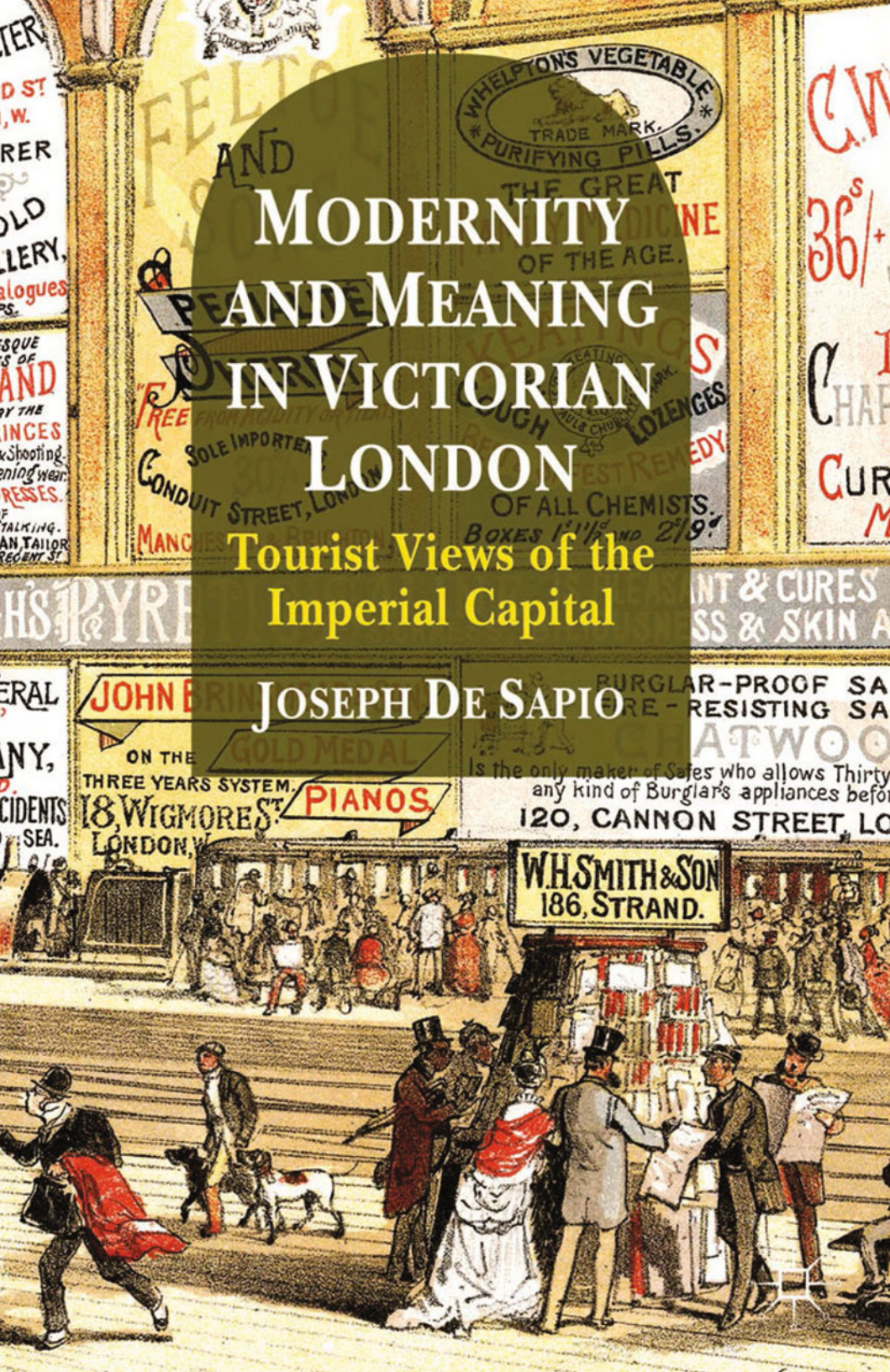

Modernity and Meaning in Victorian London

Tourist Views of the Imperial Capital

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Contents

Introduction: *'The Capital of the Human Race'*: The City as the Centre of Modernity

The nineteenth century was London's century. In the same way that the twentieth century may be said to have belonged to Washington, and the eighteenth century claimed by Paris, the hundred years between 1815 and 1914 were London's period at the top of the urban hierarchy. Sandwiched between the two, the British capital lacked the emotional resonance and passion of the Parisian artistic and literary scenes, and certainly never commanded the same raw economic and military power later enjoyed by the United States. London had its charms, to be sure, but they were frequently understated, muted, and modestly tucked away down side streets and back alleys. Indeed, it was not the city as an urban centre which drove the attraction so much as the city as an idea, a representation of some greater theme. London's popularity centred on its being attached to a specific vision: a beacon of modernity, a crossroads with history, a portent of industrial discontent, or perhaps a loosening of restrictions. London, in this reading, is therefore not just one city, it is many; always shifting, often competing and sometimes overlapping. The nineteenth century was London's century, and charting how these imagined Londons came to exist forms the main theme to this work.

Certainly, there was recognition early on that the city possessed many different personalities. In the introduction to the 1848 edition of his *New Picture of London*, Edward Mogg named at least four of them:

> The selection of a situation must depend on the motives that have drawn the stranger to the metropolis. If pleasure be his pursuit, the western extremity will afford abundance of accommodation in any of the numerous hotels with which the vicinity of fashionable squares abounds; if parliamentary proceedings or attendance on the

> courts of law have called him hence, the central situations of Covent Garden and Charing Cross may with great propriety be pointed out … The medical student will be placed almost at the portals of all the great schools of medicine … If mercantile pursuits have attracted him to the grandment of commerce, the City will not be found wanting in accommodation to the stranger who may be desirous of residing within its walls.[1]

In a city with such historical longevity as London, there have been, and will continue to be, many thousands of self-contained, particular versions. What privileges one version at the expense of others? That is the question which concerns us here.

London's position made it a natural focus for a variety of perspectives. As the capital of Britain's large territorial and commercial empires, London acted as a 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'[2] against which their own experiences might be judged. Indeed, there are likely as many conflicting versions of London as there are viewers of the city. London's size and status thus made it an important 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. '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 others in the Kingdom.'[3]

By the nineteenth century, the growth of the tour as an institution made a trip to London a necessary undertaking for transatlantic travellers. The attraction of London stemmed from its place at the centre of vast networks which 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.[4] The spread of these influences 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. Thus by the nineteenth century, the journey to London revealed a world ripe with exposure to the various fruits of British expansion, both economically and culturally. This iconography was nothing less than a collection of inanimate ambassadors, inserting an image of Britain into a local context abroad. These items were understood to be 'modern'; the pinnacle of production of Anglo-Saxon rationality. Views of Britain, and of her influence, were everywhere to be found in flux: Indian princes emulated her sports; Americans copied her financial and commercial institutions. There was no 'one' Britain, just as there was no one 'true' London.

These effects were recognised by contemporary visitors. In her semi-autobiographical novel *An Australian Girl in London* (1902), the Australian novelist Louisa Mack relied upon the female protagonist Sylvia Leighton as an avatar to explore the city. In some respects, the fictional Leighton appeared to understand London best of all. During her jaunts around the city, she is content to allow each version of the capital to exist in its own niche:

> Sometimes I lie down and let all the different Londons sweep over me. There are so many. In that lies the charm, the glory. 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; the London where the writers *live*, where the publishers are to be *seen* – the hardest London of all for us to realise.[5]

Perhaps most telling is Leighton's summary of London: '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.'[6]

Yet to state simply that London was perceived in multiple ways by different visitors is to sharply reduce the importance of the relationship between the observer and the city, and between image and reality. The connection between the tourist and London went beyond the sorts of genteel sightseeing and guidebook-flipping that characterised other forms of Victorian tourism.[7] Rather, the city tapped into cultural impulses deep within the viewer: it fulfilled childhood dreams, gave

physical form to symbolic imperial ties, shocked and startled with its unshrinking examples of the blights of an industrial society, or perhaps stood alone, emblematic of the righteousness of national and social progression. These visitors' relationship with London went beyond mere bricks and mortar – it became an intensely personal dialogue, and one in which the city often seemed to offer responses of its own.

Tourism to Victorian London

'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 sightseeing, – such delightful novelty, – such perfect freedom and independence of action.'[8] 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. 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 a.m. to 10 p.m., 35,984. Total, 35,984. From the opening of the Museum, 5,036,543.'[9] London, with its bustling port and commercial linkages, had long attracted individuals keen to take advantage of these opportunities, but the story of mass tourism to the capital may be said to have begun during the industrial age. Railways and steamships brought safe and affordable travel within reach of many, and London's popularity as the political, social, or commercial hub of the globe lured visitors by the thousands to the city.

Despite these advantages, it took until 1851 and the genteel industry of the Great Exhibition to properly throw open the doors to the capital. While the exhibition proved an unmitigated success, London's tourist infrastructure was rather less so – the capital was felt to be practically denuded of proper hotels, the streets were terribly narrow for traffic, and the food was often characterised as heavy or nonsalubrious. The decade of the 1860s represents London's turning point: prior to this, the capital remained defined by its Georgian and Regency architecture and geography. The post-1867 years, however, saw the beginnings of a modern civic system: Bazalgette's drainage scheme (1866) and Fowler's Metropolitan Railway (1863) revolutionised sanitation and transportation; the grand hotel (1862+) began bringing comfortable

(and often opulent) lodging within reach of many; and the Thames Embankment(s) (1867) created a whole new space for seeing and being seen. For nineteenth-century travellers, the most significant aspect of change between the 1850s and the 1870s was the development (and indeed, refinement) of a formal tourist infrastructure: the establishment of the grand hotel as the premier lodging; the proliferation of guidebooks and histories of London; and the formalisation of the tour as an agency of 'rational recreation'. In looking back at visitors to London in the 1860s, we can spot the very beginnings of a recognisably 'modern' vacation, one in which standards of service and value were quickly increasing to match customers' expectations.

For instance, consider the words of W. O'Daniel, who in 1859 satirised the British hotel, but not by much:

> Bar-rooms, reading-rooms, dining rooms and supper rooms are all combined in one designated the 'parlor' … If it is meal time order whatever you desire, you can have it, provided it happens to be in the house. They seem always to be 'just out' of everything called for, and a breakfast or supper generally includes only 'heggs hand bacon', very good bread and butter, and generally miserable coffee … At bed time, shown to a wretchedly uncomfortable room; board partitions all round, cracks in them wide enough to allow one, without his assistance or desire, to see all the mysteries of his male or female neighbor's dressing apparatus, and to hear all secrets. Get into bed, sheets been used by unknown visitors for at least a week before your arrival, and presently discover the soul-harrowing presence of 'legions' – not of angels but – of tormenting imps.[10]

The combined efforts of the Great Western, Midland Grand, Hotel Russell, and others did much to change these impressions. By the 1880s and later, George Sala could characterise hotels as

> So luxurious are your surroundings that you frequently fail to realise the fact that you are staying at an hotel. You fancy that you are in some gorgeously appointed West-End club, at which ladies as well as gentlemen are present … To you young or middle-aged … there will be possibly very little matter for astonishment in the Grand Hotel to which you so blithely resort. You would consider it quite an outrage if you were unable to find hotels of the character which I have briefly delineated, not only in London, but in all the provincial cities, and in Edinburgh and Dublin.[11]

Growing up alongside the Industrial Revolution, early Victorian tourism was, in many ways, a fusion of eighteenth-century modes with nineteenth-century morality. The old Georgian requirement of the public promenade – a display of wealth and breeding – remained in force along Rotten Row, seaside promenades, or theatres and ballrooms. Yet the bawdy and raucous atmosphere found in the aristocratic spa towns of Bath or Cheltenham was discarded, perceived as morally unfit, if not downright vulgar, to the religious revivalism of the 1830s and 1840s. The new realities of the industrial world demanded a more active and visible morality – a sort of paternal care for both urban workers and transplanted slaves alike, shielded from the harsh challenges of the factory or plantation. Such a downtrodden and uneducated population, went the thinking of the time, required only the most responsible and morally fit leaders to guide it; and what better way to demonstrate one's fitness than partaking in respectable and rational recreation?

Such a view would define Victorian tourism for decades. In many ways, tourism became an agency of self-reflection: engaging in rational recreation provided a validation of collective self-identity as the assumed leaders of the industrial economy, and it necessarily depended on that other Victorian invention – the city – for its lifeblood. Indeed, the urban environment was crucial for mass tourism, as cities were the centres of middle-class power and identity – precisely those who were fuelling tourism in the first place. The city was where they lived, worked, and consumed. Even Victorian gender roles were delineated based on the urban environment, as women remained localised in either domestic, suburban areas away from the main heart of the city's masculine 'business', or were relegated to specific and circumscribed areas (the theatre, Harrod's or Whiteley's, or the ABC Team Rooms, for instance – and all properly chaperoned).[12] Most importantly, cities were the wellspring from which flowed the icons of middle-class dominance: the museum, the library, and the gallery; all were intended to be bastions of moralising knowledge against the sins of ignorance and idleness. As the *Manchester Guardian* could trumpet in 1852 on the opening of that city's Free Library, 'Any one who reads at all knows that books … are the cheapest luxury, the most rational enjoyment, within the reach of all classes, that in this nineteenth century can be presented to mankind.'[13] At the centre of this urban constellation sat London, possessing the grandest and most extensive collections in the nation.

Such a view explains the popularity of the capital following the Great Exhibition. Many thousands of visitors from the provinces found themselves confronted by the stupendous scale of London's offerings.

George Graham, a civil engineer from Glasgow, found the capital to be 'endless & inexhaustible, go where one will', in 1851.[14] Yet in the face of rational tourism, the capital proved stubbornly irrational, defying attempts at classification or control. Moreover, London's confusing milieu of streets and crowds could be unpredictable and even dangerous at times, especially to those unaccustomed to the faster pace and greater size of the capital. It is in this contradictory relationship that we find one of the ways in which Victorian society confronted modernity, the ways in which the realities of urban living were reconciled with the high-minded ideals of fiscal responsibility and thrifty conservatism. How was a rational activity mapped onto an irrational system? How was the nature of frivolous expenditure borne? After all, as the *Saturday Review* announced in 1872: 'Everybody who makes money comes to London to spend it.'[15]

We must ask what they spent it on. The choice of sights, which shall be discussed in greater detail throughout this work, was similarly governed by this requirement until attitudes towards recreation began to change in the 1870s and 1880s. Some, such as the Tower of London, St Paul's Cathedral, or Westminster Abbey, were timeless memorials to the historical life of the nation (and in some readings, the empire itself). Other attractions held special educative value in technology, geography, or the arts; everything from the Thames Tunnel to Wyld's Great Globe in Leicester Square, to the British Museum and National Gallery – all were 'sites of power' which created 'authoritative discourses, and manipulate[d] space as a disciplinary technology to improve the population'.[16] Viewing these spaces, and, equally importantly, *being seen to do so* constituted the creation of an authority over the natural world, the urban environment, and the working classes, who, as Kate Hill observed, were never excluded from these places – in fact, admission was often designed to be easily obtainable.[17] Such things were the fundamental elements of rational recreation – a 'frivolous' activity now ordered and categorised according to a specific metric.

Yet as the first generation to come of age within an industrial economy gave way to the second, so too did the motivation for recreation transform from the demonstration of rational fitness to one of simple, pleasurable enjoyment for its own sake. The closing decades of the century had seen the middle class achieve its collective aim: as a class, its social and political concerns had become established as the paramount issues directing the national consciousness. The need for public displays of such fitness was correspondingly minimised, and at the same time, their children, now grown and familiar with machines and with money,

and chafing under the restrictions of mid-Victorian sensibilities, began to reshape social and cultural dialogues in their own image. No longer would the Arnoldian pursuits of 'observing, reading, and thinking'[18] guide pleasure-seekers, writers, and cultural critics.

Such a sweeping change manifested itself in a variety of ways. Novelists such as George Gissing began to explore the working-class family even as social investigators now combed the East End of London. The rise of the Aesthetic movement in the 1870s, emphasised the values of beauty and harmony in art and architecture over more traditionally heavy-handed motifs. Near the end of the century, the more fanciful productions of Wilde and Wells indicated that restrictions – while not entirely removed – were lessened to a remarkable degree. As shall be discussed in Chapter 3, so too can the rise of the music hall be attributed to a late-Victorian reaction against the confining social mores which dictated earlier behaviour. For visitors from overseas – especially from the dominions – necessarily lagging behind the London social scene, it would take even longer to divest themselves of the particular image of Victorian tourism as stately and dignified. The theatre maintained its primacy as the popular vision of British recreation, but the music hall gained acceptance over the course of the century until, by the last decades of the century, it was regarded as a staple of the London experience.

It was in the 1870s and 1880s that London truly began to cement its position as the main drawer of crowds to Europe. While the completion of the various sewage, transport, and lodging projects from the previous decade left London with a mature and rational infrastructure to support future civic and tourist expansion, the influence of the fall of Paris in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) must not be discounted as a motivator. Paris, which had been one of the main drawers of Americans to Europe, was effectively closed by the German bombardment and Commune – which left London poised to attract this surplus of travellers. Indeed, the British capital had progressed from hosting its single exhibition in 1851 and a second, successful follow-up in 1862, to making such things a remarkably common event: with the absence (and subsequent rebuilding) of Paris, four of the short-lived 'Annual International Exhibitions' were held in London (1871–1874), and an additional three (the 'International Inventions Exhibition', the 'Indian and Colonial Exhibition', and the 'American Exhibition') from 1885–1857. Besides these large events were held a variety of smaller-scale conferences, fairs, and expositions, as, for instance, the Smoke Abatement Exhibition in 1881 at South Kensington, which demonstrated

new technologies and clean-burning ovens and boilers, designed to combat the thick fogs pervading London and other British cities.

Aid for London's ascent to primacy also came from an unlikely place: the Royal Family. Beginning in 1871, Queen Victoria slowly returned to public life, attending church services for important dates, opening new public buildings, and otherwise interacting with the British public in a way she had avoided since Albert's death a decade prior. Edward Wrench, an English visitor from Norfolk, noted in his diary that he made a special visit to the opening of St. Thomas' hospital in London to witness Victoria's visit in 1871:

> With Willy to New St. Thomas's [hospital] at 11. Met a number of old fellow students – Manley, Crosby, Feanby, Shroud, Jacobsen, me – The Queen attended by all the Royal Family opened the hospital at 12. She walked close to us & we had a very good view of her & the Prince of Wales as well.[19]

Similarly, the Canadian traveller Will Pennington considered viewing the Queen '[o]ne of the greatest attractions which I saw when in London' and that it was worth waiting two hours for the opening of Parliament in 1894, as 'I was rewarded by a good look at the Queen and all the Royal family.'[20] Such visions were not, of course, the sole motivator for travel, but given the balance between London and Paris, we may speculate that to colonial and American visitors, the attraction of the Royal Family and their palatial homes offered an additional check in favour of London.

By the end of the century, regular and reliable steamship service made the voyage across the Atlantic, or from India and Australia through the Suez Canal, an almost mundane affair. As Canniff Haight, a Canadian who travelled to Britain in 1895 noted how the transatlantic journey seemed to be decreasing in importance and splendour:

> An ocean voyage has ceased to be a novelty even to a Canadian … 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 … 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.[21]

As reliability increased and the expense of such voyages decreased, tourists from around the world flooded into London. 'London', observed

the Scottish writer Robert Machray in 1906, '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.'[22] The British capital now functioned as a gateway for the rest of the continent: foreign visitors from the United States or Canada called at London first before embarking for Paris, Berlin or Rome. London was safe; it was 'foreign', but not quite – the British presence around the world had seen to that. It was, in the minds of many, a perfect introduction to the vagaries of international travel: systems of transport, lodging, and entertainment were different, but the language remained the same to smooth over potential difficulties before the novice arrived in truly foreign countries.

'The greatest of the world's cities'

What made London special? Why was it held to be an example not only of British modernity, but of the march of global progress more generally? Forms of British modernity were seen as omnipresent: across the world, it was heard in the railway steam-whistle, in the bustle of bright cotton fabrics, and in the boom of guns and the clinking of coins. 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. 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.'[23] As the French economist Jérôme-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.'[24] Blanqui's choice of the word 'civilisation' is an apt one: London was frequently represented as the pinnacle of civilisation – 'the capital of the human race', as Henry James put it in 1875.

Indeed, the number of visitors arriving from all quarters of the globe seems to support such a statement. The tourist narratives examined here hail from places as disparate as India, America, Australia, and even parts of Africa. Such narratives become 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. These voyagers, however, 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.[25] 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.[26] 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 development.[27]

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 50 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 pointed out 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.[28] 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 observed 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.'[29] Within the spectacle of the Crystal Palace and subsequent exhibitions, the role of industry and science became an increasingly visible part of society.

The increasing scope and sheer spectacle of industrial modernity, with its flash and pomp, seemed to bombard those in the capital from

all sides. Nicholas Daly felt that 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, heard, seen, or sensed – to be understood, and which heralded an industrial and comfortable future.[30] The culture of modernity demanded the sensation of the new, expressed through novel artistic, technological, and literary forms. As the largest city in the world, London became the *de facto* benchmark of these urban and cultural modernities, subject to all of their shifting meanings.

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.[31] Given such a relationship, James Donald has noted that increasingly the 'modern consciousness became urban consciousness'.[32] 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.[33]

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. This goes some way toward explaining London's uniqueness: it condenses and consolidates the processes of a much larger change into visible and tangible realities. Urban modernity relies on the spectacle of new activities and new technologies to awe onlookers with a variety of sensuous experiences; as a result, the city thus appears to be always in motion, 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.[34]

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 only industrial cities, but places with major administrative, commercial, financial, intellectual, artistic and recreational functions.'[35] 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.[36] 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.[37] At the heart of each of these factors, however, has been the idea of a change or alteration from a previous state. Modern progress did not necessarily have to proceed in a generally positive direction; it merely had to change existing paradigms in some fashion.[38] 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.[39]

'Subjects of no mortal country': cultural modernity

As modern as London seemed, it should not be understood as laying tentacles of material progress outwards from Western Europe; British

modernity was only one of the most overt examples of several rival and visible modernities in this period, and by no means an inevitable one. 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.[40] 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 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.

Indeed, recent critical studies of such blendings have concluded that modernity based on British designs was highly subjective and dependent upon immediate local circumstances. Linda Colley's *Captives* (2002) and Stephanie Williams' *Running the Show* (2011), for instance, have both shown that British authorities actively adapted native societies and tribes to address pressing local issues – a key component, they argue, for the later extension of British influence in the region, but one which was not applied with an even brush across wide-ranging or different geographical areas, nor successful in all instances. John Darwin, in his extensive *The Empire Project* (2009), has in turn pointed to the intrusive (though informal) circuits of commercial influence and population movement as 'creating' better opportunities and havens for migrants and settlers.

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, Native American or Aboriginal indigenous groups, former slaves, or even 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.[41] 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, and it is out of this framework that London's own modernity is judged. With this in mind, it becomes apparent that the image of Britain – and of London as *the* modern city – 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.[42]

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.[43]

Yet for those who resisted British cultural influences, material improvement and the supposed benefits of an industrial economy were never universally apparent, and London could just as often appear frightening, loud, disordered and dangerous. Anthony Giddens has argued 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.[44] Indeed, Giddens' assertion of modernity as disassociating the individual from their traditional institutions has been picked up by sociologists Eric Cohen and Ning Wang, who 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',[45] 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, to fit one's self into a wider framework of identification.[46]

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 handled the issue. The result is that the tourist reconstructs their position, and that of the tour itself, through the acts of combining both home and foreign contexts in a narrative form. 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.

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, or indeed, of a culture of perceived wrongheadedness. Those travellers most disagreeable to London are often hostile to new innovations more generally. 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. In these readings, 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.'[47] 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 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.[48] 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.[49] 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. Canadian visitor Emily Ferguson reacted strongly against such ambivalence in 1902, finding that the British view of Canada was of '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.'[50] Put more simply by the Australian writer Ada Holman in 1913, '[i]n London one may be remarkable without being remarked [upon].'[51] Regarding travelers from non-white regions, historians of South Asian and African visitors to London have shown the existence of similar metropolitan ambivalence towards even obviously non-British actors.[52] While ostensibly circumscribed by racial hierarchies, in practise there appears to be the same freedom of movement granted to, say, Indian visitors as American and Canadian ones.

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, and like language, is prone to regional variations and dialects.

Cities and historical cultures

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. London's history could validate its modern relationships. As William Stowe observed, the presence of such customs created what he called 'culturally determined patterns of actions and interpretations',[53] 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.[54]

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 imperial tradition as the most significant aspect of his visit. While Shields focuses later upon technological 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.[55] 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 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.'[56] The role of traditional ties, then, created a usable past as a method of explaining and legitimising a modern present.[57]

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.[58] 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. 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.[59]

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.

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. 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.[60]

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.[61] Indeed, to use Paris as a counterpoint to London,

nineteenth-century Parisian urban modernity was predominantly conceptualised in cultural terms.[62] As Peter Hall wrote, 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 – cafés, galleries, and boulevards – close to the centre of power.[63] 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 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. It is, therefore, the themes of tension between modernity and history, and cultural and industrial rivalry which serve as the foundations for both narratives, and these themes dictate the following structural organisation.

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. Asian nationals, however, firmly view British technological and social modernity as the key to modernising their own regions 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'.[64] 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 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.

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.

1
'The Bonds of Empire and Imperial Fraternity': London as Imperial Capital

In 1886, Conyngham Crawford Taylor, a Canadian businessman and investor, reflected on the impact of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, held that year at South Kensington in London:

> 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; and the New Zealander, described by Macaulay as one day sitting on London Bridge sketching the ruins of St. Paul's, will be there to falsify the prediction on behalf of his future countrymen … 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.[1]

His words highlight that for all the rhetoric surrounding the British Empire of the late nineteenth century, no theme was more central than that of imperial inclusivity. The Canadian was as much a British subject as the Indian, the Malay, and the Londoner himself. Sanford Fleming, the Scottish-Canadian railway engineer, likened this imperial unity to a fistful of coins: while in 'currency there are dissimilarities of name, of value, of colour and of metal, all are impressed with the stamp of the one sovereign; so in the people there are diversities, but all can be recognised as British subjects.'[2] Fleming's analogy is a good one: the symbolism of a shared monarchy was the most robust image of the imperial club, while the allegory of the coins (i.e., British trade goods and commerce) provides the second most tangible connection most colonials would have had in their day-to-day lives. Nor was it

lost on Taylor or Fleming that both of these networks were centred in London.

For much of the nineteenth century, London was imbued with significance as an imperial capital – a city that noisily trumpeted its status as the world's emporium, the great crossroads between the colonies and peoples of empire. London was, according to one visitor, 'a little world in itself … Representatives of every nationality are congregated here. Here thrive all the varied extremes of human existence.'[3] The elements of imperial modernity – the docks, the warehouses and commercial offices, and the presses on Fleet Street – buzzed and rang on full display with the frenetic energy of a rapidly growing metropolis. In the words of one Indian traveller, 'Englishmen connect themselves with other nations by means of trade, railways and electric telegraphs … To be convinced that London is the commercial world, let anybody [sic] spend a few hours at the Docks and Royal Exchange and see if he will not agree with me.'[4] Yet as striking as London's examples of industrial innovation were, the capital seemed to have one foot stuck firmly in the past.

Indeed, the British metropolis seemed to have been constructed using parts and pieces of past empires and conquered cultures. There was an Egyptian pyramid atop the water tower on Shooter's Hill and Cleopatra's Needle stood guard on the Embankment. A section of Roman wall at the Tower spoke of the march of the legions. The British Museum resembled a classical Greek temple, while both St Paul's and the Greenwich Naval Hospital recalled the glories of Enlightenment Europe. London signalled not just one city in its bosom, but many, as though history itself had been dragged from the past into the view of the present. Such elements gave it a Janus-like character: striding purposefully, if haphazardly, into industrialisation, while always looking back at past glories.

This relationship between the past and the present was an object of intense fascination for colonial visitors, due in part to their own perceived circumstances. London's uncertain identity in the face of industrial and social upheaval paralleled the search for imperial identity: what did it mean to be British subjects? Were British historical traditions shared by those in the settler dominions? Was participation in the Empire an indication of modernity? Britain was an old nation – did the future rest in the development of its colonial possessions? There was a palpable sense that London held the answers to these questions in some way – and indeed, these questions of imperial and national identity functioned as important responses in a world where time and space between populations was collapsing. Outshining many 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.'[5] For visiting imperial tourists, travel to the capital reflected not only a search for an imperial or national identity, but functioned as a quest to understand their place in a rapidly shifting world of technological and social progress.

During imperial visits to Victorian London, the focus on 'imperial identity' is thus 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.[6] 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 was 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 Manitoba teacher visiting at the end 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.[7]

Yet the allure of historical tradition was equally enticing, and many visitors spoke reverently of the Houses of Parliament, the Queen, and the often centuries-old ties that bound Britain to Canada or India. The past had been one long story of creation and beneficial improvements. Viewing the tombs and effigies of Westminster Abbey, Canadian visitor Canniff Haight witnessed more than an ancient church; it was a site where

> the royal histories of the British Empire radiate, and hither they converge … 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, a castellated palace of the illustrious living and the illustrious dead.[8]

Imperial visitation to London was thus born out of a desire to see the by-products of British history, whether they led to a romantic, artificially created version of the past, or instead heralded an instructive present dominated by machinery, commerce, and unctuous social interactions.

'A World-Venice': networks, Empire, and the metropolis

The popular association of London with British imperial history rested on decades, if not centuries, of connections and exchanges. The British Empire of the mid-to-late nineteenth century encompassed a variety of environments, climates, and ethnic and cultural groups, was governed in a largely informal fashion. The white settler colonies enjoyed a loose link with London: the difficulties of control across long distances and geographical sizes meant that Canada and Australia were granted self-government in 1867 and 1900, respectively. For the Indian subcontinent, where formal Crown control had been in place since 1858, the connection to Britain was similarly tenuous: the India Office and its associated administration numbered around 1,000 individuals, with responsibility for some 250,000,000 Indian natives. But while formal control may have been weak, the more informal elements of contact, convergence, and culture were plentiful[9] – one only had to take a stroll through Bombay to see the same neo-Gothic design of Victoria Terminus as the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa and St Andrew's Cathedral in Sydney.

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 were as much agents of potential British influence as the colonial administrator in India.'[10] The result, as characterised by Simon Potter, gave the empire a web of 'patterns of informal, integrative, competing, and constantly shifting interconnection.'[11] 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.[12] The connection was strong enough for J.R. Seeley to call the empire 'a world-Venice with the sea for the streets.'[13] Perhaps the best sense of this intra-imperial and

metropolitan linkage is given by Goldwin Smith, who in 1888 found that 'we are fast making one mind and one heart for the world.'[14]

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, and lived 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. The concept underpinning such a belief was Smith's idea that British history stood as the hallmark of Anglo-Saxon heritage, and that it provided the necessary continuity for racial identification.

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 metropolis, 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. For our tourists, the process was much the same. William Carter, an Australian municipal councillor in the state 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 empty Pacific Ocean, he notes that 'we are now more than 13 hours before Greenwich time.'[15] After weeks of travel, they rounded 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 the metropolis: 'Napoleon Emperor, his Marriage the latest we heard from England.'[16] It seemed that Britain could never quite be avoided nor left behind.

Most visitors from the dominions were, in fact, quite eager to assimilate into their cultural homeland. 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.'[17] 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.'[18] Nor was this painting of Britain as home confined to diaries and travelogues, circulating as well within official imperial correspondence. The cultural connection 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.[19]

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.[20]

London was the capital of both the ancestral home and of modern prosperity and security, and for this it occupied a central position in the colonial imagination.

Such a theme is strongly recurrent throughout our visitors' writing, but it poses an interesting question: why should colonial visitors need a place of safety under the blanket of empire? The second half of the nineteenth century was, by and large, a peaceful and stable period (discounting the Crimean and Franco-Prussian conflicts, of course). Rather, it is the fledgling nations themselves – Canada and Australia especially – who perceived their future development with uncertain and wary eyes. The growing power of the United States, Japan, Germany, and Russia appeared to threaten local commerce and communication. Thus, the view of London as a safety net, or a secure home, was in many respects a response to these encroaching pressures, and provided a counterpoint to the challenges facing national and imperial development.

The British historical tradition

Charting the development of colonial identities is difficult, due to the complexities and perturbations surrounding each individual nation. The imperial experience was never uniform across the Empire; variations of governance, economic expansion, and cultural associations ensured that each colony faced its own challenges and set its own priorities. Nevertheless, some general patterns may be teased out, especially between the largest dominions, Canada and Australia.

The circumstances surrounding Canada's evolution from the isolated settlements of New France into the Dominion of Canada were romanticised into a foundation myth where the British had transplanted their constitutional, legal, and social frameworks to the New World so that these colonists might one day take their own place alongside the mother country as an equal partner within the imperial family. To be fair, this was mostly an accurate summary. Faced with the acquisition of Canada after 1759, British imperial policymakers had little to go on save their familiar models of governance and culture, not least in the hopes of reducing the impact of French Catholicism in Quebec. The result, especially after Lord Durham's 1838 report, was an almost aggressive spread of British iconography throughout the provinces. Coupled with the acceptance of thousands of Irish, Welsh, Scottish, and English settlers, and the ready presence of three 'others' for social contrast (i.e., native Canadians, French Canadians, and Americans), British culture in Canada was seen as critical to the lifeblood of the nation. The wife of Edward Copleston, an immigrant to Canada, had summarised this vision in 1861: 'Canada has many redeeming features. Her British Constitution ensures perfect security to life and property.

Her railways and her lakes and rivers; her weekly English mail'.[21] British industrialism had, after all, benefited Canada; British law ensured all were (ostensibly) equal, and British culture signalled ties with home. Goldwin Smith stated it best, speaking for Canada, but which could be extended to all the white dominions:

> 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.[22]

The visibility of British architecture, fashion, and literature served to reinforce such historical legacies: Britain was seen as a winner, the product of three centuries of continual improvement, and Confederation must be seen as a way to maintain ties to the Old World by attempting to replicate its successes, not abandon them.[23]

Economically, the importance of the Canadian-British relationship was evident to both parties, especially after the early 1870s. Britain was Canada's largest direct investor, providing over £400 million in capital between 1865 and 1914, second only to the United States.[24] This investment was a visible part of early Canadian life, contributing to transportation and industrial infrastructures. It also became something of a crutch under John A. MacDonald's 'National Policy': while MacDonald quite clearly indicated a 'Canada first' policy of progression, those in London knew the disruptions of the 1873–96 Long Slump and its associated expensive tariffs and dwindling primary exports necessitated the acquisition of capital investment from the motherland.[25] The result was a haphazard cycle of growth and decline, lurching from the prosperous industrialism of the Maritime provinces to the poverty of the agrarian West. Thus, there was a tension between the recognition of Britain's historical and contemporary aid to Canada – whether it was entirely selfless or not is another debate – and the realities of Home Rule and Canadian national growth.

This view explains why 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.'[26] 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.'[27] As Philip Buckner noted, 'Canadians wished to be "British" but on their own terms and in their own way.'[28] These sentiments occurred in response to the unique challenges facing Canadian nation-builders: the British template was merely the most familiar and active model.

Turn-of-the-century Australian identity underwent similar debates as had its Canadian cousin. Like Canada, it was recognised 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.'[29] Historians have charged that 'Australians knew themselves to be part of the British Empire in both amorphous and specific ways.'[30] Australian identity was similarly based upon the particular circumstances in that nation's early decades: conflict with the native Aboriginals had bred a racially-defined interpretation, the assumption of the mantle of 'Australian-British' made possible by the control of imperial rhetoric, resulting in a skewed linkage of whiteness symbolising Britishness, and thus excluding Aborigines and other non-whites from the Australian cultural process.[31] The extreme distance from the centre of empire made clinging to this shared collective ideal all the more important, fostering a sense of co-dependency.

For instance, there existed 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 necessary component of such an identity: 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' – namely the Aboriginals, but also fostered a sense of settler community and 'can-do' spirit.[32] 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.[33]

Given such economic and geographic realities, 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).[34] 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.'[35] 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.'[36] 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. The important factor here was the preservation of the institutions and benefits of British culture while discarding those elements which had brought emigrants to the colonies in the first place – namely, a dislike of (what was perceived as) heavy-handed authority, both religious and political, and limited social mobility.[37] Thus, when viewed in this perspective, the colonial trip to London becomes a barometer of success, an indication of how imperial settlers had crafted their own lives without the 'cultural baggage'[38] of social stratification and entrenched privilege, but with the backing of a historical, commercial, and cultural heritage.

The existence of such views colour the visit to London. The capital was a place where 'continued celebration of a heroic past and the assumption of a noble future' occurred, but where also there existed 'secular shrines, "temples of culture" wherein icons and artefacts may be arranged and displayed for the edification of their inheritors'.[39] It is here that true importance of the image of London is revealed. Romanticised views 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. London must be said to be the largest 'temple of culture' for imperial subjects; 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.

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.'[40] 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, Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral, and the crooked, complex layout of its urban space. Like the city itself, these visitors existed within an uncertain space, a tenuous 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.[41] 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'.[42] Indeed, this particular description proves quite apt, as the major sites in London were often considered shrines to a particular event, individual, or institution.

Here, however, image differed significantly from reality. Rather than the wondrous capital of their imagination, many visitors' first impressions of London were striking examples of industrial capitalism and its discontents. Arrival in the metropolis, especially to those 'accustomed to small wooden towns'[43] while remarkable for establishing the overwhelming scale of the city, yielded up images of striking despair:

> 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.[44]

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.'[45] The contrasts between wealth and poverty were the immediate by-products of the urban system. While these things could be seen in the colonies, their condensed presence in central London made them more visible and depressing reminders of the pitfalls of industrialisation.

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, which were themselves characterised by a transient nature – often coming and going depending on economic circumstances.[46] In London, however, the poor remained densely packed into tight boundaries, both geographically and architecturally. For nineteenth-century visitors to London, the immediacy of such a vast amount of squalor could be demoralising. Some visitors struggled to maintain their initial excitement upon realising the shortcomings of the imperial centre.[47] British modernity, then, overwhelmingly urban, industrial, and unfair, would not do: yet resolving this contradiction posed no difficulty – *London* had not made its citizens poor, nor erected their slums; immoral and work-shy attitudes had. J.E. Wetherell could describe the assemblages of paupers as 'debauchees' consorting with 'wretched women' who had long since abandoned their 'happy glow of innocence'.[48] Indeed, after their initial shock, such images were often minimised or omitted when writing the city; in any case, it was not modernity which drove imperial interest.

Nor were London's citizens the only disappointment: physically, 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';[49] her compatriot James Francis Hogan was only slightly more charitable, believing that new building projects brought a 'certain unpicturesque monotony' to the city.[50] As Andrew Hassam claimed, such a reinvention of London 'drove a wedge between the modernising impulse of civic improvement and the creation of an imperial capital that could demonstrate its historical lineage.'[51] 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.[52] Morgan especially has shown that the rejection of modernity stemmed from its ability to 'undermine a sense of self'.[53] 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'.[54] 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 fundamental tension between colonial self-development and imperial unity. Although there was no single answer, a broad consensus emerged which was to characterise colonial development as occurring within the framework of a greater British continuity. James Rupert Elliott, a Canadian visitor to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, characterised the connections as transcending mere economics: 'Around this seat 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.'[55] On the eve of the First World War, the Australian journalist and committed 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.[56]

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.[57] This neo-traditionalism 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'.[58]

This neo-traditionalism blended imperial, historical, and institutional factors to produce 'the myth of the imperial centre',[59] 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, the Houses of Parliament, St Paul's) and the popular perceptions of the monarchy. Throughout their narratives, we see many imperial visitors transfer imperial significance to London's site 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 comment of Mrs Ireland, one of the Manitoba teachers mentioned above, who invested 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].[60]

Imperial markers and the iconography of historical continuity were perceived to be everywhere within the metropolis. They could be broadly divided along an external-internal basis: that is, the physical sites of London imparting lessons on ideal behaviour in the public, external sphere – things like glorious patriotism, virtuous statesmanship, and aggressive economic and artistic development – while the Crown came to symbolise the optimal elements within one's private, internal 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.[61]

Thus, London combined both the physical site and its emotional response to craft a sense of forward momentum, a useful continuity, to the mind of the tourist.

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'[62] 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.'[63] 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 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',[64] 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.'[65] The other great metropolitan church, St Paul's, fulfilled the same role for tourists as did Westminster 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.'[66] John Godden felt that 'glorious memories are awakened' on viewing the tombs of Nelson and Wellington.[67] Throughout these and other similar effusions, the language is telling: imperial sentiment is transformed into more possessive terms, which deemphasise the importance of the site to London. The Abbey belonged to 'English-speaking races' for instance, while both churches evinced the 'past national life'.[68]

Even the Gothic splendour 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',[69] 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.'[70] Despite these somewhat lukewarm sentiments, Parliament remained 'an important stop on the route … tourists chose to pay homage to their political 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'.[71] 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.[72]

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.[73] Constructing self-reliant identities within the imperial metropolis 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.'[74] Upon the urban stage, visitors' choice of sights, and the meanings inherent with them, were important markers within their collective identities – a manner of validating long-established views. In this case, even as the stately images of British power and influence provided the foundations for any reckoning of the city, so too did their meanings represent the foundations of colonial self-identity.[75] Conversely, when faced with realities which threatened such historical images, there was a tendency to react negatively. Consider J.E. Ritchie's condemnation of the music hall in 1880:

> It was not a pleasant sign of the times, however, when the people found an amusement in bull-baiting, cock-fighting, boxing, going to see a man hanged; nor is it a pleasant sign of the times when, night after night, tens of thousands of our fellow-countrymen are forced into shrieks of laughter by exhibitions as idiotic as they are indecent. A refined and educated people will seek amusements of a refining character … A glance at the modern music-hall will show us whether we have improved on our ancestors. In one respect you will observe it is the same. Primarily it is a place in which men and women are licensed to drink. The music is an after-thought, and if given is done with the view to keep the people longer in these places and to make them drink more.[76]

Perhaps not surprisingly, it is the institution of the Crown – embedded both in the monarch herself and the various palaces and ceremonies – which represents the most direct example of this validation of tourism to late-Victorian Britain. It was sentimental loyalty to the monarchy which was instrumental in conceptions of the imperial family. Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, and (more infrequently) Hyde

Park and Parliament were cast as monarchical terrain, and many visitors considered themselves amply rewarded if they caught a glimpse of Victoria. In one case, Will Pennington waited two hours for the privilege as Her Majesty opened Parliament in 1894. To him, this alone was '[one] of the greatest attractions which I saw when in London.'[77] Far from limiting colonial 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.[78] 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.'[79] For most Canadian and Australian visitors examined here, the Queen was a vital part of their identification as colonials: Canniff Haight is very specific on this point when he views the Queen at Windsor Castle 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.'[80] Together with 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, 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.'[81] 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.[82] 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.'[83] 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 civilization, where social problems will have their only and proper solution all along the way.'[84]

South Asia, the empire, and modernity

Perhaps due to their unique position within the empire, South Asian visitors considered London in an entirely different way from 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.[85] 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.[86] 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 decisively reflect the will of the occupier.[87] 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.[88]

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 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. The benefits for Britain included the diffusion of a mind-set which encouraged 'inspiration for modernising projects in their own states'.[89]

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.[90] 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. Nor were the upper classes 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 25 members, the Order expanded greatly by the end of the nineteenth century as progressively greater numbers of Indian rulers were recognised as having 'served' Britain. 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'.[91] Many willingly assimilated to British concepts of sport, beauty, and organisation, as with Nripendra Narayan, the Maharajah of Koch Behir, who furnished 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 indulged a predilection for British-built motor cars as soon as they arrived in India.[92] 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 co-operation in order to run the country smoothly – even if it meant dealing with no less than 675 princes by the early twentieth century.[93] 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 ostensible 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. 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.[94] 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 actual achievement.'[95] This was a recognised fact even within London itself: as the minutes of a General Meeting at UCL 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".'[96]

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 traditional heavy-handed attempts promoted by the Raj. The growing popularity of British furnishings in places such as Bengal allowed the local cultural identity to be 'validated by British standards'.[97] More importantly, such validations were not merely confined to the home, as one historian has observed that 'Westernisation of the East Indian domestic interior [and the] public spaces beyond the home were … invested with meanings which were intended to reinforce a collective British identity'.[98]

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, or several settees or a breakfast table was a replication of British domestic space. The westernised mind-set of its occupant was a necessary cultural departure 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 pro-British sympathies.[99] 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',[100] 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 travelled with a particular objective in mind, whether it was for political, charitable, or educational reasons. 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. Ingratiating as it may seem, such materials may have supported more capable British-Indian co-operation 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-class values',[101] 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.'[102]

Yet before we describe the Indian experience of the metropolis, one final question remains: in what ways did Asian 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 splendour.'[103] 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, 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.'[104] Burton's positioning of

Britain as the link between colonial and 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, South Asians were instead extensively reliant upon Britain as the mediator – and often, initiator – of progressive projects.[105] Even the character of 'modernity' undergoes an essential transformation within the Indian context. It is no 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.'[106] 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 matrix of the empire.

Asian visitors and London

The essential component of London's urban space, for Asian visitors, was the 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 see a new awareness of London as a brilliant 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.[107]

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.'[108] Obvious class distinctions may have stratified social encounters, but did not preclude an enjoyment of heat and light for all who 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 under-ground! At least one-half of London is hollow. There is as much of the city above London as there is underneath it.[109]

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.'[110] 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.[111]

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 spectacle to exhibitors of Western mores.'[112] 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',[113] 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.[114]

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,[115] 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.'[116] The new imperialism of the post-1870 decades, crafted as it was by a semi-cooperative yet increasingly connected urban empire, was therefore 'necessarily hybrid'.[117] 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',[118] 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 'There 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.'[119] The scale of London, moreover, does not faze Jang; he confidently describes the city's modernity in rather European terms:

> 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.[120]

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.[121]

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, Chattopadya, 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.[122]

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.'[123] 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 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.'[124]

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 are, even within the dominions, highly individual and deeply personal, a necessary feature of the informal networks of empire. And yet, 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.'[125] 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.[126] 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 liberalising 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 Britain's own global successes, and if they could be applied in an Indian context, would 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.[127]

South Asian visitation to London thus had at its heart a more individual, almost selfish motivation for travel – although understandably so. Indian, Burmese, or other visitors understood their place in the empire differently than did white colonials: Britain appeared to hold no loyalty nor charity toward them, and if adopting and adapting British institutions made their own lives easier in the face of such challenges, that made the whole façade worthwhile. As Bahadur indicates, London signalled to Indians the necessity of improvement from below, that Asians would have to demonstrate solidarity and responsibility in order to achieve their own independent modernities.

Conclusion

The elevation of the individual to what is, essentially, the maker of imperial relationships, is of critical importance.[128] The experiences of the individual, or at times the group, shaped and informed imperial power relations as effectively as the colonial administrator sent from London. The tourist is not immune from this process, and indeed, have perhaps the most active role of all in defining themselves at the local, national, and imperial levels.[129] 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.

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 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,[130] it is fair to say that travel, in its own way, eventually defined the empire.

2

'How Differently We Go Ahead in America!': American Constructions of British Modernity

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] As Henry James observed during his self-imposed exile there, 'the sense of life is greatest there, it is a sense of the life of people of our consecrated English speech … London must ever have a great illustrative and suggestive value, and indeed a kind of sanctity',[3] while Ralph Waldo Emerson saw the process commencing already by mid-century:

> 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 practice, 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.[4]

In this instructive role, 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 to construct things like the Metropolitan Railway or the Thames Tunnel, but in the application of vast energies of innovation in communication and transportation to promote British interests around the world, and their corresponding effects on society.

Americans had long been fascinated with Europe: the continent was easy to explore, presented a variety of environments and cultures, and best of all, was foreign enough to allow the visitor to claim worldly authority while not being too alien to understand. Europe's most immediate impact was, however, the way it allowed American visitors to question and define their own sense of identity against older, more emplaced cultures. What made Americans special? Was it industrial output? Republican governance? The belief in an ostensibly egalitarian society? Europe had held (or continued to hold) examples of these things – why was the American experiment destined to be an exception? Americans, seeking to engage with their own theories of national identity thus found the visit to London a chance to reflect on what made them 'American' and where they wanted 'America' to be in the future. Throughout the American travelogues, we are given glimpses of how London in particular – and thus Britain – came to be a focus for this comparison, how British modernity differed from modernity in the United States, and how America could achieve similar greatness.

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 by 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.[5]

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 both perspectives. Rather, undertaking the transatlantic journey ultimately assuaged a 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

The connections between continents enabled growing numbers of Americans to answer such questions for themselves. 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 shaved hours or even days off of the trip.[6] Yet the trappings of modern travel were not cheap: as with emerging mass 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 charging as much as $400 an individual for a *cabin de luxe*.[7] Compared to the annual salaries of $1,000–1,800 for low-level professional men, and wages of half that for similarly-employed women by the 1870s, the expense for the ocean voyage itself quickly becomes self-limiting. The trip to the Old World was often a once-in-a-lifetime event, accomplished by saving for years. Once aboard, 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 eventually became integrated within the wider tourist experience.[8] 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!',[9] 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 2.1, for instance, are rather conservative estimates of 14-day visits to London specifically, and do not account for a variety of other factors which are generally too complex to accurately model.

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 relations', arguing for the 'intrinsically governmental constitution of modern culture'.[10] 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'[11] as being comprised of both empirical knowledge and ideological factors, which in turn were used as agents of social control. The American tourist in Britain, while conforming to a certain circumscribed cultural experience themselves,[12] 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

Table 2.1 Models of American trips to London[a]

Expense	Couple	Individual	Family (5)
Train, return[b]	£4 7*s*	£2 3*s* 6*d*	£6 10*s* 10*d*
Hotel (14 days)[c]	£4 4*s*	£3 3*s*	£7
Sights[d]	15*s*	7*s* 7*d*	£1 17*s* 6*d*
Souvenirs[e]	1*s*	1*s*	2*s*
Food	Included	Included	Included
Ship passage[f]	£30	£18	£40
Total[g]	£39 7*s*	£23 15*s* 1*d*	£56 10*s* 4*d*
American dollars[h]	$195.40	$100.50	$280.45

[a] 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.

[b] Baedeker's guide lists a second-class ticket from Liverpool to London as 21*s* 9*d* (p. 4).

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

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

[e] Assuming the purchase of a guidebook to London, such as Black's or Dickens's guide.

[f] 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.

[g] 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.

[h] Assuming, as Baedeker's 1889 guide does, a five dollar to one pound exchange rate (p. 1).

in a 'process of empowerment'.[13] Financiers, journalists, religious figures, university students, military officers, 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.[14] For much of the century, the best source for this knowledge was usually the continent. It offered widespread opportunities for American tourists looking for 'finishing' – instruction in manners, social graces, and worldliness. Before the late 1860s, Britain had been regarded with a degree of mistrust. The

British embargo on African slavery had threatened relations with the southern states, while the construction of the CSS *Alabama* in England during the early years of the Civil War, and London's general failure to support the Union during that conflict had raised tensions with the north. One contemporary commentator, examining the pattern in the early 1890s, put it as follows:

> 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.[15]

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,[16] the popularity of London must have been near, or perhaps even equivalent to, that of Paris.

In the post-1865 years, the relationship between Britain and America was, however, a complicated, tenuous affair.[17] Even though the United States operated her trade with Britain in a similar capacity as that carried by the colonial networks, exchanging goods, literature, ideas, and people between the two nations, these links 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 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 'British world' an inherent ambiguity.[18] On the one hand, visitors such as James Mason Hoppin, who would later become a distinguished professor of art history at Yale, could wax poetic on the similarities of reading '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'.[19] On the other hand, 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 Great Exhibition, 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.'[20] 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, between 1865 and 1900, 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,[21] and the status accorded 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 forced a critical examination of their own self-image.

Railway trains and human processions: London as an expression of technology

Fresh from the ten-day journey, and summarily deposited on a dockside in Liverpool, the American visitor took the railway to London. Before ever setting foot in the capital, comparisons and contrasts were being drawn between Britain and America, most notably around the way each country confronted its own industrial modernity. In Liverpool,

for instance, that centre of 'boundless wealth' and 'tireless industry', according to Noble Prentis,

> one is impressed with the enormous strength and solidity of everything – the pavements of great stones; the warehouses which look as if they had stood for all time and were ready for eternity; the plate-glass windows; the enormous amount of brass-work everywhere; and the big knockers on the doors, which would break in an American door.[22]

On the way to London, the railway was a frequent source of contention. Until the late 1870s, British railway cars were essentially unheated and unlit, with heat coming from a small can of warm water placed under one's feet, and light from a (usually single) gas lamp at the end of the car. Such accoutrements prompted Mark Trafton to complain in 1852 that 'if a first rate American railroad train could drive through the city of London, it would do more to advance the interests of humanity there than all the presses now groaning in this great city.'[23] Technological and industrial modernity – and their associated lifestyles – were at the forefront of American visions of Britain. Certainly, London's experimentation with citywide improvements seemed to put technology to work: the sewer system, Metropolitan Railway, gas lighting, and grids of telegraph cables. British modernity was not for show, as it was in Paris through the use of glass and light for stores and arcades, but for utility, and thus was accordingly dirty, worn, and often conservative.

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.[24]

The *Saturday Review* offers an interesting commentary on the marketing of London's attractions. Yet this 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. Murray's *Hand Book to London* (1879), for instance, 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',[25] while Baedeker's 1889 *London Guide* called London 'the greatest city in the modern world'.[26]

Expressions of London's modernity assumed a degree of importance throughout American narratives, especially those written during the post-war reconstruction. The city's railways, bridges, telegraph cables, gas lights, and other implements of technological progress were the subjects of endless fascination. 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.[27]

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. London itself appeared as 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.[28]

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.[29]

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',[30] drew the surface environment below-ground. 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 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.'[31] 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. Yet 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, 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.[32]

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. Certainly, there seemed a bountiful increase in the sheer amount of things to know: information could be quickly transmitted as the telegraph system crossed the island with wires. Papers such as *The Times* adapted quickly to a daily national 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.'[33] 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. London thus seemed to be a city defined by technology, down to its very roots in the ground, moving, ringing with sound, shuffling with the exchange of money and goods. Its stores seemed to contain all the wares of the world itself, while the Thames led to distant and exotic lands. Put simply by Elizabeth Forbes as she stood on the riverside in 1865, London was 'the metropolis of the World'.[34]

Americans therefore often seemed to have the conception of London as dominating the world itself, whether commercially or politically. 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.[35] 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 …'[36] Curtis Guild wrote, and included a list of some of the cosmopolitan fare that he encountered: 'There are English pickles, Dutch saur krout [sic], French *pâté 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.'[37] 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 busy life

of British trade. 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 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.[38] 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.'[39] Despite operating under the perceived handicap of the monarchy, that 'bane of the world'[40] 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.[41] 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; there are frontiers of better social domains yet unexplored.'[42] 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.[43]

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'[44] we find an admission that the systems and inventions of the Old World might have some applicability in the New.

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.[45] 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.[46] 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.

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. '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',[47] 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.[48] 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.'[49] 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, presented 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.[50] 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, captures the idea that 'the modern city shaped a new observer, whose perspective in turn influenced a new observation of the city itself.'[51] 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'.[52] 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 here the black marble tomb of Queen Philippa, wife to Edward III, who quelled the Scottish insurrection during her husband's absence.'[53] 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',[54] 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.[55]

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.'[56] 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'[57] and 'sickening history',[58] 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 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.[59]

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.'[60] 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.[61]

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 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.'[62] 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.[63]

William Drew also noted that '[w]e know some families governed very well by women – better even than men.'[64] Lower down the social scale, the image of women is that of hardworking 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.'[65] 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.[66]

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',[67] 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 them.'[68] 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.[69]

He found fault not with 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.[70]

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.'[71] 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 ….'[72] 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 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'.[73]

Running through all of these descriptions, however, is an undeniable element of shock and surprise: British women had jobs? They were alone in public? There is a sense that some unspoken social order had been upset by these actions. For many Americans, raised on Austen, the Brontës, and Dickens, the image of the steadfast and loyal Victorian woman, content to manage the household and demure in thought and deed, was inviolable. The realities of British life caused many to rethink

such views. 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.'[74] 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,[75] 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 the public sphere, as Rosalind Williams has argued, provided a 'visual image of social upheaval',[76] 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.'[77] 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'.[78]

American views of British women say much about pretensions to global civilisation. The moral mission of equality, puttering along since the days of Wilberforce and Wedgwood, and given new impetus by John Stuart Mill in 1869, argued that the inclusion of women into civic and national life was a necessary component of a modern, advanced economy. America's own female suffrage movement had lost momentum during the last decades of the nineteenth century, stumbling into apathy and factionalism, and had turned to its British counterpart for

inspiration. The later actions of such transatlantic figures as Harriet Stanton Blatch, for instance, an American suffragette who lived in England at the turn of the twentieth century, are directly attributable to British influences, namely Fawcett's NUWSS and Pankhurst's WPSU, derived especially from the concentration of women in London.[79]

There is something of Turner's thesis here – that the direction and application of American energies needed to shift into moral and social improvements. By the 1890s, reconstruction was complete, and reindustrialisation was well in hand. Where did America go now? How should American society be organised to meet the challenges of the future? What did it mean to be American in the face of ever-growing numbers of immigrants and refugees? If America was to improve upon and extend its place in the global neighbourhood, Americans needed to carve out a name and identity for their nation, and in the visit to Britain, Americans found both ready-made for their use.

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. 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.[80]

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.[81] 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.[82] 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',[83] while Mary Blake put it best:

> 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.[84]

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.'[85] 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.[86]

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.[87] 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 jams of vehicles represent the steam-engine proclivities of the money-getting nineteenth-century Americans', the anonymous *Times* correspondent noted eagerly.[88]

Yet the 'steam-engine proclivities' and the 'money-getting' activities were unavoidable necessities for a population bent on an ascent to world status. 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.'[89] 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).[90] 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, while American ships and men searched for Sir John Franklin's ships in the Arctic from 1853–5, 1864–9, and 1878–80. American military officials were embedded with the Prussian army to view firsthand the conquest of France in 1870.[91] The *New York Herald* was responsible for dispatching Henry Morton Stanley to search for Livingstone in Africa in 1871, Stanley 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 30 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.'[92] 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'[93] precisely because they viewed such things as being largely irrelevant to their own needs.[94] 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* and an oppressive, purse-proud *aristocracy.*'[95] 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.[96]

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.'[97] 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.'[98] 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 intensely active American nature to come in contact with the slower and graver spirit of England, and it thereby gains calmness and sobered strength.'[99]

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 world-wide 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.[100] The British were perceived as transforming the world to their needs, and bringing with it the institutions of law, order, and 'civilisation'. Furthermore, the traditional counter-argument 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 for the benefit of those they (later) governed.[101] 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'[102] 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.'[103]

One of the most significant pieces of evidence supporting this idea of a shared Anglo-American heritage is the role played by British literature in motivating Americans to visit. Nineteenth-century novels were extremely popular in the United States, from Dickens to Doyle. The fledgling intellectual property laws of the period could not prevent bootleg or 'unofficial' books from reaching American audiences for much of the century. Despite these disagreements, British literature played a greater role than that of mere entertainment: it gave a textual, and at times, visual voice to the perceived cultural and historical legacies linking both nations. Such ties were strong enough to convince James Hoppin that

> 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 comprehend the words of William Shakespeare, John Milton, and John Bunyan; because we laugh and weep over the same pages of Hawthorne and Whittier, Thackeray and Dickens, – this is a spiritual bond more profound than commercial ties and international treaties, and more present and vital than past historic associations.[104]

According to Hoppin, post-war America had reconciled its relationship with Britannia – 'our Good Mother'. Britain was nothing less than 'the head-spring of the life and power of his own nation … It is especially good for his intensely active American nature to come in contact with the slower and graver spirit of England, and it thereby gains calmness and sobered strength.'[105] The effects of literature were thus two-fold. First, they cemented a belief in superiority and legacy of the Anglo-American world-system. For all of its expressed 'goaheadativeness', late-century American society was preoccupied with historical tradition, seeing in stately (and admittedly middle- and upper-class) European society a grace and dignity which the recent experience of civil war had seemed to deny them.

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.[106] 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.'[107] 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.[108]

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 high-roads. The whole country, indeed, often looks as though it were laid out by a skilful landscape gardener.[109]

While such beauty was an enticing reason for visiting, a second effect existed, one centred on the urban system itself. In all of these works, from *Sketches by Boz* in 1836, to *The War of the Worlds* in 1898, London played an important, if not central role. The capital was the stage on which British life, in all its high and low forms, was revealed. Indeed, in their enjoyment and interest in the literary imagery of London, we

find exactly a desire for authenticity, a search for something beyond the mere presentation of sites and stones. The desire to view London's actual examples of its fictional counterpart(s) provided for a sort of deconstruction of the capital's spaces and secrets – an awareness of the large, often alienating city on an intimate scale. One of the arguments put forth by Jeremy Tambling in *Going Astray: Dickens and London* (2009) was that the literary version of the capital was never whole because the capital itself could never be whole – its spaces were always discrete, nonlinear, and subjective, and nineteenth-century authors had done no more than represent this in their pages.[110] As Elizabeth Forbes put it, the reality of historical London was often just as disconnected:

> These streets which we pace, musing ever as we go, have been shaken by the tramp of the legions of Caesar; have rung with the clang of the mailed hosts of the Crusaders; have echoed the tread of the grim battalions of the Revolution; have blazed with Romish faggots, and glittered with Protestant bonfires; have echoed the shouts of acclaim to Saxon and Norman, to Plantagenet, Tudor, Stuart, Cromwell, Orange and Brunswick.[111]

In this instance, American visitors especially made use of Dickens' or Gissing's or Doyle's London as a cipher for filtering the entire capital – or even Britain itself – into manageable portions. Knowing where Job had swept his street crossings, or the sorts of encounters had by Thames watermen, or the intrigue that occurred within hotels, public houses, and clubs, gave the otherwise-anonymous visitor a cache of familiar knowledge and helped to fill in those blank spots on their mental maps. In the words of Tambling, each new site was the 'burial place of a secret'.[112]

Victorian London was assumed to be rife with secret and intimate knowledge, accessible to those intrepid explorers who knew where to look. 'I know the secrets of the gas', George Sala confided to his readers in *Gaslight and Daylight*: 'It speaks, actively to men and women of what is, and of what is done and suffered by night and by day'.[113] Seeking out 'unknown' London formed the basis of J.M. Bailey's advice to new visitors: 'The chief dependence of the visitor is in prowling around. He should burrow into strange courts, and thread all passable streets. He should keep open eyes and a ready tongue, and what the former cannot fathom the latter should bring to light.'[114] Indeed, during his month in London, the American writer and critic Henry Tuckerman often tramped about the narrow courts and alleys in search of similar scenes. Wandering through the Temple, he emerged

> as if by magic, in a scene of quietude and antiquity that ages and leagues seemed to divide from the crowded and busy thoroughfare I had just left … the court resembled an old-fashioned and deserted city excavated beneath the houses of a modern metropolis … I threaded street after street, narrow, dim, and silent, passed in diminutive lanes, whose inhabitants, I could fancy, were turned to stone or annihilated by pestilence; here a dimly-lighted terrace, there an old doorway; now a mysterious staircase, and then a labyrinthian recess, awoke ghostly speculations, and recalled thoughts of the early Christians, who prayed in catacombs.[115]

In discovering, or presuming to discover, such knowledge, an authority of greater experience is conferred upon the visitor – an authority which sets them apart from the legions of ignorant or dismissive tourists.

Literary representations of London also exercised some weight in determining what sights were important. Images and descriptions of the capital had long fired visitors' minds with a desire to translate the fictional city into reality. Elizabeth Forbes felt that visiting London was 'that long desire of a lifetime',[116] while her countryman Henry Tuckerman specifically set out upon a 'pilgrimage to the haunts and homes of London authors.'[117] Specific instances of nineteenth-century London were prized, but so too were the eighteenth-century works of authors such as Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, or Tobias Smollett. Whetting the appetite for travel, these collected descriptions of London acted as a lure for overseas visitors, especially American travellers. For many visitors, they had not truly 'done' London unless they had visited Ye Olde Cheshire Cheese in Fleet Street, or, much later, the rough-and-ready districts of the East End. Literature acted as unofficial advertising for the capital: it promised both the glittering drawing rooms and the gritty dockyards, although such combinations never quite worked out in practice.

Yet what accounts for the ability of literature to inflame the desire for travel? London's position as the capital of a world-power made it fertile ground for *real* stories of action and intrigue; it was loud, bombastic, and capable of extremes – scarcely requiring any additional fictional hyperbolising. To answer this question, one must look at where these books were most popular – that is, the United States. The Dominions had the weight of actual historical tradition (and often, a corresponding British presence) to construct their self-images; the assorted countries of the continent had their own cultural assembly lines as well. Rather, the United States, for much of the nineteenth century, was in many ways

a society in crisis: how were they to meet the challenges of integrating millions of immigrants, of all types and races? What did it mean to be American? Were new Europeans, Asians, or others 'American'? What about those from the former Confederate states? The social solidarity which had evolved over hundreds of years in Britain was simply not yet present – it required a new national image.

Instead, those mid- and late-century drivers of American industrial and social progress began to redefine themselves in new ways, and, as mentioned above, the nearest model was Britain. In effect, the stories of Britain, whether fictional or not, became something akin to a substitute mythology for Americans looking to explain the dislocations of their recent past. Britain could never truly represent an 'American' past in the same way it was to the colonies, but stories of London provided an example of a confident and successful – and multinational – capital as something not only to emulate, but to surpass. In visiting the capital, the journey took on aspects of a fact-finding mission: it was *here*, in this workhouse, for instance, that the worst excesses of industrial capitalism had driven Oliver Twist to crime, or perhaps it was over *there,* along the Thames, where insufficient numbers of police meant nightly fights and even murders. Whatever the case, in viewing the authentic sight, the visitor was endowed with an authority of experience, a co-opted mythology, and, in many instances, a warning on the dangers of modern cities.

The weight of history thus came through fully in excursions to Britain and London, of a visible ascent to greatness, its lessons in the stones of London and the words of British novelists. For many of these visitors, 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',[118] 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.'[119]

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 dear and familiar',[120] 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 descendants 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 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 practice 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.[121]

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 termed a process of 'Anglicization of the American mind.'[122] 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.'[123]

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.

3
'A Kingdom in Itself': Domestic Perceptions of Metropolitan Space

Introduction

London was never an easy subject in the Victorian mind. On one hand, it was at once too big, too noisy, and too crowded to fit into any circumscribed definition – an entity which frustrated the Victorians' love of classifying and numbering the world around them. On the other, it was a clear symbol of one of Victorian Britain's most lasting accomplishments: the supremacy of the city in national life. London was the first, the *primus inter pares* of Victorian urban life, replicating itself in smaller form throughout the provinces, as George Sala remarked in 1859:

> London habits, London manners and modes, London notions and London names are extensively copied, followed, and emulated in the provinces. There is scarcely a village, not to say a town in Great Britain where some worthy tradesman has not baptized his place of business London House, or the London Repository, where he pretends to sell London porter, London hosiery, or London cutlery.[1]

To the British it is fair to say that the city functioned, for good or ill, 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,[2] 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. Yet in 1899, Oman departed from his conventional form, and wrote a monograph detailing the events of the past century. In 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'; 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.[3]

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.'[4] The solution to the ills of modernity was a return to the ideals of a pre-industrial world. Yet despite his denunciations, Oman was correct on a major point: 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 conflict; indeed, 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.[5] 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 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 2,000 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.'[6]

In a British context, travel to the capital was, like the other forms we have examined here, part of a larger process of coming to terms with an increasingly fast-paced world. 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 as a city full of material, social, and cultural opportunities and resources, which are often represented as something new, exciting, and different from provincial life, as Geraldine Mitton suggests in her exhaustive look at London in her 1905 opus *The Scenery of London*:

> The gold of London is apparent to those whose tastes are cultivated, who are literary, artistic, scientific, or musical. In London are to be found the men who are the top of their professions, celebrated authors, artists and musicians. Even without being aught but a nonentity it is open to all to hear the best music composed by men famed all the world over, to see the great masterpieces of painting, to attend lectures by men who are in the vanguard of science. Priceless objects of art, rare books, ancient treasures, are open free for the inspection of the poorest; these things are the real gold of the richest city in the world.[7]

The foregrounding of these benefits of industrialisation – 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, 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.

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 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-ethic,[15] 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 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 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 medieval 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 impersonal. The sociologist Georg Simmel has characterised this anti-modernism as a method of retaining one's individual 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 medieval joust. Comprising some 40 '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 medieval 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 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 medieval 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 by one knight parading in full armour and heraldry under a large, green umbrella.[29]

Both the tournament and the wider 'medieval revival' occurring in Victorian Britain were thus consolations 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 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 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

architectural transformations, provincial towns became increasingly cognisant 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] 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 by tourists; 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 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 46 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 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 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, the Houses of 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, most visitors' experiences tended to coalesce around the most visible and formal examples of modernity and consumption, whether of knowledge, goods, or time.

Importantly, middle-class consumption in the mid-Victorian generations tended towards the expression of rationality as a demonstration of their fitness to control British cultural and political values. As Matthew Arnold understood it in *Culture and Anarchy,* the upper classes were too morally and intellectually bankrupt to provide capable and steady leadership: consider 'an ordinary young Englishman of our upper class. Ideas he has not, and neither has he that seriousness of our middle class which is … the great strength of this class, and may become its salvation.'[47] It was their duty to take the reins of power through cultural assimilation, both above and below – as the lower classes were too 'far from their having the idea of public duty and of discipline' to help themselves.[48] Arnold could exhort his readers to 'the disinterested pursuit of perfection' by 'observing, reading, and thinking',[49] the key to which was the city: it was from cities that the specific iconography of middle-class rational culture was created: the museum, the gallery, and especially the library. All were designed to further not only general knowledge, but to moralise and instruct at the same time.

For 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.[50]

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 Sunday',[51] while William Grylls Adams, a visitor from Cornwall in 1864, could spend several hours in the South Kensington Museum.[52] Yet rationality was not limited to the museums, Victorian visitors often linking that label with London's more sensuous offerings, in particular 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.[53] 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 during his apprenticeship as an architect there in 1885. 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.'[54] We similarly feel a hint of Anne Jenkins' frustration when she records that, while dining at 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.'[55] 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.'[56] 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.[57]

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.'[58] 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 everyday 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.[59]

The importance of being technologically modern was thus couched in beneficial terms, especially given the rapidity by which new inventions ameliorated old civic problems such as distance, sanitation, transportation, education and consumption, and whose possession also engendered a great degree of civic prestige.[60]

Such sentiments were often applied throughout the provincial press as other British cities developed similar institutions or inventions in their local areas. 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 … workmen to a higher sense of their domestic and social relations' and which, not incidentally, 'will be a great boon to the locality chosen.'[61] 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.'[62] As an associated benefit, however, was the awareness that the subway was 'probably

unexcelled in any other city in the kingdom'[63] 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.'[64] 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.[65]

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 inferior eras of the past. Indeed, Richard Dennis has recently suggested that such landmarks were intentionally retained to promote just such a view.[66]

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',[67] 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',[68] 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',[69] Emily Cook argued, while Thomas Lacy found that it illustrated 'the gradual advance of civilisation.'[70] 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.'[71] 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.[72] The very manner in which the city is confronted reveals their beliefs regarding 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 journalists, temperance groups, civic officials, and charitable organisations combed the East End in a transition from moral salvation to scientific improvement. Books and pamphlets of all kinds 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 areas such as Whitechapel, Houndsditch, or Bethnal Green 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.'[73] 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

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. 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.'[74] 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.'[75] To Hare's mind, London had suffered 'barbarous and ridiculous injuries' and had been 'wantonly mutilated'[76] 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 Londoner and every Englishman',[77] 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.'[78] 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 heading. Modernity was reactive, leaving London with 'incomprehensible chaos';[79] 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 necessaries; 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.[80]

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 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.'[81] 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.'[82] 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.'[83] Such charitable feelings were absent from the greater advance of industrialism in England than in Italy.

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 thunder against the worship of 'Mechanism', his indignation was even at mid-century 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 would classify this trend as creating a new race with 'no spontaneous memory of past times – a race with an ahistorical mentality.'[84] 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.[85] By the end of the century, the city and its enticements reigned supreme. A study conducted in 1891 highlighted just how urbanised Britain had become: a 'Special Correspondent' for the *Daily Mail,* investigating the countryside surrounding London, discovered that

> 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.[86]

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 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.'[87] 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.[88]

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 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.'[89] 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.[90]

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 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.[91]

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.[92] 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.'[93] 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 on top of 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.'[94] But, examining the state of change in the capital, Sala nevertheless concluded that 'the whole aspect of the city changes with … magical rapidity.'[95] Richard Lovett, when viewing the Houses of Parliament in 1890, understood them as part of a continual process of reinvention:

> 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.[96]

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.'[97] 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 that the rise in social investigation begins during the 1860s and only grows until the end of the century.

Yet by the 1870s and 1880s, modernity was modernising itself once more. During the final third of the nineteenth century, the city became the breeding ground for reactions against its own actions taken more than 20 years earlier: gendered barriers were steadily eroded as women emerged as a public force in shopping and dining in the centre of the city; geographic barriers too disappeared as new transportation networks permeated the old East-West divisions; even rational recreation was itself not immune to these changes. One of the most visible was the rise of the music hall, mentioned in the introduction, but examined here in brief detail.

The music hall began its ascent to popularity around the 1850s, growing from its roots as song-and-dance acts in public houses. By the 1880s and onwards, the music hall represented a new, liberal type of Victorian entertainment, where individuals and couples could take food during the presence of comedic, dramatic, or musical acts. Such a venue contrasted favourably with the stately and often stiff ambience of the theatre. In the popularity of the music hall we find a decisive renunciation of the confining regimentation of mid-Victorian middle-class recreation, and a growing emphasis instead on its multifarious varieties of entertainment as a more direct finger on the pulse of late-century Victorian culture, a 'most authentic expressive form of native Englishness', according to Barry Faulk in *Music Hall and Modernity* (2004).[98] Music hall shows and songs helped to solidify new definitions of late-nineteenth-century urban, national, and at times, imperial values.[99] Such wide-ranging cultural production made them hugely popular – the music hall proliferated across London, seeming to one observer to have 'sprung up like mushrooms'.[100] During his time in London in 1875, Frank Granger visited two, while Edgar Jepson remembered that during one of his own visits, '[Richard] Corney Grain sang and enjoyed greater credit for being a barrister than for his singing'.[101] In many ways, the liberality of the music hall must rank alongside London's other icons of modernity, such as railways, lighting, or sewers.

Despite these indications of appeal, the music hall's true effects in reshaping the landscape of urban modernity must be judged in concert with those forms mentioned above. These attempts to undermine the restrictive limitations imposed upon the mid-Victorian city were successful in their collective – not individual – actions. New railways provided for better movement between localities, while new methods of eating and entertainment catered to the expectations of these new crowds; their desires for consumption, fuelled by rising standards of living, were met by an explosion of shops looking for business opportunities – even, as Rappaport makes clear, catering specifically to women in order to tap into a new market. At night, increasingly liberal restaurants and music halls were swollen with those interested in entertainment for its own sake, and eventually conducted home safely by the railway once more. Anne Jenkins' diary, for instance, highlights the degree of freedom which single women were granted in the late-Victorian capital.

This is not to say that the old order of mid-Victorian rationality disappeared; even into the twentieth century, London's collections of museums and galleries formed important stopping points in the life of the capital – as Geraldine Mittons' remarks earlier in this chapter

illustrate nicely. Yet, demonstrable rationality as a motivator directing urban movement was on the decline, as evident in Charlotte Bousfield's diary. 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. She thus spent the majority of her time in London engaged in sightseeing and idling. In particular, one visit during 1883 is remarkable:

> As Will had not been able to get an order for the House of Commons, we were turning towards Cricklewood when a Baker St omnibus came up & Hattie thought she should like to finish her day by another visit to a place which she last went as quite a little girl, so we turned into Mme Tussaud's Collection of Waxworks, & after an hour there got back again to Westbury Villa.[102]

Here, the staid and rational House of Commons is foregone in favour of a spur-of-the-moment visit to Madame Tussaud's, and by a respectable provincial woman of some connection, suggesting that such activities were viewed a great deal less critically than their mid-century counterparts.

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.[103] 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 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.[104]

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.'[105] 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 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.[106] 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.[107] 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 'carnivalesque' environments[108] from their lack of social propriety, and full of 'artificial' and 'commercial' amusements.[109] Such irreverence was manifest in a popular Edwardian music-hall song, 'I Do Like to be Beside the Seaside':

> Oh! I do like to be beside the seaside
> I do like to be beside the sea!
> I do like to stroll upon the Prom, Prom, Prom!
> Where the brass bands play:
> 'Tiddely-om-pom-pom!'
> So just let me be beside the seaside
> I'll be beside myself with glee.[110]

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 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.[111] 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.[112] 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. On this particular occasion, she experienced something altogether different than her regular visits:

> 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 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.[113]

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.'[114] 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'.[115]

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.[116] 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.[117]

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 'illegible' working-class districts, and in which space was therefore highly regulated.[118] 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.[119] 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 spaces, they could draw women out to spend money in town.[120] 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.[121]

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 100 miles with a promise of special 'night trains' which would depart after theatre closing time to take day-trippers back home.[122] 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.

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 64 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.[123]

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, 1871–4, 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 primacy to these outlets for a period around mid-century.[124] 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?[125]

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.[126] 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.'[127] 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.[128] 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 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.'[129] 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.

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, London[130] – 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.'[131] 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 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,[132] that Britons looked forward to the twentieth century.

4

'England Has No Greatness Left Save in Her Industry': London as a Path to Disharmony

Introduction

Whatever specific differences imperial, American, and British tourists found in London, they all generally regarded the capital in a positive fashion. London was, to all three groups, seen as a focal point for the development of a uniquely Anglo-Saxon civilisation, distorted or idealised though it may have been. If we move away from such a context, with its associated cultural baggage, views of London acquire a very different tone. The city is no longer welcoming, scarcely even hospitable. The individualism and privacy of London's citizenry presented a sharp contrast to European models, while the mix of architectural styles, haphazard tangle of streets, and jumble of railways and smoke created the impression of an organic and disorderly system. One anonymous French visitor could note in 1876 that although London was '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] For continental visitors, to whom London was always a rival and competitor, the capital appeared positively distasteful, lacking the warmth and cultural tone of its continental counterparts. In response, these visitors made of London an exaggerated caricature of industrial capitalism run amok. French and German visitors castigated the railways, wires, and crowds of the British metropolis as an example of slavery to industrialism at the expense of humanity, expressed bluntly by Max O'Rell (better known as the writer Leon Paul Blouet) in 1884:

> London is, indeed, an ignoble mixture of beer and bible, of gin and gospel, of drunkenness and hypocrisy, of unheard-of squalor and

> unbridled luxury, of poor, abject, shivering, starving creatures, and people insolent with happiness and wealth, whose revenues would appear to us a colossal fortune.[2]

London's lack of appropriately imperial markers – large, wide boulevards, fancy shops and arcades, and a centralised bourgeois presence – also stigmatised 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 to be found nowhere else in nineteenth-century Europe.

Accordingly, 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.[3] The burgeoning middle classes – from whom our visitors are drawn – had similar tastes, opportunities, and hobbies across most of Europe.[4] 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, cafés, 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, groups within the capital had done much to promote the idea of London as a technological masterpiece, creating 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.[5] Given Britain's spectacular growth in the early nineteenth 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',[6] while in 1862 the Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky thought London to be 'some prophecy out of the Apocalypse being fulfilled before your very eyes'.[7]

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 ideological display, while the proliferation of museums, galleries, squares, and arcades similarly reinforced their claims to respectability.[8] 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. For instance, Louis Énault condensed his visit to London into a travel guidebook, which was then inserted into his wider collection of voyages around the Mediterranean. Flora Tristan and Frederika Bremer, 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 and Louis Blanc. 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 22 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. 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 priorities, 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 colonised their own hinterlands.[9] 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 urban France, the disintegration of local cultures by modernity and their absorption into the dominant civilisation of Paris and the schools' took place.[10] Indeed, within a wider European context, 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', Peter Clark wrote, 'and … urban cultural ideas, activities, and institutions were ever more powerful in national society.'[11] It was the city which functioned as the central lever around which the nation and its affairs moved. When applied to visions of London and Paris, it appears 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.[12] What made the capital city so important for continentals was precisely its role as the champion of national progress and socio-cultural 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 Londoners to such a calling.

Such a differentiation has a significant repercussion for this study. It is the rejection of Anglo-Saxon industrial capitalism here which allows us to truly see that modernity as a concept is not fixed, nor universally evident, nor is it linked to technology, industry, art, or any one characteristic. It is, rather, a social or cultural construct which demands a particular point of reference to be effective as a comparison – thus, it is more appropriate to speak of *modernities* instead. 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 what we have already seen in this work. The previous chapters followed a remarkably similar trajectory: a presence 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.[13] The European continent, by contrast, was always politically and socially fragmented; a space in which states and societies underwent sustained periods of divergent and fractious evolution. Such a nebulous environment must necessarily produce a spectrum of responses. Yet the Western European experience with industrialisation and urbanisation, while a decidedly non-linear one,[14] 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.[15] 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).

Certainly, the Western European situation deviated quite widely from the British experience. Thanks in part to a diversified resource base and proximity to water, the 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.[16] 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.[17] While it is fair to say that the 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, its specific geographical concentration limited everyday exposure to specific areas.[18] Even as late as 1880 the resulting urbanisation generally favoured the new industrial areas around the northeast.[19] Given the size of the country, and its rural southern hinterlands, it is possible that some visitors never encountered mills, factories, or steam engines until later in the century. 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 politque,* Charles Ganihl included 86 categories, on subjects such as 'Food', 'Agriculture', and the like, but the town did not merit an entry. Rather, issues of population, labour, and economics are lightly inserted into various overarching themes.[20]

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.[21] The rates of urbanisation from 1800 to 1900 reflect such slow growth. According to Paul Bairoch, from 1800 until 1850 slow rates fell into two categories: large countries and politically unstable or fragmented ones. Over the course of the nineteenth century, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain experienced upheavals or the tyranny of (expensive) distance which made connective projects difficult to undertake. 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.[22] Of the tourists under consideration in this chapter, about half originated from smaller towns – Oneglia, Béziers, Turku, and Neuhaus, to name a few. Given the continental model of development

from centre to hinterland,[23] 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.[24] There are clues to this rural-urban divide within Max Schlesinger's 1853 account of London houses:

> 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.[25]

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 liberalising 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 establishment of the German Empire 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.[26]

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 Sédan, after which it was commonly said in France that

'the German schoolmaster has defeated the French *institueur*'[27] 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 (or infrequent) direct encounters with industrialisation before visiting London, but rather lacked any comprehension of the complexity and concentration of such things as found 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.[28]

As useful and efficient as many innovations were, the major nations of Western Europe thus had only cautiously approached industrial technology until the 1870s and 1880s.

Cities and culture

How, then, does the continental understanding of modernity inform their perceptions of London? Since London's urban modernity was taken as a stand-in for 'British' culture more generally, it is worth our examining the ways in which cities, culture, and modernity were linked in nineteenth-century Europe and Britain. Urban culture, which figures here, is specifically concerned with ways of living within, moving throughout, consuming, and understanding the city. This variety, or microcosm, of 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? Nineteenth-century cities were often characterised by a single major idea or industry: Manchester, for instance, was 'Cottonopolis'; in London it was utilitarian economics

and railways; in Berlin, it was 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, theatres, or churches, and all for the purpose of display.[29] 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 latter embodied only a stagnant conservatism, which became what Peter Hall called the 'apotheosis of laissez-faire and the minimalist state, directed by the purest utilitarian principles.'[30] Whereas Paris encouraged artists and architects to push the boundaries of the urban milieu, London appeared to remain stolidly indifferent. As Max O'Rell observed, the Londoner seemed far too practical for such things: 'Public monuments are frivolous things in his eyes.'[31] 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, almost rural version of German culture which stressed ties to the local environment and the maintenance of the bonds of community and society.[32] 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. The German architect and Arts and Crafts enthusiast Hermann Muthesius, made clear in 1915 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.'[33] 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 ….'[34] Indeed, it appeared to contemporaries that Berliners were 'wracked by a nervous sickness bordering on collective insanity', to use David Large's expression,[35] at the increasing presence of industrial landscapes – which matched their findings in London.

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. In many ways, urban tourism grew out of the search for a new sublime landscape.[36] Tourists substituted a new 'artificial' sublime landscape – centred on the icons of modernity (the hotel, park, and department store) – in place of the old rural landscapes and 'natural' romantic picturesque. While some historians have characterised much of nineteenth-century American cities as marked by 'ugliness and vulgar commercialism',[37] once the early issues surrounding industrialism had been dealt with, a new urban era of high-rises, illumination, and consumption began.[38] 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.[39] 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 progressive meanings in nineteenth-century modern culture.

To use Paris as an example, the French city was decidedly more 'democratic' both on a communal and an individual level.[40] 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 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.[41] 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 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.[42] This is why, in Haussmann's reconstruction of Second Empire Paris, specific streets are associated with bourgeois respectability, where traditional promenading and café culture are assiduously maintained: both important ways of 'seeing and being seen'.[43] Indeed, Vienna's Ringstrasse, St Petersburg's Nevskii Prospekt, and Berlin's New Town were all (re)constructed with the same rationale in mind.[44] 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*.[45] 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 café ('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.[46]

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. Consider, for instance, George Gissing's perceptions of London's streets in his 1894 novel *In the Year of Jubilee*. Here, his protagonist Nancy is alone on a major thoroughfare:

> Along the main through-fares of mid-London … between the houses moved a double current of humanity, this way and that, filling the whole space, so that no vehicle could possibly have made its way on the wonted track … there was little noise; only a thud, thud of footfalls numberless, and the low, unvarying sound that suggested some huge beast purring to itself in stupid contentment. Nancy forgot her identity, lost sight of herself as an individual.[47]

There was no tradition of café culture nor leisure within the street, 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.'[48]

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 the challenges and advantages of urban living, and, importantly, a different idea on what the city was actually *for* 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, cafés, and such *grands magasins* as the Bon Marché, Printemps, and the Galeries Lafayette[49] – London often appeared in the narratives to represent the very opposite. 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.[50] 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 be placed a distant second to Paris as the 'first city' of Europe. Perhaps Max Schlesinger characterised the attraction of Paris 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.'[51] 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 1870–1. 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.'[52] 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.[53]

In common with the majority of the travellers examined in this study, continental visitors were awed by London's size. Yet the apparent sameness of London's streets was monotonous: the capital never sparkled; its often wet and overcast weather, and coal-blackened architecture, painted a depressing first sight for these travellers. Without clean lines and organised piazzas, the city became an irrational entity. The perception of streets, of crowds, and even time itself were 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.[54]

As confusing as they were, 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.[55]

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.'[56] 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'. The English essayist George Young described it perfectly in his retrospective *Victorian England: Portrait of An Age* (1934):

> [The Englishman] … might at moments be chilled by the aesthetic failure of his time, so profuse and yet so mean … but all the while he knew that in the essential business of humanity, the mastery of brute nature by intelligence, he had outstripped the world, and the Machine was the emblem and the instrument of his triumph.[57]

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.[58] But these elements were already appearing in continental cities, and industrialism was slowly challenging the traditional order on the continent. In this respect, 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.'[59] London was an omen of modernity, not its herald.

Indeed, 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, and so on – are accompanied, and sometimes supplanted, by critiques of 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.[60]

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, without vigour … the black coal dust is subtle, impalpable, attached to everything, penetrating everywhere, and dusted with graphite, all monuments are in mourning.'[61] The fog and soot was itself rendered as an agent of death: under it, the whole city 'seemed dead and buried'.[62] Max O'Rell had the best summary; he believed that he was witnessing the 'reign of steam'.[63] 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.'[64] 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.'[65]

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 Vauban.'[66] 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.'[67] 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.[68]

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.'[69] 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 manufacturing-based; it was, for the most part, concentrated into two halves: a commercial sector and its associated service economy.[70] 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. 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 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.[71]

The conflation between London 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 greater evidence against the ills of unchecked capitalism. Yet while Manchester was easily inserted into a wider critique of the British political economy, similar criticisms of London attacked it on the basis of its perceived social and cultural failings. 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.'[72] Of particular concern, the city was often rendered as being devoid of great monuments and statues celebrating events of national significance. 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.'[73]

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.'[74] 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 is purified and renewed … the English are aware of this, so they do not grudge the funds necessary for the maintenance of these gardens.'[75] 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: namely 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.'[76] 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 imperial activities. 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 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.[77]

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'[78] 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 Villars, only by considering London's domestic and international roles together could one hope to form an idea of the metropolis' importance.[79] 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. In fact, to Villars, the Londoner often appeared pleased to be away

from the constant bombardment of political, commercial, and cultural information through the capital's plethora of newspapers, advertising, journals, and personal contacts.

This marks an interesting shift in the narratives – the movement of criticism from London's supposed industrial heritage onto Britain's imperial iconography instead. As the late-century scramble for colonies heated up across most of Africa and the remaining unclaimed sections of Asia, British and French (or German, or Russian) rivalry intensified in a different way as national pride grew with every overseas adventure. The implications for late-century London remained much the same as they had been a generation earlier: the city was condemned for its failure to properly showcase its imperial role. As with continental condemnations of British industrialism, criticism of the manner in which London was indifferent to its imperial legacies rested on exaggerated or isolated claims. Correct or not, it was the *image*, and not the reality of London which influenced these visitors' readings of the city's culture. For instance, Nelson's statue in Trafalgar Square was 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.[80]

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!'[81] More prosaically, the anonymous writer of *Voyage* à *Londres* politely commented that Wellington's statue might be 'of doubtful taste'.[82]

That London should be described as a 'cultural desert' by visitors or historians is a flawed assumption.[83] London's traditional iconography of cultural production, namely statues, monuments, and paintings, revealed that the metropolis was influenced in an understated fashion 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.[84]

Yet the museum itself existed well away from the main axes of the Strand, Oxford Street, or the City; similarly, too, were the delights of Albertopolis tucked away in South Kensington.

Throughout the city, the more physical reminders of imperialism 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. But these paled in contrast to the imposing grandeur of the Arc de Triomphe and the entire Axe Historique in Paris. Furthermore, London's triumphal evocation of overseas success, coming as it often did, at the expense of French ambitions, was bound to excite disparaging remarks from continental visitors looking to assuage their national pride. 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.[85] 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',[86] 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; 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 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 governed 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'.[87] 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.[88]

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 '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, and so on – all of which are encased in the urban setting. 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.'[89] 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,[90] 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 strategies' of reducing London to smaller objects, both on foot and textually.[91] 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, it often seemed that Londoners had little time or inclination to devote themselves to cultural production at the expense of economic activity, and that free-market capitalism was inherently philistine, requiring a shift in inherent valuation; cultural considerations were downplayed in favour of profitable industry. 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.[92]

Nevertheless, the shaping of urban modernity, regardless of its devotion to either leisure or work, was influenced by specific cultural attitudes which had their roots 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 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.[93]

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.'[94] 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.[95]

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.[96]

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.[97] 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.[98] Indeed, 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.'[99]

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

As we have seen, the nineteenth century 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'.[100] 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 showpiece of Imperial grandeur, and a congenial playground for a rising bourgeoisie'.[101] Similarly, the construction of Berlin's New Town in the 1890s signalled a shift towards an imperial status, with similarly wide streets and parks.[102] 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 such criticisms in late-century Germany were borne, 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 seemed, under the pressures of industrialism, could not 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 was 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.'[103] 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. 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.[104] 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'.[105] Even as late as 1913, in Baedeker's *Guide to Germany*, the collection of interesting industrial and commercial sites remained subsumed beneath historical and cultural locations.[106] 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 trends 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,[107] where 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.[108]

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 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. 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.

Epilogue: *'The Vast Curiosity-Shop of All the World'*: London and the Culture of Modernity

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.* 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.'[1] 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 forty years ago would have almost died of shame if they had been asked to dine at a public house of entertainment?[2]

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.[3]

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'[4] – 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.'[5] 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. Physically, socially, and culturally, the capital had undergone a whirlwind evolution in two generations. In a way, Reid's retrospective appears to condense all of our visitor narratives into a single essay rooted in the words *changing image*. The London of 1900 was not the same as that of 1850: it looked different, felt different, *was* different – and for Thomas Reid, the new celebration of the city by its citizens signalled a new imagining of London itself. 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 picture of 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 the constructions of these visions that the individuals and groups studied here situated 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.[6] 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.'[7] 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 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.[8]

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.

Travel, London, and modernity

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 iconography. London is, as one visitor announced, 'the vast curiosity-shop of all the world.'[9]

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.[10] 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.[11]

Nineteenth-century London was certainly cosmopolitan, incorporating 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,[12] represented wide varieties of art and culture in grand museums, and functioned as a major transport hub. London owed its existence to no single group or culture. Indeed, visitors often related 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',[13] 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.[14]

Through its cosmopolitanism, then, London was the success story of the nineteenth century. It became the 'prestige symbol for the whole civilization',[15] personifying not only the British Empire, but a remarkable thousand-year history of what seemed like unbroken expansion. 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 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 became a key medium by which these things were accomplished, as the empirical evidence from physically walking London's streets offered 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.

Such a view explains neatly the value of the city as a destination, but what of the manner in which the visitor interacted with the city? The relationship between the individual traveller and the city has been shown as an ambiguous and often contradictory one. 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 [sic], 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![16]

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 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.[17]

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 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.[18] 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'[19] 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 favour of Parliament at Westminster.[20] 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.[21] Its importance, she notes, stemmed from the fact that the Square 'framed … events with a version of British history.'[22]

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',[23] 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.'[24] 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 their passive gaze and the activities within urban space.[25] 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.[26] 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.[27]

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 is provided by Sylvia Leighton, our imperial heroine from Louisa Mack's *An Australian Girl in London*. Sylvia undertook a journey to London as a sign of 'coming of age' in colonial Australian society. Even before her journey commenced, however, she had already constructed an imagined London in her mind:

> 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!* [28]

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 transform 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.[29]

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:

> I reach the mouth of a wide street, and perceive the Thames and its bridges in the distance, and on the bridges more trains, which succeed each other, and meet under the arches; steamboats passing and bowing their funnels like tall trees bent over by the wind, long lines of barges towed by tugs, swarms of rafts and small boats; and along the parapets of the bridges, processions of people disappearing on

> the opposite bank. Proceeding farther, more apparently interminable streets come into view, lined with huge edifices and filled with more torrents of people. And everywhere there is rumbling of iron bridges, shaking beneath the load of very long trains, whistles, puffs of smoke, weary breathing over my head, under my feet, on land and water and in the air; a rivalry and rush of things going and coming, perpetual flights, encounters, and successions.[30]

This mapping of the urban system thus follows a somewhat bizarre, stream-of-consciousness fashion. Yet these mental maps permitted 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 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 played a vital part. The stories, literature, traditions, and images of London told throughout the colonies, America, and elsewhere had already created a million different versions of the city in a million different minds; moreover, the presence of only *one* physical London did nothing to draw together or correct all of these imagined Londons. The city was subject to a 'denationalisation' of sorts; it became 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 was inclined to look for. Ultimately, it remains only to acknowledge that it was these million images of London

which, taken together, held as much authenticity as did the physical city itself – visions of London *were* London, in the mind's eye.

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 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.[31]

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.'[32] 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.[33]

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 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, Henry Tuckerman felt the stirrings of the process during his own visit:

> 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.[34]

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, London offered visitors the ability to better understand the changes occurring around them, and enabled the traveller to reflect on the future, through the prophecies foretold by the modern city.

Notes

Introduction: *'The Capital of the Human Race'*: The City as the Centre of Modernity

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35. R. Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840–1930* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008), p. 24.
36. Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, pp. 1, 35–6.
37. 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.
38. Such a view forms the foundation for much of the work on urban systems done throughout the 1960s. A. Briggs' *Victorian Cities* (Odhams, London, 1963) and J. 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.
39. Anon., 'The Bitter Cry of Fog-Bound London', *The Speaker*, 5 (2 January 1892), p. 4.
40. L.M. Thomas, 'Modernity's Failings, Political Claims, and Intermediate Concepts', *American Historical Review*, 116, 3 (2011), pp. 732, 737; D. Chakrabarty, 'The Muddle of Modernity', *American Historical Review*, 116, 3 (2011), p. 663; and B. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. C. Porter (Harvester, New York, 1993), p. 37.
41. K. Robbins, *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness* (Longman's, New York, 1998), pp. 5, 213–4; and see R. Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700–1947* (Pluto, London, 1986), pp. 55–7.
42. 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.
43. C. Koch, *Crossing the Gap* (1987), quote reprinted in Pesman, Walker, and White, *Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing*, p. 205.
44. Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Polity, Cambridge, 1991), pp. 20–32.
45. N. Wang, *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis* (Elsevier, Oxford, 2000), 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), p. 153.
46. Cohen, *Contemporary Tourism: Diversity*, p. 106.
47. E. Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (W. Clowes, London, 1843), p. 121.
48. E.-M. Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851–1900* (University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1987), p. 111.

49. C. Morgan, *Happy Holiday: English-Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870–1930* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2008), p. 184.
50. E. Ferguson, *The Impressions of Janey Canuck Abroad* ([n.p.], Toronto, 1902), p. 5.
51. Holman, *My Wander Year: Some Jottings in a Year's Travel* (William Brooks, Sydney, 1913), p. 23.
52. 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), p. 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), pp. 363–5.
53. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, p. 16.
54. R. Shields, *My Travels: Visits to Lands Far and Near, European, British, American and Canadian* (W. Briggs, Toronto, 1906), pp. 12, 15.
55. 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), pp. 177–8; and Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, pp. 17, 288–9.
56. Quote from C.S. Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement: The United States and Great Britain, 1783–1900* (Wiley, New York, 1974), p. 204.
57. 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), p. 3.
58. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1–14.
59. E.C. Cook, *Highways and Byways in London* (Macmillan, London, 1902), pp. 20–1.
60. F. Tristan, *The London Journal of Flora Tristan*, trans. J. Hawkes (reprint, Virago, London, 1982), pp. 68, 70.
61. A. Lees, *Cities Perceived*, p. 201; A. Lees, 'Critics of Urban Society in Germany, 1815–1914', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40, 1(1979), p. 62.
62. 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.

63. 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.
64. 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.

1 *'The Bonds of Empire and Imperial Fraternity'*: London as Imperial Capital

1. C.C. Taylor, *Toronto 'Called Back' from 1886 to 1850* (W. Briggs, Toronto, 1886), p. 339.
2. S. Fleming, *England and Canada: A Summer's Journey between Old and New Westminster* (Dawson Bros., Montreal, 1884), p. 4.
3. J.E. Wetherell, *Over the Sea: A Summer Trip to Britain* (Evans Bros, Strathroy, 1890), p. 26.
4. P.J. Ragauiah, *Pictures of England: Translated from the Telegu* (Gantz Bros., Madras, 1876), pp. 68–9.
5. S. Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880–1930* (Frank Cass, London, 2000), p. 35.
6. A. Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), pp. 147–9; and C. Morgan, *Happy Holiday: English-Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870–1930* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2008), pp. 9–10.
7. 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.
8. C. Haight, *Here and There in the Homeland: England, Scotland, and Ireland as Seen by a Canadian* (W. Briggs, Toronto, 1895), pp. 219–21.
9. 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; and see 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.
10. M. Lynn, 'British Policy, Trade, and Informal Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in A. Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, 5 vols., vol. III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999), p. 101.
11. 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.
12. 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.
13. J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (Roberts Bros., Boston, 1883), p. 301.

14. G. Smith, *A Trip to England* (New York: Macmillan, 1892), p. 6.
15. 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).
16. Carter, *Diary of William Carter*, 9 March 1853, p. 36.
17. Taylor, *Toronto 'Called Back' from 1886 to 1850*, p. 341.
18. Ney, *Britishers in Britain*, p. 59.
19. *Letter from Lord Dufferin to Alfred, Lord Tennyson*, 25 February 1873, in R.G. Moyles and D. Owram (eds), *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880–1914* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1988), p. 12.
20. 'The Australian Emigrant', Henry Kendall; reprinted in K.S. Inglis (ed.), *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History, 1788–1870* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1974), p. 29.
21. Mrs. E. Copleston, *Canada: Why We Live In It, and Why We Like It* (Parker, Son & Bourne, London, 1861), p. 2.
22. Smith, *A Trip to England*, p. 6.
23. A. Smith, *British Businessmen and Canadian Confederation: Constitution-Making in an era of Anglo-Globalization* (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 2008), p. 16.
24. Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 173.
25. Smith, *British Businessmen and Canadian Confederation*, p. 28.
26. W. Pennington, *A Trip to the Old Country* (R.L. Crain, Ottawa, 1894), p. 12.
27. *Canada – A Hand Book of Information for Intending Emigrants* (Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 1877), p. 75.
28. 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.
29. Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, p. 27.
30. 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, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 148.
31. Potter, *Imperial Communications*, pp. 27–30.
32. J.S., 'Pictures of Travel', *The Argus*, 16 September 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'.
33. K.S. Inglis, *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History, 1788–1870* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1974), p. 31.
34. Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 31; Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, p. 179; Cole, 'The Problem of "Nationalism" and "Imperialism" in British Settlement Colonies', pp. 162–3.
35. E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (Abacus, London, 2009), p. 145.
36. Moyles & Owram, *Imperial Dreams*, p. 35.

37. Inglis, *The Australian Colonists*, p. 36.
38. Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 23.
39. J. Kapferer, *Being All Equal: Identity, Difference and Australian Cultural Practise* (Berg, Oxford, 1996), p. 74.
40. E.-M. Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851–1900* (University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1987), p. 109.
41. Morgan, *Happy Holiday,* pp. 179–81; Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 48.
42. Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 19.
43. 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.
44. Wetherell, *Over the Sea*, p. 26.
45. 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 L. Mack (ed.), *An Australian Girl in London* (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1902), p. 2.
46. L.R. Ford, *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996), pp. 187–8.
47. Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe*, p. 109.
48. Wetherell, *Over the Sea*, p. 28.
49. Quote reprinted in Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, p. 127.
50. J.F. Hogan, *The Australian in London and America* (Ward & Downey, London, 1899), p. 137.
51. Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, p. 128.
52. Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, pp. 163–4; Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, pp. 24, 47.
53. Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, p. 163; and Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe*, pp. 14–5.
54. J. Godden, *Notes and Reminiscences of a Journey to England* (John Lovell, Montreal, 1878), p. 37.
55. 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, NB, 1897), p. 1.
56. A. Holman, *My Wander Year: Some Jottings in a Year's Travel* (William Brooks, Sydney, 1913), p. 31.
57. E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (Abacus, London, 2009), p. 155.
58. Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, p. 155.
59. Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe*, p. 109.
60. Quote reprinted in: Ney, *Britishers in Britain*, p. 62.
61. Haight, *Here and There*, pp. 219–21.
62. Smith, *A Trip to England*, p. 130.
63. F. Sheppard, *London: A History* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998), p. 98.
64. W.H. Warren, *Touring in Britain, or, Brief Sketches of a Recent Visit to England and Scotland* (Paterson & Co., St. John, 1899), p. 5.
65. Hogan, *The Australian in London*, p. 146.
66. Wetherell, *Over the Sea*, p. 19.
67. Godden, *Notes and Reminiscences*, p. 51.
68. Fleming, *England and Canada*, p. 44.
69. Holman, *My Wander Year*, p. 24.
70. Haight, *Here and There*, p. 167.

71. Morgan, *Happy Holiday*, p. 166.
72. Warren, *Touring in Britain*, p. 6.
73. P. Hoffenburg, *Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (University of California Press, Berkeley, p. 242.
74. 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 A. Burton (ed.), *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998), pp. 1–24.
75. 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).
76. J.E. Ritchie, *Days and Nights in London, or, Studies in Black and Grey* (Tinsley Bros., London, 1880), pp. 41, 44.
77. Pennington, *A Trip to the Old Country*, p. 6.
78. 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.
79. Bell, 'The Idea of a Patriot Queen?', 6.
80. Haight, *Here and There*, p. 228.
81. Quote reprinted in Inglis, *The Australian Colonist*, p. 250.
82. 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).
83. 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.
84. Elliott, *Rambles in Merrie, Merrie England*, p. 16.
85. D. Keene, 'Cities and Empires', *Journal of Urban History*, 32, 1 (2005), 14–5.
86. R. Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700–1947* (Pluto, London, 1986), p. 177; and E. Braddon, *Life in India* (Longman's, Green & Co., London, 1872), pp. 224–5.
87. T. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002), p. 55.
88. Sir E. Arnold, *India Revisited* (Roberts, Boston, 1886), pp. 54–5.
89. L. James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (Little, Brown & Co., London, 1997), p. 324.
90. B. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996), pp. 123–5.
91. 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 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).

92. James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, pp. 322–3.
93. 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.
94. Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, p. xi.
95. S.K. Bhuyan, *London Memoirs from a Historian's Haversack* (Gauhati Publications Board, Assam, 1979), p. 1.
96. University College London, *Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting*, 25 February 1857. Quote reprinted in: Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, p. 3.
97. R.D. Jones, *Interiors of Empire: Objects, Space and Identity within the Indian Subcontinent, c.1800–1947* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2007), p. 20.
98. Jones, *Interiors of Empire*, p. 20.
99. King's remarks are reprinted in Jones, *Interiors of Empire*, p. 139.
100. T.N. Mukharji, *A Visit to Europe* (W. Newman & Co., Calcutta, 1889), p. 27.
101. Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, p. 35.
102. Braddon, *Life in India*, p. 225.
103. 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 A.M. Wainwright, *The Better Class of Indians: Social Rank, Imperial Identity, and South Asians in Britain, 1858–1914* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008), p. 102.
104. Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire*, p. 1.
105. 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), pp. 329–51, and especially pp. 332–5.
106. Guha, 'A Colonial City', p. 336.
107. I. Dasa, *A Brief Account of a Voyage to England and America* (Presbyterian Mission Press, Allahabad, 1851), p. 27.
108. 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.
109. G.P. Pillai, *London and Paris through Indian Spectacles* (The Vaijayanti Press, Madras, 1897), p. 3.
110. B. Malabari, *The Indian Eye on English Life, or, Rambles of a Pilgrim Reformer* (Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1893), p. 44.
111. Mukharji, *A Visit to Europe*, p. 29.
112. Burton, *Heart of the Empire*, p. 3.
113. Pillai, *London and Paris*, p. 9.
114. Malabari, *The Indian Eye*, pp. 61–2.
115. Wainwright, *The Better Class of Indians*, p. 100; Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes*, p. 66.
116. 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.

117. Driver and Gilbert, 'Heart of Empire?', 13.
118. S.M.B. Bahadur, *My Jubilee Visit to London*, K.S. Rao, trans. (Thacker & Co., Bombay, 1899), p. 69.
119. F.N. Jang, *An Indian Passage to Europe: The Travels of Fath Nawaz Jang,* O. Khalidi, trans. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006), p. 51.
120. Jang, *Indian Passage to Europe*, p. 53.
121. Jang, *Indian Passage to Europe*, p. 71.
122. R.B. Nadkarni, *Journal of a Visit to Europe in 1896* (D.B. Taraporevala & Sons, Bombay, 1903), p. 22.
123. Doss, *Reminiscences, English and Australasian*, p. 1.
124. Jang, *Indian Passage to Europe*, pp. 101–2.
125. J.F. Codell, ed., *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press* (Rosemont Publishing, London, 2003), p. 21.
126. Wainwright, *The Better Class of Indians*, p. 105.
127. Bahadur, *My Jubilee Visit to London in 1896*, pp. 27–8.
128. 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.
129. M. Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Palgrave, New York, 2001), p. 156.
130. 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.

2 *'How Differently We Go Ahead in America!'*: American Constructions of British Modernity

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.
3. H. James, *English Hours* (Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1905), pp. 13–14.
4. R.W. Emerson, *English Traits* (Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston, 1856), p. 41.
5. W.S.J., 'Conservatism and Progress', *The New York Evangelist*, 69, 47 (1898), p. 9.
6. '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.
7. 'Steamship rates advance', *The New York Times*, 16 January 1900.
8. 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 £1,200 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).
9. W.H. Rideing, 'The Transatlantic Trip', *The Cosmopolitan: A Monthly Illustrated Magazine*, 10, 3 (1891), 357.

10. T. Bennett, 'Useful Culture', *Cultural Studies*, 6, 3 (1992), 398.
11. Bennett, 'Useful Culture', 399.
12. W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994), pp. 21–4 and 55–71; 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.
13. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, p. 55.
14. F.R. Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1964), p. 127.
15. M. Phillips, *Abroad and At Home: Practical Hints for Tourists* (Brentano's, New York, 1891), p. 24.
16. '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.
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103. 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.'
104. Whitten, *Londoner's London*, p. 26.
105. Hughes, *London Family*, p. 326.
106. 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.
107. 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).
108. 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.
109. J. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History, 1750–1914* (University of Leicester Press, Leicester, 1983), pp. 156–7.
110. The British Library, Music Collections VOC/1970/GLOVER-KIND (J.A. Glover-Kind, 'I Do Like to Be Beside the Seaside'), London, 1907.

111. 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.
112. D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Macmillan, London, 1976), pp. 10–13, 91–107.
113. Bousfield, *The Bousfield Diaries*, pp. 71–2.
114. B. Jerrold and G. Doré, *London, A Pilgrimage* (reprint, Anthem Press, London, 2005), p. xxviii.
115. Howes, *Journal of Margaret Howes*, 5 September 1855.
116. Gunn, *Public Culture*, p. 72; R. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (Faber & Faber, London, 1993), pp. 136–43.
117. G.C. Brodrick, *Memories and Impressions, 1831–1900* (Nisbet & Co., London, 1900), p. 8.
118. S. Marcus, 'Reading the Illegible', in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, *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.
119. 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.
120. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, p. 101.
121. G. Gissing, *In the Year of Jubilee* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1895), p. 85.
122. J. Simmons, *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830–1914* (David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1986), p. 8.
123. Thomas Cook Archives, 'London in 1838 and 1902', *Traveller's Gazette* (1902), p. 7.
124. F. Sheppard, 'London and the Nation in the Nineteenth Century: The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5, 35 (1985), p. 56.
125. Quote reprinted in Sheppard, 'London and the Nation', p. 55.
126. 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'.
127. Cook, *Highways and Byways*, p. 2.
128. 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), p. 392.
129. 'The National Eisteddfod', *The North Wales Chronicle*, 13 August 1887.
130. 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).

131. Howes, *Journal*, 8 September 1855.
132. M. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), p. 127.

4 *'England Has No Greatness Left Save in Her Industry'*: London as a Path to Disharmony

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.'
2. M. O'Rell, *John Bull and His Island*, M. O'Rell, trans. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co., London, 1884), p. 69.
3. See C. Mooers, *The Making of Bourgeois Europe: Absolutism, Revolution, and the Rise of Capitalism in England, France and Germany* (Verso, London, 1991).
4. P. Clark, *European Cities and Towns, 400–2000* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009), pp. 290, 305.
5. 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.
6. F. Tristan, *The London Journal of Flora Tristan*, trans. J. Hawkes (Virago, London, 1982), p. 9.
7. F. Dostoyevsky, *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions*, trans. K. FitzLyon (reprint, Quartet, London, 1985), p. 45.
8. B. Highmore, *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2005), p. 33.
9. A. Lees and L.H. Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750–1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007), p. 130.
10. E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1976), p. 486.
11. Clark, *European Cities*, p. 305.
12. 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.
13. 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.
14. 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.
15. 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.

16. E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789–1848* (Abacus, London, 2009; 1962), pp. 54–5.
17. Clark, *European Cities*, pp. 226, 258.
18. 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.
19. P. Hohenburg and L.H. Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1994*, 2nd edn (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1996), p. 192.
20. B. Lepetit, *The Pre-Industrial Urban System: France, 1740–1840* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994), p. 399.
21. 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.
22. P. Bairoch, *Cities and Economic Development: From the Dawn of History to the Present*, trans. C. Braider (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1988), p. 221.
23. Clark, *European Cities*, pp. 220, 229; Henderson, *Industrial Revolution*, pp. 31, 135.
24. 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.
25. M. Schlesinger, *Saunterings in and about London*, trans. O. Wenckstern (Nathaniel Cooke, London, 1853), pp. 6, 10–11.
26. 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 March 2013].
27. Quote reprinted in B. Singer, 'From Patriots to Pacifists: The French Primary School Teachers, 1880–1940', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 12, 3 (1977), p. 425.
28. H. Taine, *Notes on England*, trans. W.F. Rae (Henry Holt, New York, 1885), pp. 16–17.
29. Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, pp. 718–9.
30. 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.
31. O'Rell, *John Bull and His Island*, p. 81.
32. H. Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe: A Cultural History* (Polity, Cambridge, 2008), pp. 58–71.
33. 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.
34. Quote reprinted in Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, p. 27.
35. D.C. Large, *Berlin: A Modern History* (Penguin, London, 2002), p. 49.
36. C. Cocks, *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001), p. 144; C. Bell and J. Lyall,

The Accelerated Sublime (Praeger, Westport, CT, 2002), pp. 51–70; and see I. Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel, and the Rise of Tourism* (Random House, London, 1990), pp. 9–38.

37. Cocks, *Doing the Town*, p. 11.
38. 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.
39. 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.
40. Hancock, 'Your City does not speak my Language', 12; C. Hancock, *Paris et Londres au XIXe siècle: Representations 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.
41. Hancock, 'Your city does not speak my language', 4.
42. 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.
43. J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd edn (Sage, London, 2002), p. 125.
44. 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.
45. 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.
46. E. Zola, *L'Assommoir*, trans. E. Vitezelly (Vitezelly & Co., London, 1885), pp. 21–2.
47. G. Gissing, *In the Year of Jubilee* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1895), pp. 61–2.
48. O'Rell, *John Bull and his Island*, p. 81.
49. 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.
50. 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.
51. Schlesinger, *Saunterings in and about London*, p. 175.
52. 'Our Foreign Visitors', *The Times*, 13 May 1872.
53. 'Our Foreign Visitors', *The Times*, 13 May 1872.
54. E. de Amicis, *Jottings on London* (Alfred Mudge & Son, Boston, 1883), p. 7.
55. Tristan, *London Journal*, p. 22.
56. F. Bremer, *England in 1851, or, Sketches of a Tour in England*, trans. L.A.H. (Merridew, Boulogne, 1853), p. 1.
57. G.M. Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1936), p. 8.

58. 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* (Universitatsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg, 2002), p. 20; and see Bell and Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime*, p. 72; and D. Skilton, 'Tourists at the Ruins of London: The Metropolis and the Struggle for Empire', *Cercles*, 17 (2007), pp. 93–6.
59. A. Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820–1940* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1985), p. 59.
60. Dostoyevsky, *Winter Notes,* p. 45.
61. L. Énault, *Angleterre, Écosse, Irlande: Voyage Pittoresque* (Morizot, Paris, 1859), p. 19. 'L'œil 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 vigeur … 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.'
62. O'Rell, *John Bull and His Island*, p. 82.
63. O'Rell, *John Bull and His Island*, p. 26.
64. 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.
65. Villars, *England, Scotland and Ireland*, p. 15.
66. Schlesinger, *Saunterings in and about London*, pp. 3–4.
67. 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.'
68. F. Wey, *A Frenchmen sees the English in the 'Fifties'*, trans. V. Pirie (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1935), pp. 5–6.
69. Wey, *A Frenchman sees the English*, p. 65.
70. For an excellent in-depth survey, see F. Sheppard, *London, 1808–1870: The Infernal Wen* (Secker & Warburg, London, 1971), especially Chapter 5, 'Industry and Commerce', pp. 158–201.
71. Tristan, *London Journal*, pp. 72–3.
72. Tristan, *London Journal*, p. 70.
73. K. Peters, *England and the English* (Hurst & Blackett, London, 1904), p. 43.
74. Anon., *Voyage* à *Londres,* p. 8. 'mes regards sont aussitôt attires 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.'
75. Villars, *England, Scotland & Ireland*, p. 127.
76. Schmidt, *A Visit to London*, p. 7.
77. Peters, *England and the English*, pp. 60–2.
78. Peters, *England and the English*, p. 63.
79. Villars, *England, Scotland & Ireland*, pp. 2–3.
80. Wey, *A Frenchman sees the English*, p. 18.
81. Taine, *Notes on England*, p. 10.
82. *Voyage* à *Londres*, p. 20. 'D'un goût plus que douteux'.
83. J.A. Schmiechen, 'Free-market Capitalism: Fundamentally Philistine?', *Albion*, 23, 2 (1991), p. 269.
84. Bremer, *England in 1851*, p. 81.

85. According to M.H. Port, Londoners were loath 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.
86. Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, p. 705.
87. 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.
88. 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.
89. Schulz-Forberg, *London-Berlin*, p. 17.
90. 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*, p. 315.
91. 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* (Akadamischer 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.
92. B. Porter, 'Was Laing Right?', *Albion*, 23, 2 (1991), pp. 285–9; and one of several rebuttals, Schmiechen, 'Free-market Capitalism', pp. 269–74. See also M. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), p. 127.
93. E.G. Boutmy, *English People: A Political Psychology*, trans. E. English (Knickerbocker Press, London, 1904), pp. 3–4.
94. Boutmy, *English People*, p. 108.
95. Boutmy, *English People*, pp. 12–3.
96. 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.
97. Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities*, p. 195.
98. Henderson, *The Industrial Revolution on the Continent*, pp. 141–2; and see Jordan, *Transforming Paris*, pp. 91–3.
99. 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 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.'
100. L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1938), p. 233.
101. P.G. Nord, *Paris Shopkeepers and the Politics of Resentment* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986), p. 101.
102. Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities*, pp. 195–6.
103. Villars, *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, p. 8.

104. A. Lees, 'Critics of Urban Society in Germany, 1854–1914', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40, 1 (1979), pp. 62–8.
105. Lees, 'Critics of Urban Society in Germany', p. 66.
106. R. Koshar, 'What Ought to be Seen: Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identity in Modern Germany and Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33, 3 (1998), p. 333.
107. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, pp. 130–7; 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'.
108. Peters, *England and the English*, pp. 41, 44.

Epilogue: *'The Vast Curiosity-Shop of All the World'*: London and the Culture of Modernity

1. T.W. Reid, 'London – After Forty Years', *The Anglo-Saxon Review: A Quarterly Miscellany*, 6 (1900), p. 10.
2. Reid, 'London – After Forty Years', pp. 11–12.
3. Reid, 'London – After Forty Years', p. 12.
4. L. Mumford, *The City in History* (Secker & Warburg, London, 1961), pp. 29, 470.
5. Reid, 'London – After Forty Years', p. 17.
6. 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.
7. 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.
8. 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.
9. A. Dickinson, *My First Visit to Europe* (George Putnam, New York, 1851), p. 122.
10. Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes*, pp. 127–8.
11. P. Hall, *Cities in Civilization* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1998), pp. 223–5; 746–50.
12. 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 25 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.
13. J.E. Wetherell, *Over the Sea: A Summer Trip to Britain* (Evans Brothers, Strathroy, 1890), p. 22.
14. E. Forbes, *A Woman's First Impressions of Europe* (Derby & Miller, New York, 1865), pp. 20–1.
15. L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1938), p. 233.
16. C. Guild, *Over the Ocean, or, Sights and Scenes in Foreign Lands* (Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1871), p. 154.

17. A. Hare, *Walks in London* (2 vols., Daldy, Isbister & Co., London, 1878), i, p. xxiv.
18. H. Johansdottir, 'Under the Tourist Gaze: Reykjavik as the City that Never Sleeps', in A. Eysteinsson (ed.), *The Cultural Reconstruction of Places* (University of Iceland Press, Reykjavik, 2006), p. 116.
19. D. Arnold, 'London Bridge and Its Symbolic Identity in the Regency Metropolis: The Dialectic of Civic and National Pride', *Art History*, 22, 4 (1999), p. 545.
20. Arnold, 'London Bridge', p. 548.
21. S. Sumartojo, 'Britishness in Trafalgar Square: Urban Place and the Construction of National Identity', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 9, 3 (2009), p. 414.
22. Sumartojo, 'Britishness in Trafalgar Square', p. 411.
23. D. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City, and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000), p. 8.
24. 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.
25. See for instance E. Killian, 'Exploring London – Walking the City – (Re-)Writing the City', in H. Berghoff (ed.), *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600–2000* (Palgrave, London, 2002), who notes that even the basic activity of 'walking the city … also means constructing one's specific vision of the city', (p. 267).
26. 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.
27. 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.
28. L. Mack, *An Australian Girl in London* (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1902), pp. 2–3.
29. Mack, *Australian Girl in London*, p. 126.
30. E. de Amicis, *Jottings on London* (Alfred Mudge & Son, Boston, 1883), pp. 17–8.
31. 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.
32. T. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh* (James Munroe & Co., Boston, 1840), p. 40.
33. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, p. 41.
34. H. Tuckerman, *A Month in England* (Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1982), p. 27.

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Index