Moyles, R.G. and O'ram, D., *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1988).
- Mukhopadhyaya, B., 'Writing Home, Writing Travel: The Poetics and Politics of Dwelling in Bengali Modernity', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44, 2 (2002), 293-318.
- Mulvey, C., *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990).
- Mumford, L., *The Culture of Cities* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1938).
- Nead, L., *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2000).
- Nesci, C., 'Flora Tristan's Urban Odyssey: Notes on the Missing Flâneuse and her City', *Journal of Urban History*, 27 (2001), 709-22.
- Nord, D.E., *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation and the City* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1995).
- Nord, P.G., *Paris Shopkeepers and the Politics of Resentment* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986).
- Norgate, G.L., 'Reid, Sir Thomas Wemyss (1842-1905)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35720>, accessed 6 July 2011].
- Nussbaum, F.A., 'The Theatre of Empire: Racial Counterfeit, Racial Realism', in Wilson, K. (ed.), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), pp. 71-90.
- O'Brien, P.K., 'Path Dependency, or Why Britain became an Industrialized and Urbanized Economy long before France', *Economic History Review*, vol. 49, no. 2 (1996), 213-49.

- Olsen, D.J., 'The Changing Image of London in "The Builder"', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 6, 1 (1973), 4-9.
- Olsen, D.J., *The Growth of Victorian London* (Batsford, London, 1976).
- Ousby, I., *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Random House, London, 1990).
- Pakenham, T., *The Scramble for Africa: 1876-1912* (Phoenix, London, 2001).
- Parrinder, P., 'These Fragments I have Shored against my Ruins: Visions of Ruined London from Edmund Spenser to J.G. Ballard', in Onega, S. and Stotesbury, J.A. (eds.), *London in Literature: Visionary Mappings of the Metropolis* (Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg, 2002), pp. 19-34.
- Parsons, C.O., *Women and the Walk: Female Flâneurie and the Aesthetics of Public Space in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1996).
- Parsons, D., *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City, and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000).
- Parsons, N., *King Khama, Emperor Joe, and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998).
- Parsons, T., 'African Participation in the British Empire', in Morgan, P.D. and Hawkins, S. (eds.), *Black Experience and the Empire* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006), pp. 257-85.
- Pesman, R. et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996).
- Port, M.H., 'Government and the Metropolitan Image: Ministers, Parliament, and the Concept of a Capital City, 1840-1915', in Arnold, D. (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London, c.1750-1950* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1999), pp. 101-26.
- Porter, B., 'Was Laing Right?', *Albion*, 23, 2 (1991), 285-9.
- Porter, B., *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004).
- Potter, S.J., *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2003).
- Potter, S.J. (ed.), *Imperial Communications: Australia, Britain, and the British Empire, c.1830-50* (King's College Australia Centre, London, 2005).
- Potter, S.J., 'Webs, Networks, and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Empire', *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), 621-46.
- Potts, A., 'Picturing the Metropolis: Images of London in the Nineteenth Century', *History Workshop*, 26 (1988), 28-56.
- Resnick, P., *The European Roots of Canadian Identity* (Broadview Press, Peterborough, 2005).
- Robbins, K., *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness* (Longman's, New York, 1998).
- Robinson, A., *Imagining London, 1770-1900* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2004).
- Rosés, J.R., 'Why Isn't the Whole of Spain Industrialized? New Economic Geography and Early Industrialization', *Journal of Economic History*, 63, 4 (2003), 995-1022.
- Said, E., *Culture and Imperialism* (Chatto & Windus, London, 1993).
- Salmi, H., *Nineteenth-Century Europe: a Cultural History* (Polity, Cambridge, 2008).
- Sanders, L., *Consuming Fantasies: Labor, Leisure, and the London Shopgirl, 1880-1920* (Ohio State University Press, Athens, OH, 2006).
- Sassen, S., *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, 2nd edn (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001).

- Schaff, B., 'John Murray's *Handbooks to Italy*: Making Tourism Literary', in Watson, N.J. (ed.), *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 106-18.
- Schivelbusch, W., *The Railroad Journey: the Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1977).
- Schivelbusch, W., 'Railroad Space and Railroad Time', *New German Critique*, 14 (1978), 31-40.
- Schmiechen, J.A., 'Free-market Capitalism: Fundamentally Philistine?', *Albion*, 23, 2 (1991), 269-74.
- Schneer, J., *London 1900: the Imperial Metropolis* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999).
- Schulz-Forberg, H., *London-Berlin: Authenticity, Modernity, and the Metropolis in Urban Travel Writing from 1851-1939* (P.I.E. – Peter Lang, Brussels, 2006).
- Scott, A.J., *The Cultural Economy of the Metropolis: Cognitive-Cultural Capitalism and the Global Resurgence of Cities* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008).
- Sennett, R., *The Fall of Public Man* (Faber & Faber, London, 1993).
- Sennett, R., *Flesh and Stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization* (Penguin, London, 2002).
- Sheppard, F., *London, 1808-1870: the Infernal Wen* (Secker & Warburg, London, 1971).
- Sheppard, F., 'London and the Nation in the Nineteenth Century: the Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5, 35 (1985), 51-74.
- Sheppard, F., *London: A History* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998).
- Simmel, G., 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', in Bridge, G. and Watson, S. (eds.), *The Blackwell City Reader* (Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 2002), pp. 11-19.
- Simmons, J., 'Railways, Hotels and Tourism in Great Britain, 1839-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19, 2 (1984), 201-22.
- Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914* (David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1986).
- Simmons, J., *The Victorian Railway* (Thames & Hudson, London, 1991).
- Singer, B., 'From Patriots to Pacifists: the French Primary School Teachers, 1880-1940', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 12, 3 (1977), 413-34.
- Skilton, D., 'Tourists at the Ruins of London: the Metropolis and the Struggle for Empire', *Cercles*, 17 (2007), 93-119.
- Smil, V., *Creating the Twentieth Century: Technical Innovations of 1867-1914 and their Lasting Impact* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005).
- Smith, T., 'A Grand Work of Noble Conception: the Victoria Memorial and Imperial London', in Driver, F. and Gilbert, D. (eds.), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display, and Identity*. (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2001), pp. 21-39.
- Stephanson, A., *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (Hill and Wang, New York, 1995).
- Steward, J., 'How and Where to Go: the Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840-1914', in Walton, J.K. (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Channel View, Clevedon, 2005), pp. 39-54.
- Steward, J., 'The Attractions of Place: the Making of Urban Tourism, 1860-1914', in Hessler, M. and Zimmermann, C. (eds.), *Creative Urban Milieus: Historical Perspectives on Culture, Economy, and the City* (Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, 2008), pp. 255-83.
- Stowe, W., *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994).

- Sumartojo, S., 'Britishness in Trafalgar Square: Urban Place and the Construction of National Identity', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 9, 3 (2009), 410-28
- Summerson, J., 'London, the Artifact', in Dyos, H.J. and Wolff, M. (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (2 vols., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1973), i, pp. 311-32.
- Sutherland, C., *The Statue of Liberty* (Barnes & Noble, New York, 2003).
- Tamarkin, E., *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2008).
- Tambling, J., *Going Astray: Dickens and London* (Pearson, Harlow, 2009).
- Thomas, L.M., 'Modernity's Failings, Political Claims, and Intermediate Concepts', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 116, no. 3 (2011), 727-40.
- Thompson, A.S., *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the mid-Nineteenth Century* (Pearson Longman, New York, 2005).
- Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working-Class* (Pantheon, New York, 1964).
- Tink, A., *William Charles Wentworth: Australia's Greatest Native Son* (Allen & Unwin, Crow's Nest, NSW, 2009).
- Trainor, R., 'The Middle Class', in Daunt, M. (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. III: 1840-1950* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000).
- Turner, V., *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969).
- Umbach, M., *German Cities and Bourgeois Modernism, 1890-1924* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009).
- Urry, J., 'Sensing the City', in Fainstein, S. and Judd, D. (eds.), *The Tourist City* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999), pp. 71-88.
- Urry, J., *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd edn (Sage, London, 2002).
- Vadillo, A.P., 'Phenomena in Flux: the Aesthetics and Politics of Traveling in Modernity', in Ardis, A.L. and Lewis, L.W. (eds.), *Women's Experience of Modernity, 1875-1945* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2003), pp. 205-20.
- Visram, R., *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700-1947* (Pluto, London, 1986).
- Wainwright, A.M., *'The Better Class of Indian': Social Rank, Imperial Identity and South Asians in Britain, 1858-1914* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008).
- Walkowitz, J., *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in late-Victorian London* (Virago, London, 1992).
- Wallerstein, I., *The Modern World-System III: the Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840s* (Academic Press, London, 1989).
- Walton, J.K., *The English Seaside Resort: a Social History, 1750-1914* (University of Leicester Press, Leicester, 1983).
- Walton, J.K., 'British Tourism between Industrialization and Globalization', in Berghoff, H. (ed.), *The Making of Modern Tourism: the Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000* (Palgrave, London, 2002), pp. 109-25.
- Wang, N., *Tourism and Modernity: a Sociological Analysis* (Elsevier, Oxford, 2000).
- Ward, D., 'Victorian Cities – How Modern?', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 1, 2 (1975), 135-51.
- Washbrook, D., 'From Comparative Sociology to Global History: Britain and India in the Pre-history of Modernity', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 40, 4 (1997), 410-43.
- Watson, N.J., *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2006).

- Watson, N.J., 'Rambles in Literary London', in Watson, N.J. (ed.), *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 139-49.
- Weber, E., *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1976).
- Weiss, T., 'Tourism in America before World War II', *The Journal of Economic History*, 64, 2 (2004), 289-327.
- Whyte, W., 'Rooms for the Torture and Shame of Scholars: The New Examination Schools and the Architecture of Reform', *Oxoniensia*, 66 (2001), 85-104.
- Wiener, M., *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004).
- Williams, R., *Notes on the Underground: an Essay on Technology, Society, and the Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990).
- Winders, J.A., *European Culture since 1848: From Modern to Postmodern and Beyond* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2001).
- Woollacott, A., 'The Colonial Flâneuse: Australian Women Negotiating Turn-of-the-century London', *Signs*, 25, 3 (2000), 761-87.
- Woollacott, A., *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001).
- Wright, T.F., 'The Results of Locomotion: Bayard Taylor and the Travel Lecture in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century United States', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 14, 2 (2010), 111-34.
- Young, P., *Globalization and the Great Exhibition: the Victorian New World Order* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009).
- Zamagni, V., *The Economic History of Italy, 1860-1990* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993).
- Zelljadt, K., 'Presenting and Consuming the Past: Old Berlin at the Industrial Exhibition of 1896', *Journal of Urban History*, 31 (2005), 306-33.
- Zwerdling, A., *Improvised Europeans: American Literary Expatriates and the Siege of London* (Basic Books, New York, 1998).