WALKING, RAMBLING, AND PROMENADING IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON: A LITERARY AND CULTURAL HISTORY

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work, and includes nothing done in collaboration. It has been prepared in accordance with the guidelines outlined by the Department of English and Related Literature and the University of York, and does not exceed the regulation length.

ABSTRACT

The dissertation examines the literature and culture of walking, rambling, and promenading in eighteenth-century London, exploring the ways in which walking informed the presentation of London over the course of the century, and how, as a social and cultural activity, it allowed writers to address contemporary issues such as luxury, class, politeness, gender, social mobility, and personal safety. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, walking had become an established means of organizing narratives of the metropolis and of composing and presenting one's experiences in London. At the same time, new kinds of social and cultural spaces – the promenade and the shopping street – gave rise to new forms of walking. Representations of London over the course of the century described a London that was interesting, spectacular, dangerous, and exciting – a city that needed to be presented, revealed, discussed, explained, and questioned. Rather than focus on a single genre or paradigm, the dissertation examines the variety of uses of walking in a range of presentations of London, including histories, topographies, guidebooks, ramble and spy narratives, periodicals, poems, travelogues, prints, and cultural artefacts.

INTRODUCTION

WALKING IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

A lady's fan, dated from the 1770s, opens to display a map of London [fig.1]. The listings at each side of the map offer a number of choices of places to visit, and mark the locations of churches, squares, places of interest, parks, and buildings of significance. The fan, presumably, is an early example of the same practice that now places maps of the London Underground on tea towels, socks, umbrellas, and ties. To own one of these objects announces that you have been to London (whether you have or not), and that you have some acquaintance, at least, with the area the map represents. You might point out the place where you stayed, the places you visited; you may trace on the map the routes you took. There are some important differences, however, between the eighteenth-century fan and the souvenirs of the present. The map of London, displayed on a fashion accessory like a fan, suggests the possibility of women moving unaccompanied through London, at a time when their freedom to do so was still insecurely established. Secondly, the map on the fan is a much more discreet aide-memoire then any comparable object sold today. To consult an A-Z in the street is to announce to everyone that you are a stranger to London, even new to the city; to glance briefly at a fan whose design is invisible to others makes no such troublesome confession.

A number of issues raised by this fan – the marketing of the idea of London; the way women should and should not move through the city; how to

Figure 1. Ladies fan displaying a map of London. London, c.1770s. Reproduced by kind permission of York Castle Museum.

present yourself on the city streets; and the association between London and polite and fashionable life – will return frequently in this dissertation. It explores the literature and culture of walking, rambling, and promenading in eighteenth-century London, examining the ways in which walking informed the presentation of London over the course of the century, and how, as a social and cultural activity, it allowed writers to address contemporary issues. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, walking had become an established means to present narratives of the metropolis and to compose and present one's experiences in London. The movements through the metropolis offered by narratives structured around walking allowed for the exploration of taverns, pleasure gardens, public promenades, shops, gaming houses, brothels, theatres, and exhibitions. At the same time, new kinds of social and cultural spaces – the promenade and the shopping street – gave rise to new forms of walking. Through their representations of London, authors and artists were able to respond to the swiftly growing metropolis, raising issues relating to morality, luxury, class, politeness, gender, social mobility, and personal safety. Representations of London over the course of the century described a London that was interesting, spectacular, dangerous, and exciting – a city which needed to be presented, revealed, discussed, explained, and questioned.

That London should hold such sway over the eighteenth-century imagination is not surprising. Far larger than any other European city in the period, it grew considerably both in size and in population over the course of the century. Although population figures before the first census of 1801 are not entirely reliable (they do not include Jews, Roman Catholics, Protestant Dissenters, the foreign, and the children of the poor), it is generally understood

London's size increased by more than 50% from around 570,000 in 1700 to 900,000 in 1801.[1] Although still legally as well as imaginatively divided along complex boundaries, including Middlesex, Westminster, the City, and the Borough of Southwark, plus various liberties and precincts, which together seemed to form 'an Aggregate of various Nations,' the whole of the developed area was, by the early eighteenth century, considered to be 'London.'[2] Writing in the 1720s, Daniel Defoe remarks that 'when I speak of London, now in the modern acceptation, you expect I shall take in all that vast mass of buildings, reaching from Black-Wall in the east, to Tot-hill Fields in the west' as well as Southwark, the whole totaling over thirty-six miles in circumference.[3] As the home of court, government, and culture, and with its theatres, promenades, coffee-houses, pleasure gardens, assemblies, and exhibitions (as well as more illicit forms of entertainment), London often set the standard in provincial towns for social and cultural activities. It was home to fashionable society during the season, and as roads and transportation improved, became accessible to more and more visitors. Finally, as the center of the nation's printing and publishing, it featured in most newspapers and novels that were read across the country.

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[1] Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 2000), pp. 121-2. George Rudé, *Hanoverian London 1714 – 1808* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1971), p. 4. The numbers were calculated by E. A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650-1750'. *Past and Present* 37 (1967), p. 44. The numbers are not undisputed: Mary Dorothy George calculated the population in 1750 as 674,350 in *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (1925), (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976).

[2] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator* ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) no. 403, III: 506.

[3] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-6), 2 vols. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1962), I: 314.

From some perspectives, the development of walking in London as a means to explore and experience the metropolis and as a pastime may seem surprising. Early eighteenth-century representations of London often focused on its filth, stenches, and noises. Ned Ward's 'spy' describes this sensory experience as overwhelming and disorienting, while Gay instructs the 'prudent walker' to depend on proper attire and street wisdom to make his or her way through the metropolis 'clean by day and safe by night.'[1] The absurdity of Gay's poem was not lost on his friends; Alexander Pope and Thomas Parnell remarked in a letter to Gay, who was then composing the poem:

> since...we find you can be content to breath in smoak, to walk in crouds, and divert your self with noise, nay and to make fine Pictures of this way of life, we shou'd give you up as one abandoned to a wrong choice of pleasures.[2]

Indeed, the dirt and inconveniences of London offered writers an opportunity to air their concerns about the rapidly growing and changing city. Swift's well-known poem 'A Description of a City Shower' depicts London as nothing more than the sum of its waste products. When the deluge begins:

> Sweepings from Butchers Stalls, Dung, Guts, and Blood,
> Drown'd Puppies, stinking Sprats, all drench'd in Mud,
> Dead Cats and Turnep-Tops come tumbling down the Flood.[3]

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[1] John Gay, *Trivia; or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London* (London, 1716) in Vinton Dearing, ed., *John Gay: Poetry and Prose*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), I: 134-181.

[2] George Sherburn, ed., *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), I: 222-23. Dearing, ed., II:546.

[3] Jonathan Swift, 'A Description of a City Shower' in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), no. 238, III: 227.

The mixed ordure mirrors the indiscriminate and promiscuous mixing of the various men and women who attempt to find refuge from the storm in a nearby shop. While Swift uses the filth of London's streets to warn society about where it might be heading – into the gutter – Bernard Mandeville, in his preface to the 1714 edition of *The Fable of the Bees* sees dirty and inconvenient streets as a sign of London's 'Plenty, great Traffick, and Opulency.' 'Dirty streets,' he claims, 'are a necessary Evil inseparable from the Felicity of *London.*' Those seeking to walk for pleasure, he suggests, would be better off in 'a fragrant Garden, or shady Grove in the Country' than in 'the stinking streets of *London.*'[1]

Despite the real inconveniences of the streets, a literature of walking nevertheless did emerge. In London but especially in Paris in the seventeenth century, urban surveys provided a means for writers to celebrate the modernity of their capital cities. In Paris, for example, the Pont Neuf became emblematic in both written and visual surveys of the advances of the period, while a similar importance was given to London's Westminster and Blackfriar's Bridges in the eighteenth century.[2] Indeed, we see in eighteenth-century London what Karen Newman has identified in seventeenth-century Paris: the appropriation of older genres and the emergence of new genres as means to announce and describe 'the profound changes wrought by urbanization.' One of the main features of many of these narratives was 'the movement through

[1] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1714), ed. Phillip Harth (Harmondsworth and London: Penguin, 1989), p. 57.

[2] Karen Newman, 'Towards a Topographic Imaginary: Early Modern Paris' in *Historicism, Psychoanalysis, and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Carla Mazzio and Douglas Trevor (New York and London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 59-81.

space as their organizing principle of textual development.'[1] Walking through eighteenth-century London offered a more realistic and interesting organization of London in the text than presenting the contents of the narrative alphabetically, which would often take the reader through various static scenes across the metropolis at a moment's notice. Further, walking allowed for urban life to be experienced and described to the fullest by revealing the stark contrast of inhabitants and lifestyles that might occur in a very short distance. London's people, its crowds and traffic, were often among the most exciting scenes for visitors to London, and what better way to experience these spectacles than by walking amongst them? Additionally, the opening of St. James's Park to the public during the Restoration made the promenade a regular feature of eighteenth-century London life for the first time, and men and women flocked to the park to perform, to display themselves, to stare at one another, to meet acquaintances, and to search for husbands for unmarried daughters. Walking, rambling, and promenading offered authors and artists a means to celebrate London's achievements, to satirize inhabitants who appeared out of place, and to dive into its low life. Movement through London allowed for surveys of London's inhabitants as well as its buildings. It could organize the metropolis for the reader, or, alternatively, present it as chaotic and overwhelming, threatening and possibly dangerous; it allowed for surveys of London's inhabitants as well as its buildings.

The eighteenth century has often been recognized as the starting point of a literature and culture that relates to walking, but much of this work focuses almost exclusively on Romantic writers such as Wordsworth or

[1] Newman, p. 61.

representations of the countryside, especially in the late eighteenth century.[1] More recently, literary critics and historians have begun to turn their attention to the enormous body of eighteenth-century works that relate to walking in an urban context. Penelope Corfield's 'Walking the City Streets: The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England' provides an overview of literature written for or from the viewpoint of pedestrians, and the changes in town planning that would have improved conditions for men and women walking in London and in provincial towns. Her research brings together a wealth of information, but in doing so lacks a strong sense of difference between walking in London and walking in provincial towns, between the experiences of men and women, between literary narratives and personal accounts, and between the experiences of the gentry, the middling sorts, and those who served them.[2] Rebecca Solnit's more recent *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2000) includes a section devoted to city streets in which she offers a discussion of eighteenth-century London. But she claims that 'only in the nineteenth century did places as clean, safe, and illuminated as modern cities begin to emerge,' and that 'raised sidewalks, streetlights, street names, building numbers, drains, traffic rules, and traffic signals' are only 'recent innovations,' overlooking the fact that many of these codes and improvements came into being in eighteenth-century London.[3]

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[1] See, for example, Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Use of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 1997); and Donna Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking, and Ecology in English Literature, 1671-1831* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave, 2001).

[2] Penelope Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets: The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Urban History*, 16:2 (February 1990), pp. 132-74.

[3] Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 177.

Despite the lack of a unified government for London, improvements in maintenance and upkeep of London's streets slowly transformed the face of the metropolis. Lighting and Paving Acts were nothing new, but became increasingly more effective over the course of the eighteenth century. For the City, an Act of 1736 calling for a new rate to pay for year-round street lighting proved a turning point; previously lighting had only been provided on certain days of the month throughout the winter. In the 1760s, the City began a project to widen its streets that included the dismantling of City gates. In Westminster, the Paving Act of 1762 and subsequent acts cleaned up London's streets. The improvements that were to eventually be covered by various acts were announced in the *St. James's Chronicle* in 1761, which outlines plans for the removal of shop signs to allow for more light and air, the posting of street names and the numbering of houses, 'for the better information of passengers,' as well as plans for paving, lighting, and cleaning the streets. The plans were intended as a means to 'render the streets safe, commodious, and pleasant' as well as 'ornamental, and worthy the metropolis of so great a kingdom.'[1]

The various acts in Westminster set up committees responsible for street maintenance; removed the kennel, or gutter, from the center of the road, replacing it with gutters on the side; and provided for scavenging and rubbish removal. Street nuisances, including spitting gutters, street encroachments, and eventually projecting shop signs in narrow streets which blocked air and light were attended to, and new sewers were constructed and existing ones

[1] 'A Plan for the rendering the Streets more Commodious to Passengers, by one General Law' in *The Yearly Chronicle for M,DCC,LXI. Or, a Collection of the Most Striking Essays, Letters, &c. which Appeared in the St. James's Chronicle, for that Year* (London, 1762), p. 370.

deepened. A 1765 Act called for street signs displaying street names and the numbering of buildings in each street; by 1770, most streets had complied. A 1792 Act in Westminster made further lighting improvements, and in 1804 gas lamps illuminated Pall Mall.[1] As early as 1725, Cesar de Saussure noted in his general impressions of London's streets that 'On either side of the streets the ground is raised and paved with flat stones, so that you can walk in the streets without danger of being knocked down by coaches and horses.'[2] Humorous and satirical suggestions for rules on walking London's streets, as well as advice to pedestrians, had been put forth as early as John Gay's *Trivia; or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716). By 1818, *The London Guide and Stranger's Safeguard* could confidently announce that 'Walking the streets has been reduced to a system in London; every one taking the right hand of another, whereby confusion is avoided.'[3] To suggest, then, that modern improvements came much later is to overlook a century of transformation designed to improve the appearance and 'walkability' of London.

Walking was not the only means to travel through London: commerce, court, and culture were at the heart of London, and transportation across the metropolis for these ends, and for leisure, became vital. As early as 1708, Edward Hatton reports, there were seven hundred hackney coaches in London

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[1] Mary Dorothy George. *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), p. 107-9. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, *The London Encyclopaedia* (Houndsmill: Macmillan, 1993), p. 860; 864.

[2] Cesar de Saussure, *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I. & George II.: The Letters of Monsieu Cesar de Saussure to his Family* trans. Madame van Muyden (London: John Murray, 1902), p. 36.

[3] [J. Badcock], *The London Guide and Stranger's Safeguard* (London, 1818) in *Unknown London: Early Modernist Visions of the Metropolis, 1815-1845*, ed. John Marriott, Masaie Matsumara, and Judith R. Walkowitz, 5 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000), I: 27.

and possibly up to four times as many private carriages.[1] According to George Rudé, by 1739 there were 1,100 coaches for hire.[2] Chairmen, link boys, and watermen also provided means to cross the metropolis. Transportation across London improved with the building of Westminster Bridge, opened in 1750, and Blackfriar's Bridge, opened in 1769. Previously, the crowded London Bridge had provided the only means to cross the Thames apart from the watermen (who vehemently opposed the construction of additional bridges). Nevertheless, traffic jams seemed to plague the metropolis by the end of the century. Sophie von La Roche, writing during her visit to London in 1786, describes an 'eternal stream of coaches' rolling down Oxford Street at eleven o'clock at night, while five years later, Horace Walpole complained of being 'stopped five times' in his coach before reaching his destination one afternoon, annoyed that 'the tides of coaches, chariots, curricles, phaetons, &c. are endless.'[3] By the end of the century, the extent of London began to transform the means of travelling the metropolis, creating a need for more coaches, and leading eventually to the introduction of the omnibus in 1829. Sedan chairs, which depended on two men to carry the passenger in a box-like compartment, would soon become obsolete. Walpole noted that 'the town is so extended, that the breed of sedan chairs is almost lost; for Hercules and Atlas could not carry anybody from one end of this enormous capital to the other.'[4]

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[1] Edward Hatton, *A New View of London* (London, 1708), p. v.

[2] Rudé, p. 22.

[3] Sophie von La Roche, *Sophie in London – 1786, being the Diary of Sophie v. La Roche*, trans. Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), p. 142. Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford*, ed. Peter Cunningham, 9 vols. (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1906), IX: 304.

[4] Walpole, *Letters*, IX:304-5.

But walking afforded the pedestrian a different view of the metropolis from that which could be experienced in a coach or chair: the chance to mix with the crowds, an experience which could be exciting, overwhelming, fascinating, or frightening. No doubt many new arrivals to London had the same experience as Lydia Melford in *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771). Overwhelmed by the swiftly moving crowds on London's streets, Lydia writes:

> I at first imagined, that some great assembly was just dismissed, and wanted to stand aside till the multitude should pass; but this human tide continues to flow, without interruption or abatement, from morn til night.[1]

A number of items were developed in the eighteenth century to aid the pedestrian tourist in their tour through London: guidebooks, distinct from pocket histories and descriptions, were designed to include a range of material from histories of particular buildings, entrance fees to various sights and entertainments, and suggested 'tours' through the city. Portable maps of London were available as early as the 1720s, and came in a variety of forms, as well on fans: there were pocket-sized maps with slip cases; maps on handkerchiefs; or maps available with guidebooks at an extra cost. While their accuracy left something to be desired, they were exact enough to offer pedestrian tourists a sense of direction. Souvenir items developed to cater to visitors to London: shopkeepers selling guidebooks and maps might also sell various images of London, as the Bowles family did. In addition to displaying maps, ladies' fans also featured London scenes, including Vauxhall Gardens,

[1] Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, ed. James L. Thorson (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Co., 1983), p. 87.

Bartholomew Fair, and Green Park. Playing cards illustrated with *The Cries of London*, a series of illustrations featuring London's street sellers, as well as trinket boxes and engravings displaying London scenes, and books describing London's size, history, topography, and antiquities were also available for purchase. Tourists were by no means the only audience for presentations of London and London scenes: the popularity of representations of the metropolis from new perspectives by pseudo-travelers suggests that Londoners themselves formed a large part of the audience for many of the works discussed in this dissertation.

The first two chapters explore how walking becomes a means to write London. Chapter One examines the various forms of London narratives in the period, including topographical accounts, guidebooks, and the ramble and spy narratives. The growing interest in and accessibility of London for men and women through Great Britain gave rise to a desire to know London: its history, topography, sites of interest, and the experiences it could offer. These narratives, organized around walks through London, offered to guide readers through London's streets, explain the city's history, and reveal its secrets. The desire to produce London narratives quickly and inexpensively meant, however, that though every guidebook was sold as the 'newest' account of the ever-changing city, most were full of repetitions and plagiaries of earlier publications.

Chapter Two examines the presentation of London in the periodicals of Addison and Steele, the *Tatler* (1709-11), the *Spectator* (1711-14), and the *Guardian* (1713). The periodicals mapped out London's cultural spaces, presenting ideas about politeness and polite sociability to an expanding

reading public, molding ideas originally designed as a means of moving beyond the political and religious divides of the seventeenth century into a pattern for behavior for a growing commercial middle class. Dirt, noise, and excessive odor are absent in Addison and Steele's presentation of London as the authors sanitize the metropolis for polite consumption. In focusing on visible and ostentatious manifestations of luxury, the authorial voices of the periodicals criticized all they deemed threatening to polite sociability, championing modesty in dress and behavior. Their inclusion of letters from correspondents, whether genuine or composed by Addison and Steele themselves, created an imaginary forum in which Londoners could develop their own sense of appropriate and inappropriate behavior on London's streets and in its social and cultural spaces.

After considering the ways in which Addison and Steele's project of politeness in part develops an etiquette for public places, I turn to an examination of London's promenades as a space in which, more than anywhere else, taste, status, and politeness were performed. But all, it will turn out, was not perfectly tasteful and polite. Over the course of the century, complaints that St. James's Park was becoming overrun with 'cits' and their families appeared in plays, novels, poems, prints, and songs. The mixed nature of the Park, however, had been a source of amusement and intrigue from its opening to the public in the Restoration. By the early eighteenth century, the mixed nature of the Park was a source of complaint, and it was suggested in various texts that the topography of polite self-presentation was shifting, with the truly polite taking refuge in Green Park, Hyde Park, and Kensington Gardens. As ideas about politeness became increasingly available

to more people through inexpensive publications, families that had reached a certain degree of wealth and status wished to distinguish themselves from those they deemed beneath them. The complaints about the Park, then, remain the same, because there was always an audience who wanted to imagine itself polite enough to make these distinctions.

While representations of class difference serve as the basis of Chapter Three, Chapter Four examines issues relating to gender. The ambiguities surrounding laws relating to prostitution, and to street-walkers in particular; the blurring of social ranks, and, with the rise of 'shopping', the increased presence of women in London's streets and public places, all contributed to the production of narratives – not least the novels of Frances Burney – which turned on the fears of abduction and of mistaken identity in the streets and open spaces of the capital. *Narratives of mistaken identity*, as well as women masquerading in order to perform activities that would normally be deemed inappropriate, featured in much of eighteenth-century literature. The area around Covent Garden and the Strand was especially problematic for polite women, who would travel there in their carriages from the West End for the theatre, but which was also known for its brothels, street-walkers, taverns, and other low-life haunts. In the second half of the century, the Strand developed into London's major shopping street, bringing more women out onto the pavements and attracting the attention of foreign visitors. As window shops delighted and entertained passers-by, a culture of spectacle became firmly rooted in London, as it offered itself up for consumption and presented itself as sheer entertainment.

In the Conclusion, I turn to presentations of London in the early nineteenth century. While Romantic writers like Blake, Wordsworth, and DeQuincey presented London as superficial and alienating, Charles Lamb reveled in the pleasures of Fleet Street and the Strand, while Pierce Egan in *Life in London* (1820-1) placed his insatiable heroes amongst the clubs of Bond Street and the colonnades along Regent Street. Indeed, the Regent Street development had been designed to serve as a kind of theatrical backdrop for its pedestrians and inhabitants, itself a space to promenade and socialize. Nash explained in his plans that:

> those who have daily intercourse with the Public Establishments in Westminster, may go two-thirds of the way on foot under cover, and those who have nothing to do but walk about and amuse themselves may do so everyday in the week, instead of being frequently confined many days together to their Houses by rain; and such a covered Colonnade would be of peculiar convenience to those who require daily exercise. The Balustrades over the Colonnades will form Balconies to the Lodging-rooms over the Shops, from which the Occupiers of the Lodgings can see and converse with those passing underneath, and which will add to the gaiety of the scenes, and induce single men, and others, who only visit Town occasionally, to give a preference to such Lodgings.[1]

In this London that has become a theatre, Egan's heroes become performers, slipping in and out of costumes that allow them to mix with high and low life in their plans to explore and absorb as much of life in London as possible. While their rambles and sprees were performed with no consequences throughout *Life in London* until Bob Logic's imprisonment for gambling debts at the end of the narrative, Egan's tone shifts in his second volume, *The Finish*

[1] John Nash, *First Report of the Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues* (1812), p. 89. Quoted in John Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980), pp. 77-8.

to...Life in and Out of London (1828). Three of his four main characters die, two as a result of the lives they lead in London, and the only possible future for Jerry is 'life in the country.' Although remote from Victorian literature's aims of social investigation, it nevertheless signals the changing interests and concerns of its readership, and the changing moral climate of the late 1820s.

Rather than trace a single paradigm or argument relating to walking in eighteenth-century London, I have sought in this dissertation to present the varied forms of walking and their significance for eighteenth-century literature and culture. I have chosen to organize the material under these chapter headings in order to explore the diverse uses of walking and the ways in which different forms of walking are used to different ends, my aim throughout being to place these narratives in the richness of their historical circumstances. I also wanted to avoid an approach to eighteenth-century London that focused on novels and major authors of the period, in part to avoid retracing well-covered ground. Finally, however, I chose this approach in order to bring to light genres and narratives that, while popular in the period, have since disappeared from the canon of eighteenth-century literature. Such narratives, from broadsides, 'pseudo'-guidebooks, literary rambles, topographical tours, newspapers – the full range of eighteenth-century literature – were of course an important part of the cultural context in which eighteenth-century fiction was produced and consumed. More importantly, they fed directly into the eighteenth-century novel, much more evidently than would be the case in the following century when the novel was more securely established as a genre in its own right.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LITERARY FORMS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

The explosion of print culture beginning in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries catered to a desire for knowledge about London which it must also have helped to create. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the desire for literature about London stimulated the invention of new genres and the reformulation of old ones, while narratives of the metropolis often borrowed from several different genres. Surveys, 'spies,' rambles, guides, and tours all offered a variety of 'information' about London to the non-Londoner and Londoner alike: its history, development, layout, vices, sights, and places of interest. The size and the speed of growth of the metropolis created a number of problems: how and in what form to describe and present London, and how to keep current on new changes in the capital. The continuous nature of periodical and serial publication – whether daily or less frequent – suited writers about London because of the open format that was a characteristic of both. Books, however, with distinct beginnings and endings, were a more difficult means of encapsulating the place. In his 1657 work *Londinopolis*, the historiographer James Howell described London as if it were a book, wondering whether it 'may be said, in point of magnitude, to be as a large volume in Folio.'[1] By the end of the eighteenth century, Thomas

[1] J. Howell, *Londinopolis; an Historicall Discourse or Perlustration of the City of London, the Imperial Chamber, and Chief Emporium of Great Britain* (London, 1657). Quoted in

Pennant, in the introduction to his *Some Account of London* (1790), finds it necessary to apologize to the people of London for 'having stuffed their *Iliad* into a nut-shell' by reducing '*London* and the liberties of *Westminster*, into a *quarto* volume.'[1]

For all their claims of presenting London 'as it appears in the PRESENT YEAR,' as one frequently republished narrative explained,[2] an examination of literary representations of eighteenth-century London reveals a fundamental paradox at the center of a modernity that manifested itself most prominently in a proliferation of print culture. On the one hand, change was invoked as the reason for the writing of new narratives, which in turn claimed to reflect London at the time of writing. The various new narratives both created and responded to a fascination with London by claiming to contain up-to-the-minute information, and implying that this information was vital to one's understanding of the metropolis. On the other hand, however, histories, topographies, guidebooks, and ramble and spy narratives over the course of the century all depended on earlier narratives to form the basis of their new works, and mapmakers were known to use old and out of date plates, or to prepare maps that included plans for new developments that in the end never materialized.[3] Throughout the century, to attract potential readers, texts claimed to be 'updated,' 'improved,' and more 'complete' versions of earlier offerings, yet were often only renamed or reformatted versions of earlier

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Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 62.

[1] Thomas Pennant, *Some Account of London* (London, 1790), p. iv.

[2] *The New London Spy* (London, 1771), title page.

[3] Philippa Glanville, *London in Maps* (London: The Connoisseur, 1972), pp. 27, 30.

narratives.

This chapter explores the reprinting and reproduction of London texts over the course of the eighteenth century, examining the emergence of new genres such as the guidebook and the ramble narrative alongside the established topographical form, and their means of production as symptomatic of 'modernity.' While the *flaneur* provides a tempting figure around which to model a discussion of the literature of urban spectatorship, I will in this chapter be turning back to Paris in the seventeenth century, rather than looking forward to Paris of the nineteenth century, to examine the ways of writing London that emerge in the eighteenth century. Recent critical work by Karen Newman describes a modernity that in seventeenth-century Paris is as much spatial as it is temporal and serves as a useful model for print culture's response to the growth of London in the eighteenth century.[1] For reasons relating to both the speed of literary production and anxieties about how to describe London, eighteenth-century writers whose project was to narrate and represent the metropolis often translated and appropriated seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century narratives of Paris. Edward Hatton, in his London topography *A New View of London; or, an Ample Account of That City* (1708) admits that he borrows his organizing principle for the text from *A Guide to Paris*, adding new headings as he felt necessary. Writers of eighteenth-century London also made use of narratives such as Jean de la Bruyere's *Les Caracteres* (1688) and Alain Rene le Sage's *Diable Boiteux* (1707).

[1] Newman, *passim.*

1. GUIDEBOOKS TO LONDON

A new genre, forming the basis of the modern guidebook, was beginning to emerge in the eighteenth century distinct from large histories and surveys, printed in small duodecimo sized volumes, and considering the needs and desires of visitors. Guidebooks to London emerged much later than guidebooks to other European capitals.[1] While some have placed the emergence of English language guidebooks to London in the 1680s, I would suggest that the modern guidebook is a product of the eighteenth century, and even then is still in its early stages of development. David Webb has called Nathaniel Crouch's *Remarques and Observations on the Ancient and Present State of London and Westminster*, published under the name of 'Richard Burton' in 1681, 'the first true guide book to London,' and names Thomas de Laune's *The Present State of London: or, Memorials Comprehending an Full and Succinct Account of the Ancient and Modern State Thereof*, also published in the same year, as a close second. Webb's claims appear to be based on the size of the books, and they are perhaps the two first pocket histories of London. But, as he notes, Crouch's work lacks an order of presentation and draws heavily on Stow and Howell, while de Laune's text, also drawing on Stow, reads like an almanac.[2] Neither of the texts even advertises itself as useful to visitors to the metropolis.

In discussing the development of the modern guidebook, I have more specific criteria in mind than Webb. A guidebook would be, as Crouch and de

[1] David Webb, 'Guidebooks to London Before 1800: A Survey', *London Topographical Record* XXVI (1990), p. 138.

[2] Webb, p. 139.

Laune's volumes are, pocket sized (duodecimo). But a guidebook should also imagine itself as a guide to London either by advertising itself to strangers and foreigners, by suggesting tours to take through London, or by including information necessary to someone visiting London (what to see, the cost of entrance to the city's various sights, where to stay). History and description are, of course, necessary components, but in a guidebook, they should be organized in a manner 'useful' to a visitor: geographically, alphabetically, by type of places described. In taking on any combination of these attributes, a text actually attempts to 'guide' the reader during their stay in London, rather than merely offer history or description of places in the metropolis.

François Colsoni's *Le Guide de Londres Pour Les Estrangers* (1693) is a more likely candidate for the earliest guidebook to London. The text, organized around five tours through London, also offered the purchaser advice on where to stay, sights to see, an opportunity to go shopping, and advice on where to stop for refreshment. In later editions of his guide, the multilingual Colsoni noted that he frequently showed foreigners around the metropolis himself, serving as perhaps London's first unofficial walking tour guide.[1] Perhaps the earliest guides in English are *A New Guide to London: Or, Directions to Strangers; Shewing the Chief Things of Curiosity and Note in the City and Suburbs* (1726) and *The Foreigner's Guide: or, a Necessary and Instructive Companion* (1729). Both texts were printed with parallel French and English texts, announcing their usefulness 'both for the foreigner and the

[1] François Colsoni, *Le Guide de Londres* (London, 1693), ed. with intro. by Walter H. Godfrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 55.

native' on the title page.[1] *The Foreigner's Guide* offered much historical description but organized its contents geographically, allowing the reader to use the text as a tour-guide if so desired. Like many other eighteenth-century guides to London, they also included the rates charged by coachmen and watermen.

The rise of domestic tourism in the eighteenth century was a result in part of better roads and an increase of disposable income among the wealthier middling sorts and gentry. It was also, as Robert Mayhew has demonstrated, inextricably part of the political and patriotic education of polite young men. The Grand Tour began to be seen as something the traveler eventually undertook after gaining a certain knowledge about Britain. The emphasis on domestic travel, as Mayhew points out, was to ensure a sense of knowledge and pride on the part of young British travelers of their constitutional and ecclesiastical governments. As a result, the young nobility abroad would be less likely to be 'seduced' by other cultures, governments, and religions.[2] Guidebooks to as well as histories of London occasionally made use of these arguments in their prefaces. Hatton offers *A New View of London* to 'Noble and Gentlemen' as a means of enabling them, 'when in Foreign Countries, to give a satisfactory Account of the Metropolis of *their own.*'[3] The author of *The London and Westminster Guide* (1768) would claim one of his reasons for writing the guide was to ensure that the young nobility and gentry would

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[1] *The Foreigner's Guide; or a Necessary and Instructive Companion Both for the Foreigner and the Native in Their Tours through London and Westminster* (London, 1729).

[2] Robert J. Mayhew, *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650-1850* (Houndmills and London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 142.

[3] Edward Hatton, *A New View of London* (London, 1708), p. iii.

explore their own country, and their own metropolis in particular, before 'extending their curiosity to other countries.'[1]

In the second half of the century, English language guides began to adopt the language of the tour more frequently and included a variety of information aimed at the new arrival in or visitor to London. At a period when maps were expensive, difficult to reproduce on a small scale, and often inaccurate or out of date, a narrative that walks that reader through London pointing out sites of interest along the way would be especially useful. *A Companion to Every Place of Curiosity and Entertainment in and about London and Westminster* was first published in 1767, and reprinted throughout the second half of the eighteenth century; from 1774 it was available at an extra cost with a map. As the title page informs the reader, the guide offers 'an HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION' of the various places of interest to the visitor, and:

> a concise and exact ACCOUNT of the CURIOSITIES contained in several of them; and Directions for gaining Admittance to each Place. Also the RATES of COACHMEN and WATERMEN from the principal Parts of LONDON to the above Places.[2]

The guide is one of the first in English to offer such useful information, including history and descriptions of the various sights, pointing out the particularly interesting features, and information on gaining admittance, including to whom one need apply, where, and at what cost.

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[1] *The London and Westminster Guide* (London, 1768), p. iii.

[2] *A Companion to Every Place of Curiosity and Entertainment in and about London and Westminster* (London, 1767), title page.

A Companion stands out as a rare example in the eighteenth century of a guidebook that collects a range of useful information for the visitor while offering a descriptive tour and history. Other 'guides' included nothing more than an alphabetical list of streets and sights (*The Ambulator* (1774) and its various reprintings) and rates of coachmen and watermen (*The Book of Coach-Rates* (1770), *The London Companion or Citizen and Stranger's Guide through the Metropolis and Its Environs* ([1790?])), or organized their histories by types of buildings (*The London and Westminster Guide*, first published 1768). Nevertheless, in a period when the genre was just beginning to emerge and when publishers were still considering what sort of 'useful' information might easily be gathered and printed for a profit, texts like *A Companion* and *The London and Westminster Guide* went through numerous editions. At the same time, map and print sellers catered to visitors to London by offering guides, maps, and prints in one shop. As early as 1726, John Bowles, map and print seller, sold *A New Guide to London: or, Directions to Strangers*, advertising itself to both 'foreigners and strangers.' It contained 'descriptions' of London's buildings and squares and included hackney coach and boat rates.[1] In his 1728 *Catalogue* Bowles advertised, in addition to copies of the guidebook, 'A new and exact Plan of the City of *London*, and Suburbs thereof' which also included hackney coach and boat rates, and 'a concise description...of the City.' 'Diverse Prospects' of many of London's sights were also advertised, as well as pocket-sized maps printed either on paper or on handkerchiefs, and including either coach and boat rates printed

[1] *A New Guide to London: or, Directions to Strangers* (London, 1726), title page.

around the border or street listings.[1] These maps, images, and guidebooks feature in later catalogues as well, and when son Carrington took over the business, guides, rates, and street listings remained regular items for sale.

2. HISTORIES, TOPOGRAPHIES, AND ANTIQUARIAN TOURS

Stow's *Survey of London* (1598) provided writers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with material and a format for presenting London on paper, describing its streets, alleys, lanes, parishes, and buildings. It went through five editions between 1598 and 1633, but by the late seventeenth century, much of its information had become obsolete: a large portion of the City had been destroyed by and rebuilt after the Great Fire in 1666, and the West End and surrounding suburbs were expanding with greater speed than could often be caught on paper.[2] Edward Hatton is one in a series of writers throughout the century whose project is to offer an updated, revised version of Stow's *Survey* in a manner appropriate to London's status as a 'Famous and Flourishing City.' Acknowledging his debt to Stow and others who wrote before the *Survey of London*, Hatton articulates the nature of writing and producing topographical descriptions and antiquarian histories: 'it cannot be supposed, that a Book of this kind was ever done without borrowing

[1] John Bowles, *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Books, and Books of Maps, which are Printed for and Sold by John Bowles, at Mercer's-Hall in Cheapside* (London, 1728), pp. 3, 14, 18.

[2] For the changes in the language of the 'tour' through the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, see Cynthia Wall, 'Grammars of Space: The Language of London from Stow's *Survey* to Defoe's *Tour*' *Philological Quarterly* 76:4 (Fall 1997), 387-411.

from several Authors (witness the large Catalogue of those Collected from Mr. *Stow* himself, as acknowledged by him in his *Survey*).'[1] Other topographical and historical narratives after Hatton similarly acknowledged their debt to Stow, if only in their titles, not least of all as a means to heighten the status of and interest in their own work. *A New and Complete Survey of London* (1742) uses its title to identify itself with Stow's work, while *An Exact Abridgement of Stowe's History of London* (1759?) claims in its extended title that Stow's history is in the text 'brought down to the present time.' Many others, in a bid for potential consumers, are advertised as 'new,' 'exact,' 'compleat,' 'accurate,' 'universal,' and as 'an improvement' on the various other surveys available or out of date.[2] The surveys took on a number of forms: they could be divided by subject headings, like Hatton's (such as streets, churches, companies, royal buildings, etc.), 'alphabetically digested,' like Richard Burridge's *A New Review of London* (1722), or taken in a tour.

To organize a historical, architectural, topographical, or antiquarian description around a tour served a number of functions: the text produced, if printed in a small enough volume, might serve as a guidebook. A visitor to London might trace the route of the narrative in seeing London's sights. If printed in a size that is too large to carry around during one's tour, the text might be marketed as a kind of souvenir item for the gentleman's library, to allow him to review the paths he took through London and the sights he saw. Additionally, the text might serve as a replacement for a visit to London:

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[1] Hatton, p. A2-A3.

[2] See, for example, Richard Burridge, *A New Review of London* (London, 1722); *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjacent...the Whole Being an Improvement of Mr. Stow's and Other Surveys* (London, 1733-5); and John Entick, *A*

someone unable to make the journey might read a narrative that guides the reader through London's sights to create a sense of moving through London oneself. Letters from visitors to London often organize their descriptions in the form of a tour for the benefit of the absent reader, narrating the paths they take through London and what they see along the way. At a period when guide and conduct literature had become a lucrative business, the merging of various genres and older texts to create narratives and descriptions of London could appeal to a wide audience. Topographies and guides to London could allow readers 'to make Choice of Objects suitable to the Time they have to spare, and to enable them to relate what they have seen,' ensuring not only that visitors find their way, but can relate with some authority what they have seen.[1]

One potential market would be the man with aspirations to taste for whom knowledge about London, and a means of speaking about it both knowledgeably and critically, was a sign of status. In 1734, *A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings, Statues, and Ornaments in and about London and Westminster* was published, beginning with an 'Essay on Taste.' The text moves through the geography of London, describing its streets and buildings. For the most part, the author laments the missed opportunities of London's development and the lack of uniform good taste in the metropolis, although he occasionally lauds certain scenes, such as the view of Westminster Abbey through the trees while walking in St. James's Park. Typical of the text is his complaint that the statues in the yards of statue makers that can be seen along

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New and Accurate History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Places Adjacent (London, 1766).

[1] *A Companion*, title page.

Piccadilly to Hyde Park Corner, 'afford a judicious foreigner such flagrant opportunities to arraign and condemn our taste.'[1] The work forms part of a genre devoted to ideas about public magnificence manifested through urban development, a form that traces its origins to the period immediately after the Great Fire of 1666, which inspired a number of plans for rebuilding the metropolis. Standing at Charing Cross, for example, the author notes:

> When I have stood at this place, I have often regretted that some such opening as this had not been contriv'd, to serve as a centre between the two cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and from whence, particularly the cathedrals of St. *Paul*'s and the *Abbey* might have been seen, as the terminations of two vistas: I am of the opinion that nothing in *Europe* would have had a finer effect; but now 'tis impossible it should ever take place, and I mention it only by way of hint, that private property is, generally speaking, the only bar to publick ornament and beauty. (40-1)

In suggesting ways in which development might have been planned to add 'ornament and beauty' to London, including thoroughfares uniting important sites throughout the metropolis, the text offers the reader a model for describing London in a way that demonstrates taste in relation to the arts, politics, and nationalism.

Following in the tradition of *A Critical Review*, John Gwynn's *London and Westminster Improved, Illustrated with Plans* was published in 1766. It included 'A Discourse on Publick Magnificence,' 'Observations on the State of the Arts and Artists in this Kingdom,' and complaints about the role of private property in London's development. Gwynn also provided plans which map suggested developments over a plan of London as it exists to serve as inspiration for future development, a discussion of the problems of the current

[1] *A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings* (London, 1734), p. 34.

state of London (organized around a tour), and proposals for new developments. But *A Critical Review* played an even more significant role as a source for later texts: *The Stranger's Guide through London and Westminster* (1786) and Thomas Malton's *A Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster* (1792).

Nearly a half a century after its original publication, *A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings* was 'reprinted with very large additions' by John Wallis in 1783.[1] The new text, with additions and comments on new developments which had emerged since the original printing was reprinted again in 1786 under the title of *The Stranger's Guide through London and Westminster* in order to attract visitors to or newly arrived inhabitants of the metropolis. The complete title of *The Stranger's Guide* explains that it contains 'an ample description of every curiosity both ancient and modern; and a critical review of all the Public Buildings...divided into a Six Days Tour.' The text thus turns the earlier treatise into a guidebook, one that not only guides the reader through London but also guides his sense of taste and his responses to what he sees. The text begins with the original 'Essay on Taste' from the first edition of *A Critical Review*, and acknowledges its debt to the earlier treatise, while adding to it. Passages quoted from the earlier text appear in quotation marks to distinguish those comments from the rest of the narrative. The author explains:

> The avowed purpose of its author, to review the public buildings, &c. will be adhered to as much as possible; but, for the sake of general utility, we shall not hesitate in remarking

[1] *A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings* (London, 1783), title page.

> things which deserve general notice, tho' of a very different nature from any contained in this treatise.[1]

The text advertises itself as being for the 'man of taste and observation' and was available, at an extra cost, with a map. Of the 'additions' to the text, the new narrative includes, for example, a discussion of the effects of the Westminster Paving and Lighting Acts which appeared after the publication of the original treatise. In offering information on the state of London's streets, the text seems to want to prove to the reader that walking through London on one's tour will be a clean and safe undertaking. However, the author at times leads the reader through dirty and inconvenient scenes, speeding up his survey as he does. In Southwark, for example, he writes:

> Here we find all that disagreeable croud, and hurry of business which the narrowness of the streets renders quite uncomfortable. Instead of looking round with the exultation at the busy scene before us, and reflecting on its numerous advantages, the mind is entirely taken up with the care of one's own personal safety. The ideas which intrude themselves on the imagination are, that a cart will splash you all over, a porter will run the corner of his load against your head, or that a cheese, or a sugar-loaf, or some other panel of goods thrown from a cart into a shop, will fall, and dash your brains out. We are almost ready to regret that the Borough escaped the fire which consumed the City of London. There is not one good street in the place, and so few objects worthy of notice, that we may pass as quickly through it in our survey as we should in walking. (19-20)

Walking in Southwark allows no time for the man of polite taste to ruminate on that which he sees: danger, hurry, noise, and movement are all immediately before him, making his immediate thoughts of personal safety. For a

[1] *The Stranger's Guide through London and Westminster; Containing an Ample Description of Every Curiosity Both Ancient and Modern; and a Critical Review of All the Publick Buildings. The Whole Bring Divided into a Six Days Tour* (London, 1786), p. 1-2.

pedestrian tourist, especially, the road is inconvenient and dangerous: all attention must be given to negotiating a safe path through carts and men carrying goods which at any moment could injure the tourist. The narrator continues to walk the tourist along, pointing out various sites along the way, to St. George's Fields, where the narrator suggests time to 'pause and look around us,' taking in the view of London and Westminster from south of the river (22). Weaving architectural criticism into a guidebook, Wallis publication advertises itself to the man of taste. John Wallis also published an abridgement of Pennant's *Some Account of London* (1790) under the title *London; or, an Abridgement of the Celebrated Mr. Pennant's Description of the British Capital and Its Environs* (1793) in duodecimo, reducing Pennant's quarto into a pocket-sized book. In the preface to the original version Pennant explains that the materials are presented 'nearly in the same manner' as they were 'collected, and quite according to the course of the walk of the day.'[1] In maintaining the order of presentation, Wallis' abridgment allows the reader to follow a pocket-sized tour through Pennant's London.

Unlike *The Stranger's Guide*, which acknowledges its debt to the previous author and separated the original text from the added remarks, Thomas Malton's *A Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster* appropriates the ideas and language of *A Critical Review*, and presumably draws on other source material as well. The narrator serves as a tour guide, leading the reader verbally through London with phrases like 'from hence...turning to the right...we arrive...'. As a picturesque tour, the narrator often comments on perspective views, advising the reader where to stop to

[1] Pennant, p. iv.

enjoy the most picturesque scenes. Malton, an architectural draftsman, had regularly exhibited views of London streets and buildings at Royal Academy exhibitions, and *A Picturesque Tour* is illustrated with 'the most interesting views, accurately delineated and executed in aquatinta,' allowing the viewer to both see and read about London.[1] Unlike *The Stranger's Guide*, specifically marketed as a guidebook, with map, for London, Malton's text, produced on folio half-sheet, makes the narrative not a companion on one's travels, but a replacement for them, whether instead of the journey to London, or as a means to recollect the places one had been.

The various forms of *A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings* over the course of the century – treatise on taste, architecture, and public magnificence; a reprinting with additions to make it relevant to contemporary readers; a guidebook; a narrative to highlight a large illustrated volume of London for the gentlemen's library – is symptomatic of much of literature about London in the period. Developing a new text out of an old narrative or narratives saves the publisher time and expense, while presenting it in a variety of forms could ensure a wider potential audience. The range of forms of *A Critical Review* would have catered to men who fashioned themselves men of taste, artists, antiquarians, and visitors to London. Other texts would draw on a variety of genres in one format. Priscilla Wakefield's *Perambulations around London* (1809) is at once an antiquarian and a contemporary survey, a travelogue, and an epistolary novel. Focusing on a family travelling to London, the narrative takes the form of letters describing various aspects of London's history, topography, and life, with occasional

[1] Thomas Malton, *A Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1792), title page.

letters from young persons of the travelling family, recording their first responses to London. The title page announces that the text is 'designed for young persons,' aiming to instruct and entertain.

Like Wallis and his various forms of *A Critical Review* and Pennant, the publications of the printer and bookseller Richard Phillips exemplify the ways in which writers and booksellers made use of a range of genres to write London and ensure interest in their materials. His 1805 publication *Modern London; Being the History and Present State of the British Metropolis* is more than a topographical history. The book includes descriptions of places, manners, and amusements as well as a history and description of civic and charitable establishments and an account of the arts, literature, and learned societies in the metropolis. One of his more interesting publications about London is *A Morning's Walk from London to Kew*, first published in his *Monthly Magazine* between 1813-1816, and also published in book form in 1817 and 1820.

A Morning's Walk offers a twist to the antiquarian 'tours' through London offered in works like *The Stranger's Guide*, Malton's *Picturesque Tour*, and Pennant's *Some Account of London*. In his introductory remarks, Phillips explains that he harbours 'a moderate degree of literary ambition,' but unlike other learned men, he has not traveled abroad and is an ineffective storyteller.[1] Following reason and his senses, the author sets out on a pedestrian journey clearly different from 'those TOPOGRAPHERS and ANTIQUARIES whose studies are bound by dates of erection, catalogues of occupants, and copies of tomb-stones' (iii-vi). Determined to see everything

[1] Richard Phillips, *A Morning's Walk from London to Kew* (London, 1820), p. iii.

as 'inexhaustible sources of inquiry and contemplation,' (1), Phillips shares with the reader his thoughts as they pass through his mind in response to the scenes around him on his excursion that lasts from nine in the morning until six in the afternoon. For example, Phillips ruminates on the actual circumstances of a group of beggars he sees, pointing out that one which seemed most penitent struck her son when she thought no one was looking. He engages in conversation about them with a nearby shopkeeper who attests that they make a pretty good income from their begging there. While in St. James's Park, he considers the number of people passing through the Park on the way to the City, and begins to calculate the number of people who now live in the suburbs and commute to their jobs. The journey ends in Kew as a result of the author's fatigue. Sitting in a graveyard, he begins to wax philosophical about 'the strong analogy which exists between such an excursion [the morning's walk] and THE LIFE OF MAN' (390).

Phillips' narrative offers a striking contrast with the ramble and spy narratives discussed below. Phillips's walk takes him out of the center of the metropolis, while the narrators of the ramble and spy texts revel in all they find in central London. The timing of his walk, from nine in the morning until six in the evening, echoes the structure of texts such as *The Midnight Rambler; or New Nocturnal Spy* ([1772]) which covered a view of the metropolis from nine in the evening until six in the morning, or *The Midnight Spy* (1766), which covers from ten in the evening until five in the morning. Rather than a walk throughout London for the experiences on offer, Phillips' ramble was one of the mind. Almost in response to the ramble and spy narratives, at the conclusion of his journey he writes:

> I jostled no one, and no one disturbed me. My feeling were those of peace, and I suffered no hostility. My inclinations were virtuous, and I had the expected reward of virtue. (391)

Like the end of *The Complete Modern London Spy* (1781), Phillips claims that one can wander through London without falling susceptible to temptation and corruption. Nevertheless, his walk is a walk out of town, into the suburbs, which, although continually developing, do not have the same hustle and bustle as London. He can therefore feel 'peace' during his ramble, and allow his mind to wander. Unlike the various listings in typical guides and antiquarian texts that allow the reader to easily find references to a particular place or event, Phillips' index is organized by the observations he has made about various scenes and sights he has passed. It includes facetious but obscure entries such as 'Ant-hill, like the British metropolis' (a rumination on the amount of people circulating through London) and 'Females on fire, modes of extinguishing' (thoughts on a woman he passes whose dress has caught fire), seemingly designed to frustrate anyone who would hope to use the text mainly as a guidebook.

It was not only writers concerned with London's *history and* topography for whom the question of narrating and encapsulating London was a concern. Fictional narratives of eighteenth-century London also merge, reformulate, and re-imagine genres. Writers like Alexander Pope and John Gay reworked classical genres like the epic or pastoral poetry, often for satiric ends. One form which seemed to suit contemporary London, with its claims to instruct (which were often unfulfilled), was the georgic.

3. THE ART OF WALKING THE STREETS OF LONDON

In addition to topographical histories and guides aimed at visitors and newcomers to the metropolis, fictional narratives also catered to the growing interest in London. The georgic, a form that claims to instruct the reader but ultimately serves to entertain, influenced much writing about eighteenth-century London. Narratives of the 'cheats' and 'frauds' of London, influenced by coney-catching narratives like Thomas Dekker's *The Belman of London, Bringing to Light the Most Notorious Villanies That Are Now Practised in the Kingdome* (1608), were printed and reprinted over the course of the eighteenth century. Some recurring titles include *The Cheats of London Exposed*; *The Tricks of the Town Laid Open*; *The Honest London Spy, Discovering the Base and Subtle Intrigues of the Town*; and *The Countryman's Guide to London, or Villainy Detected.*[1] The narratives normally offered an alphabetical list of the kinds of 'tricks' or 'cheats' to which a newly arrived country bumpkin might be susceptible, describing in detail how the cheat was performed. The irony inherent in a book claiming to instruct how to avoid cheats by in effect instructing how they were to be performed was not lost. *The Tricks of the Town* (1732), claimed in its extended title that it contained 'ways and means for getting money' by exposing 'the various lures, wiles, and artifices, practised by the designing and crafty upon the weak and unwary.'[2]

John Gay's 1716 poem *Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London* offers advice and information for the polite pedestrian on how to

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[1] For example, *Tricks of the Town* was published as early as 1732, and appeared throughout the period under titles like *The Cheats of London Exposed* and *The Frauds of London Detected*, while *The Honest London Spy* was printed in London as early as 1706 and in Dublin as late as 1793.

[2] *The Tricks of the Town: or, Ways and Means for Getting Money* (London, 1732).

manoeuvre cleanly and safely throughout London.[1] The poem, often classified as an 'urban georgic,' borrows from a variety of genres. It is at various times throughout a guidebook (with index and side headings), an almanac, an etiquette manual, an attack on luxury, and a treatise on the benefits of walking, composed in the form of a stroll through London.

The poem opens with an outline of its aims:

> Through Winter Streets to steer your Course aright,
> How to walk clean by Day, and safe by Night,
> How jostling Crouds, with Prudence, to decline,
> When to assert the Wall, and when resign...(1-4)

It continues with advice on what to wear while walking, hints on how to predict the weather, how to stay clean, the dangers to be avoided, and etiquette. While the poem is a comparatively sanitized ramble through London, *Trivia* nonetheless concerns itself with themes similar to those in Ned Ward and Tom Brown's descriptions: crowds, dangers, and, like Swift's 'Description of a City Shower' (1710), the unpredictability of the weather.

As an advice book for the 'prudent Walker' (29), *Trivia* offers sections on appropriate attire for walking in London, including articles which signify the necessity of walking (such as pattens and umbrellas), designed to accommodate the pedestrian in inclement weather. Shoes should be sturdy enough to 'protect thy Feet/Thro' freezing Snows, and Rains, and soaking Sleet' (I, 33-4), and fit well in order to prevent injury when walking on cobblestones. If the soles become covered in snow, the poet recommends that the walker 'Strike off the breaking balls against the Post' (II, 326). Coats and

[1] John Gay, *Trivia; or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London* (London, 1716) in Vinton Dearing, ed., *John Gay: Poetry and Prose*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), I: 134-181.

canes should be functional: unlike the beaus who carry 'Canes with Amber tipt...for empty Show' (I, 67-8) the prudent walker makes use of his to command his place at the wall, ward off approaching vehicles, and to ensure his way in the dark. Luxurious fashion is cited as the reason why few women are seen walking. The poet hearkens to an ideal past when 'the proud Lady trip'd along the Town,/And tuck'd up Petticoats secur'd her Gown,' exercise which resulted in a natural, 'unartful' beauty (I, 105-8). In the section '*Implements proper for female Walkers*' (I, 209-222), the poet recommends riding-hoods, umbrellas, and pattens: articles that working women would use to protect themselves from the weather, not what the lady of quality would wear.

Gay includes a section, borrowed from the georgic tradition, on predicting the weather by reading the environment, and offering advice on what to wear in various types of weather ('Be thou, for ev'ry Season, justly drest' I, 129). Coal fires signal cold weather, the ladies walking along the Mall and chairmen without business signal fair weather, and when shop signs swing and creak, prepare for rain. The impending storm announces its arrival with sounds and smells: 'you'll hear the Sounds/Of whistling Winds, e'er Kennels break their Bounds;/Ungrateful Odours common Sewers diffuse' (I, 169-71). Those who heed not the warnings of the skies will show their mistake in the form of muddy clothing and an uncurled wig unless they 'seek the kind Protection of a Shop' (I, 198). The poet advises on how to ascertain the days of the week: 'Experienc'd Men, inur'd to City Ways,/Need not the *Calendar* to count their Days' (II, 405-6). Cleaning days, market days, and gaming days announce the day of the week.

The poet recommends avoiding the crowded streets by walking in the morning: 'For Ease and for Dispatch, the Morning's best:/No Tides of Passengers the Street molest' (II, 7-8) with the exception of the milkmaids and the fishwives. As the morning continues, however, noise, people, and carts fill the streets: 'Now Industry awakes her busy Sons/...Shops open, Coaches roll, Carts shake the Ground,/And all the Streets with passing Cries resound' (II, 21-4). The poet continues with a description of '*Trades prejudicial to Walkers*' and how to avoid the dirt and mess of tradesmen. Walking in an alley, wide enough only for pedestrians, is recommended as a retreat from the hurry of the major thoroughfares, but the poet objects to walking in narrow streets, where wheeled traffic leaves little room for pedestrians.

The poem also discusses the sort of topics that London pseudo-guidebooks would address. *Trivia* asserts that 'new Dangers round [the Walker] throng;/The busy City asks instructive Song' (II, 219-20). It includes sections recommending the lost walker to ask only the 'sworn [licensed] Porter' (II, 66) for directions, sections on which streets not to use (II, 243 – 256: '*The most inconvenient Streets to Walkers*'), and an account of which markets sell what goods (II, 543-50). '*Inconveniences that attend those who are unacquainted with the Town*' (II, 285-300) exposes some cheats to be avoided, as well as recommends using a 'a Court, or secret Corner' to relieve oneself rather than risking the fine for urinating in public and embarrassing young women. Advice on avoiding pickpockets, thieves, and ballad-singers is also included.

Trivia recommends etiquette for the use of pedestrians, including to whom one should concede the wall (women, the elderly) and who to help in

their way (the blind, the porter). *Trivia* champions modesty over ostentatious luxury, and is concerned with maintaining a sense of order and distinction and promoting modesty and benevolence. The 'prudent Walker' can, unlike those who pass swiftly through the streets in their carriages, perform acts of charity along the way by moving at street level. While making the occasional reference to the 'Ungrateful Odours' (I, 171) and other unpleasant sensory experiences, the poem avoids the disgusting details that Ward provides in his narratives, and in a sense sanitizes the City for polite use. Furthermore, despite the crowds, smells, and smoke of the City, Gay's pedestrian narrator asserts the health benefits and happiness of walking throughout the poem.

The idea that London's streets were such as created the need for an instructional manual was taken up again towards the end of the century. *The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* printed twelve 'Rules of Behaviour, of General Use, though Much Disregarded in this Populous City' in 1780.[1] In addition to etiquette regarding the use of newspapers and the art of 'making people *easy*' in places like coffee-houses and eating-houses, seven rules relate specifically to walking. Many of the 'rules' seem common sense, and satirically comment on the state of London's streets, apparently full of country bumpkins uninitiated in London etiquette. Readers are advised to be willing to give the wall to avoid a 'dirty quarrel'; to avoid blocking passages by walking arm in arm, talking with friends in the middle of the pavement, or using 'the sauntering gait of a *lazy* Spaniard'; not to swing a

[1] 'For the London Magazine: Rules of Behaviour, of General Use, though Much Disregarded in this Populous City' *The London Magazine or Gentlemen's Monthly Intelligencer* XLIX (1780), p. 197.

cane or stick about; and asked to make one's way through crowds with elbows rather than hands.

John Trusler's guide to London, *The London Adviser and Guide* (1786 and 1790) also took on aspects of the georgic in its attempts to advertise itself as offering useful advice on how to live in London, rather than information for the tourist. The title page claims that the book contains 'every instruction and information useful and necessary to persons living and London and coming to reside there.'[1] The text itself touches on issues of domestic economy, newspapers, information on laws regarding 'the Protection against the Frauds, Impositions, Insults and Accidents' to which the newly arrived inhabitant is 'liable,' coach and waterman's rates, amusements in the metropolis, and a number of other topics 'useful' to someone visiting or moving to London. Trusler includes a section entitled 'On Walking London Streets,' in which he advises, among other things, consulting a map before heading out into London streets, and paying attention to the names of the streets passed in one's walk. Some of the advice Trusler gives is common sense: he recommends that the walker avoid passing under goods being lifted above his head, walking near houses where bricklayers are at work, coming too close to freshly painted rails, and contesting the right of way with tradespeople and wheeled traffic. Similarly, he advises the reader not to cross the street when a coach is approaching, to always be aware of puddles, and to stay on the shady side of the street in hot weather. Some of his advice appears part of the tradition, dating back to the *Spectator* and *Trivia*, aimed at establishing and maintaining

[1] Rev. Dr. John Trusler, *The London Adviser and Guide: Containing Every Instruction Useful and Necessary to Persons Living in London and Coming to Reside There* 2nd ed. (London, 1790).

a sense of order and etiquette for walking the streets: keeping to the right hand side of the pavement and lowering your umbrella if someone else approaches with one. The remainder of Trusler's advice warns newcomers to London of the dangers of walking London's streets. He advises his readers 'Never to stop in a crowd, or to look at the windows of a print-shop or shew-glass, if you would not have your pocket picked' and recommends being extra attentive to one's pockets in the evening. He suggests keeping off the foot-paths and staying in the streets during frosty weather, where it is less slippery; but recommends that the reader avoid walking in the fog 'as you cannot see the danger before you; people who walk in London should always look before them, both above and below' (123-4). The pedestrian must constantly remain alert in London: bad weather, pick pockets, dirt, and falling objects present the potential for disaster, as Trusler would have his readers believe, at almost every corner.

By the end of the century, satirical and serious complaints about nuisances to pedestrians, and warnings describing the best means of making one's way through London's streets, had formed a distinct and frequently invoked genre. A satirical image from 1794 entitled 'The Beau-Trap, or Double Disaster' featured a forlorn young man who, having stepped on a loose paving stone, is splashed with mud. The image presents him just as he jumps in surprise, his sword about to smash a shop window. Later that same year, the *Morning Chronicle* printed a list of 'Nuisances that Ought to be Remedied in the City of London,' which complained that the length of time taken to build of new houses and the presence of the poor and of porters on busy

sidewalks all 'greatly inconvenienced' pedestrians.[1] 'Town Life,' a satirical song written in response to the 'celebrated Song of "Country Life,"' mentions dirt, umbrellas, and falling flower pots as hazards to the pedestrian:

> In the streets oft you meet a queer stick of a fellow,
> Who pokes in your eye his sharp-pointed umbrella;
> But the measure of danger is scarcely half full,
> When a flower-pot dropt down, breaks itself and your scull.[2]

The broadside is illustrated with the above scene. A baffled pedestrian stands frozen as he is confronted with a number of 'dangers': a man approaching with an umbrella which threatens to poke his eye out, a flower pot tumbling towards his head, and a porter carrying a load emerging from an open cellar behind him. The nearby print shop, often evoked in lists of places to be wary of, suggests the danger that pickpockets present on London's streets. Falling flowerpots, umbrellas, loose paving stones, dust, men walking abreast, and pickpockets near print shops feature among the complaints of *Metropolitan Grievances* (1812). A self-described 'serio-comic glance at minor mischiefs,' the book presents itself as both useful and entertaining, and the author hopes that this work will have some 'tendency to promote decency and good manners.'[3] A series of prints published in 1819 under the title *The Art of Walking the Streets of London* also depicted the hazards waiting to befall the unwary pedestrian from walking sticks, mud, umbrellas, and crowded pavements.

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[1] 'Nuisances that Ought to be Remedied in the City of London' *Morning Chronicle*, 5 September 1794.

[2] 'Town Life; In Answer to Captain Morris's celebrated Song of "Country Life."' – Written by the late Mr. Hewerdine' (London, 1807).

[3] *Metropolitan Grievances; or, a Serio-Comic Glance at Minor Mischiefs in London and Its Vicinity* (London: Stewart, Nealy, and Jones, 1812).

In addition to presenting absurd 'warnings,' part of what Trusler's narrative does, and indeed what many satirical and pseudo-guides to London do, is describe a codified form of behaviour which reveals someone to be a non-Londoner. Advice is offered on ways in which to alter and control one's posture, expressions, and movements to hide the fact that one is new in the metropolis. Narratives of country bumpkins and descriptions of the various cheats and frauds practiced in the metropolis were reprinted and revised over the course of the century, and, due to their popularity, were available into the nineteenth century. J. Badcock's anonymous *London Guide* (1818), written from the perspective of a reformed pick-pocket, and *A Living Picture of London* (1828) both featured sections entitled 'Walking the Streets.' The guides draw heavily on the eighteenth-century tradition, despite their attempts to draw on modern source material in order to revise rather than merely reprint earlier texts. Although they claim to present contemporary issues, Badcock's narratives ultimately fail to articulate new concerns and sensibilities.[1]

Taking his hints from Barrington's *London Spy* and the various cheats and frauds texts published under the name of Richard King, Badcock explains that his plan differs by offering real advice on contemporary life in the metropolis, rather than merely rehashing old works that have been long outdated but nevertheless continually used. Badcock's various pieces of advice regarding walking in London suggest ways for the visitor or newcomer to blend in with London crowds. He advises the reader that 'affecting an ease or knowingness' of one's way through London 'deters imposition in a great

[1] John Marriott, Masaie Matsumara, and Judith R. Walkowitz, *Unknown London: Early Modernist Visions of the Metropolis, 1815-45*, 5 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto), I:1, IV:1. Page numbers for Badcock refer to *The London Guide, and Stranger's Safeguard* (London: Bumpus, 1818) rpt. Marriott et. al., vol. I.

degree.' One way in which to master an air of knowingness is to '*appear* like a thorough bred cockney in your gait and manner, by placing the hat a little awry, and with an unconcerned stare, penetrating the wily countenances of rogues.' Badcock's narrator explains:

> Walking the streets has been reduced to a system in London; every one taking the right hand of another, whereby confusion is avoided...The contrary mode is a sure indication of a person being a stranger, or living at the outskirts of town, and is certain of attracting attention to his awkwardness (a thing to be avoided).

Badcock informs the reader of 'the necessity of cautiously, yet energetically, pursuing his way,' adding that 'it is better to walk a little out of the right path, than run the risk of being *directed* wrong' (26-8).

Pickpockets, Badcock warns, can easily identify strangers by 'the ill-advised custom of *asking the way*, and standing gaping at the names of streets, as if in doubt which road to take' (34). If it is absolutely necessary to ask one's way of someone, Badcock recommends that 'no one should ask his way in the streets, but in decent shops, or, at most, of persons carrying small parcels, which indicate that they are shopmen or porters' (34). If, out of necessity, the stranger must pass through a crowd, an ideal place for pickpockets, he is advised to handle this by 'pressing rudely through them; whereby you become the *assailant*, if I may be allowed the term, and add one more chance of steering clear of danger' (28). Finally, Badcock advises against rambling through certain areas:

> The reader, especially if he be a stranger to the ways of the town, should not ramble about in lanes, or bye-ways, especially at dusk; and the more so, if he is conscious his appearance is such as to promise an easy conquest, or a good booty.

> Therefore, people should never carry *much property*, in such situations, nor seem puzzled at the route they should take, nor *show* their distrust at the appearance of the rogues, but stare them in the face. (51)

While the common sense advice given had been used in large part as a means for entertainment in the eighteenth century narratives, Badcock felt that his narratives were not merely 'new' or 'updated,' but actually relevant and useful to the increasing number of visitors to the metropolis.

4. RAMBLE AND SPY NARRATIVES OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

'Ramble' and 'spy' texts of eighteenth-century London used the physical movement of the ramble as a way to explore, chronicle, and narrate life in the metropolis: they claimed to 'unmask' and reveal 'modern' scenes of 'novelty.' The writers of the ramble and spy texts were interested in 'the moment and the momentary' as a way to feed the public's appetite for all that was new.[1] The sense of novelty excited a reading public concerned with being as current as possible on emerging trends in the metropolis. Ramble and spy texts attracted their readership by claiming to present the people, customs, manners, and things that existed in the metropolis at that present moment. They offered their readers a sense of experiencing a 'real' London in real time, with events discussed as they occurred and, it was claimed, recorded shortly after.

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[1] J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1990), p. 103.

The ramble and spy texts of the second half of the eighteenth century, I want to suggest, are as much about modernity and print culture as they are about London. Despite their claims of presenting all that is new and modern in London, they reveal the problematic nature of modernity. On a very basic level, the texts describe London as unknowable to anyone who does not live there, suggesting that the metropolis needs to be 'unmask'd' and its 'secret' happenings 'revealed.' In featuring a country or 'foreign' narrator, they reveal the problem of understanding London and comprehending the scenes on display, a problem that the narrators claim to solve by the act of writing the text. Laura Brown's notion of the 'cultural fable' serves as an especially useful model for an examination of these narratives. A cultural fable, as described by Brown, 'can be said to tell a story whose protagonist is an emanation of contemporary experience.' It is 'fundamentally tied to a specific aspect of material culture' (in this case, the printed book) and is a fable of 'a cultural experience' rather than a bound up by class, race, and gender. While Brown focuses on alterity in the form of the woman and the non-European, the ramble and spy narratives are formulated around the non-Londoner as other, at times as much a feminized figure in his inability to understand the metropolis as a woman or non-European.[1]

Two early eighteenth-century texts exemplify the ramble form and its desire for novelty, and serve as models for later writers in the genre. Ned Ward's periodical *The London Spy*[2] (1698-1700) and Tom Brown's

[1] Laura Brown, *Fables of Modernity: Literature and Culture in the English Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 3.

[2] Ned Ward, *The London Spy* (London, 1698-1700), ed. Paul Hyland (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993).

Amusements Serious and Comical, Calculated for the Meridian of London[1] (1700) both served as models for later ramble and spy texts. Many of the texts printed in the second half of the eighteenth century which make use of the ramble and spy form gesture towards Ward's periodical while at the same time arguing that a new version (theirs) is needed as Ward's has become outdated. The range of topics covered and described in Brown's text (as well as its various publications, like Ward's, over the first half of the century) rendered it useful and easily accessible to later writers.

Ned Ward's turn of the century periodical *The London Spy* was a monthly publication lasting eighteen months. The narrative was written from the authorial voice of a philosopher who throws aside book learning in favor of actual experience. The periodical ideally suited the purposes of Ward's ramble: like the experiences and events of the narrator that it presented to the public, the format itself was occasional and ephemeral. The periodical format suited the desire to present the metropolis as incomprehensible and overwhelming, as it had a distinct beginning but no definite end, offering no breakdown or categorization of the narrative the way chapter headings in book format would. For Ward, the space of the periodical was open in much the same manner as the space of London was open. The series ended abruptly, with no warning to readers, after eighteen issues.[2]

Ward's 'spy' intends 'the following journal...to expose the vanities and vices of the town as they should, by any accident, occur to my knowledge,

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[1] Tom Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical and Other Works* (London, 1700) ed. Arthur L. Hayward (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1927).

[2] Unlike other periodicals, which occasionally end because there are enough issues to produce a bound volume, Ward's series offers no such reason and does not appear to have been produced in book format until 1703, three years after the last issues was published.

that the innocent might see by reflection what I should gain by observation and intelligence, and not by practice or experience' (11). From the beginning of the first issue, the claim is that the spy will not seek to experience or practice the vanities and vices of the town, but record what he observes as it may 'by accident' occur. In order to maintain a naivete in the narrator, yet ensure he understands what is occurring around him without actually becoming involved, the spy meets 'an old schoolfellow' who now lives in London. The schoolfellow can thus lead the spy through London and interpret all that they encounter. Together they ramble through the City and its environs, the friend serving as guide and providing the spy with commentary on the people, places, and customs of London.

The narrative focuses on the spy's ignorance of London life. It attempts to present and describe the City in the way he encounters it, detailing the shocking sights, smells, and noises, often using hyperbolic language and excessive metaphor in an attempt to find a language to describe what he is experiencing. The spy, who occasionally comments on his 'bumpkin-like' appearance and reactions, continuously misinterprets what occurs around him, and the narrative depends on the spy's guide to explain the incoherent spectacle. The beginning of the second issue of *The London Spy* gives an account of the overwhelming sensory experience that would shock and confuse a newcomer to London. The first issue ends with the narrator and his guide

determining to 'give ourselves the pleasure of two or three hours' ramble through the streets' (27). The second issue begins at nine in the evening, when they begin their ramble. The spy explains:

> The streets were all adorned with dazzling lights whose bright reflections so glittered in my eyes that I could see nothing but themselves...
>
> My ears were so serenaded on every side with the grave music of sundry passing-bells, the rattling of coaches, and the melancholy ditties of 'Hot Baked Wardens and Pippins!' that had I had as many eyes as Argos and as many ears as Fame, they would have been all confounded, for nothing could I see but light, and nothing hear but noise. We had not walked the usual distance between a church and an alehouse, when some odiferous civet-box perfumed the air and saluted our nostrils with so refreshing a nosegay that I thought the whole city (Edinburgh-like) had been inundated with sir-reverence. (29)

The spy's senses are assaulted: the lights of the street seem blinding; his ears are overwhelmed with 'noise'; and his nose is greeted by the scavenger's dung cart. During the evening's ramble, words like 'stumbled' and 'blundered' describe their movements and the impossibility of an easy passage from one point to the next, while the City's topography adds to the confusion and sense experience. In Billingsgate, for example, arriving in a 'narrow lane, as dark as a burying-vault, which stunk of stale sprats, piss, and sir-reverence, we groped about like a couple of thieves in a coal-hole' (39). At night London takes on a subterranean quality for the spy. Even in daylight, the City is disorienting. Passing along the Thames, the spy explains how the sight of the water rushing under London Bridge 'so astonished my eyes and terrified my ears that...I could hear no voice softer than a speaking-trumpet, or the audible organ of a scolding fish-woman' (45). Even when 'noise' can be discerned as language, the meaning is lost on the spy. Passing Thames watermen calling out oars and scullers, the spy hears 'Scholars, scholars, will you have any whores?' The cacophony of the London cries renders language incomprehensible to the non-Londoner.

While there are many instances of such confusion, in considering the papers as a whole, an important shift in focus occurs over the narrative. The commentary throughout describes experiences in places such as coffee-houses as well as places like Bedlam, the Guildhall, the Inns of Court, Smithfield Market, and Bartholomew Fair. The early issues, however, also provide descriptions of that which occurs while walking in the streets, and in these episodes descriptions of the sense experience reflect how the spy is physically overwhelmed by London. As *The London Spy* continues, the act of passing and descriptions of what occurs while walking the streets of London fade away. The eighteen-month span of the narrative follows the spy's eventual adaptation to life in the City, and commentary on movement occurs on days and at places that are the exception, such as Lord Mayor's Day and at Bartholomew Fair. In number 14, for example, the spy and his guide decide to again wander through the City. Unlike the ramble in number 2, however, what they first encounter on their ramble (a group of sailors) serves as the topic of conversation for the remainder of the walk: 'By the time we had made these observations and reflections...we had straggled into Wapping; and, being pretty well tired with our walk, we went into a public house' (246). The description of what occurs in the act of walking is replaced with conversation or commentary on one particular topic.

The shift in the approach to London as the topic of the periodical crystallizes in number 15, in which the spy decides to focus on the people and the mannerisms of London, and in number 16, when his guide leaves him to his own devices. The length of the run of the periodical, monthly for eighteen months, meant that the shift in focus was needed. It had by then eventually

reached a point where it seemed preposterous to present the spy as unfamiliar with London; the subject matter changes accordingly from the confusion and disorientation the spy experiences in his new environment to more general descriptions of people and places. The narrative as a whole reflects the extraordinary sense experience in the metropolis for a non-Londoner, and how disorder and confusion eventually become commonplace as the spy becomes adapted to London. Walking nevertheless continues to propel the narrative, and being tired, hungry, or thirsty from the act of walking often serves as a reason to stop off in a particular tavern or coffee-house where the company becomes the topic for discussion.

Tom Brown's *Amusements Serious and Comical* (1700) follows a similar format to Ward's *London Spy*. Like many later narratives in the genre, Brown's text borrows heavily from a French narrative – in this instance R. Dufresny's *Amusements Serieux et Comiques* (1699). Unlike Ward's periodical, Brown's text is divided into 'amusements,' suggestive of the interest in novelty, that are topical to London: the court, the City, the playhouse, the public walks, and other sites of interest and amusement. Brown describes his text as presenting to the reader the 'book of the world': many later texts would make similar claims, presenting their work as a 'book of life.' Brown explains:

> [T]he book of the world is very ancient, and yet always new. In all times, men and their passions have been the subjects; these passions were always the same, though they have been delivered to posterity in different manners, according to the different constitution of ages.

Manners and customs are always changing, and so the writing of a book of the world must necessarily be always different. While others might 'pilfer' from ancient and modern books, Brown promises to 'pillage all I give you from the book of the world' (3), an interesting claim given the use of his writing in later ramble and spy texts, which occasionally 'pilfer' from him.

The City of London is presented as one particular amusement, in which section Brown determines to survey the expanse of London, a place where 'we daily discover...more new countries and surprising singularities than in all the universe besides.' In order to preserve its newness he decides to incorporate the persona of an Indian traveler who has never before been in London, so that he may 'examine with a traveller's eye all the remarkable things of this mighty city.' The narrator intends to lead the foreigner through London, declaring that 'We shall see how he will be amazed at certain things which the prejudice of custom makes to seem reasonable and natural to us.' By alternating between the voice and ideas of an Indian 'dropped perpendicular from the clouds' and his own thoughts and observations as a Londoner, the narrator plans to 'set both his and my imagination on the ramble,' adding that 'those that won't take the pains to follow us may stay where they are, and spare themselves the trouble of reading farther in the book.' To that end, Brown leads the reader on a ramble through London (10-11).

Beginning at Temple Bar and subsequently 'jogging forward into the City,' the ramble begins in busy streets crowded with coaches and carts, with the incessant cries of street hawkers in the background. While heading towards the City, the narrative is interrupted: the narrators stop at a coffee-house in order 'to rest ourselves a little, and recover our ears from the deafness

which the confused noise of the street had occasioned in 'em.' Inside, like Ward's spy and his guide, the Indian and the Londoner survey the 'miscellany of mortality' within, fascinated with the mixing of social groups in the street and in the coffee-house. However, the 'smoke, noise and nonsense' offers little escape from the chaos of the streets (13-4).

The narrative presents London as a space in which it is difficult to move. When the Londoner and the Indian begin their walk from Temple Bar into the City, they need to cautiously manoeuvre out of the way of chairmen, carts, wheelbarrows, and carriages. The streets are crowded, swiftly moving; in them social distinction and civilities are ignored or reversed:

> Here a sooty chimney-sweeper takes the wall of a grave alderman, and a broom-man jostles the parson of the parish. There a fat greasy porter runs a trunk full-butt upon you, while another salutes your antlers with a basket of eggs and butter. 'Turn out there, you country putt,' says a bully with a sword two yards long jarring at his heels, and throws him into the kennel. (12)

To 'take the wall' is to assert the cleaner, safer position along buildings, avoiding the dirt and chaos of the street. Here a dirty chimney-sweeper takes this prized place rather than deferring to the alderman, while a broom-man physically jostles the parson. The porter's trunk, held on his shoulder, juts out, accosting pedestrians in the busy street while another porter, carrying a basket on his head, 'salutes' the antlers, or packages, transported on the heads of others. A bully, a low-life figure associated with prostitutes and cheats, assaults a confused country bumpkin, pushing him into the kennel, or gutter. In addition to this sort of chaos and confusion, the narrator and the Indian's movement is further slowed by 'a brawling concert of fish-women' on Fleet

Bridge (15), the crowds at the Royal Exchange, and the rag-sellers in Long-Lane trying to conjure business.

During their ramble, the Indian falls ill, which Brown speculates could be the result of 'the several indigested ideas he had received from the diversity of objects he met with' or from the sight of chimney-sweepers. The overwhelming noise and diversity of people and objects is enough, in Brown's opinion, to potentially make a new arrival in London ill. After a brief visit to a doctor they continue on their ramble. The Indian observes that the streets of London 'are so many veins, wherein the people circulate' (20). Brown here incorporates the circulation of the blood, a recent medical discovery, as a means to describe the metropolis, playing with the novelty of recent scientific discovery. The narrator agrees with the Indian's observation, and explicates that Londoners are numb to the noise and sights of the metropolis, unlike a visitor: 'They are equally incapable both of attention and patience, and though nothing is more quick than the effects of hearing and seeing, yet they don't allow themselves time either to hear or see' (21). They carry on a discussion about trade while they continue walking towards the Royal Exchange, and much of the narrative continues to describe what they see occurring there. They visit Cripplegate church, travel around Barbican and Long-lane, and end in a tavern before heading to the next amusement, the playhouse.

5. TRANSLATION AND APPROPRIATION

Ramble and spy texts eventually developed into a distinct genre dependent on a number of features. A text constructed by a ramble carries with it the implication that it will contain episodic glimpses of London life seen as the narrators move throughout the metropolis. The narrators remain out of the action as detached spectators and commentators, continuously rambling in search of new scenes in an aim to see and describe as much of London as is possible in the course of the text. Digressive in nature, the ramble narrative, like the ramble itself, always runs the risk of steering off course, betraying the texts' inability to organize experience in the modern metropolis. Just as the ramblers potentially change direction at a moment's notice, meet someone, or interrupt their ramble for sleep, food, drink, or rest, so the ramble narrative is prone to losing its way, beginning on one topic and shifting to another that is entirely different. The various texts over the century claimed to offer entertainment as well as instruction on how to avoid the common pitfalls of life in the metropolis. Their narrators are generally men newly arrived from the country, who meet upon their arrival either an old friend or a reliable guide who can lead them safely through crowds and various scenes of London life. The authorial voices in the ramble texts claimed to present what they saw in order to warn readers of the tricks, cheats, frauds, and vices of London without themselves becoming involved. Although they surveyed high and low life, the narrators themselves were not socially or economically mobile over the course of the narrative, though they recount many stories of others that are. Because ramble texts depended on the free movement of the narrator throughout London, as well as access to various

places of entertainment, the ramble remained a specifically male form of movement and spectatorship over the course of the century. The dangers of women rambling were depicted in a 1754 text, *The Midnight Ramble; or, the Adventures of Two Noble Females*, discussed in Chapter Four, in which two ladies of fashion dress in their milliner's clothes and ramble out around Covent Garden and the Strand in search of their husbands.[1]

Ward's *London Spy* and Brown's *Amusements Serious and Comical* both served as models for later ramble and spy texts, offering authors a format as well as subject matter. Although narratives of rambles and books revealing the dangers of London were published throughout the century, the ramble and spy genre did not re-emerge until the second half of the eighteenth century. One possible reason was the various reprintings of Ward and Brown's texts. *The London Spy* was first published in its 'compleat' form in 1703, and went through five editions through 1718. A 'revised and corrected' version was again printed in 1753. *Amusements Serious and Comical* went through three editions between 1700 and 1703, and was available in the numerous editions of Tom Brown's works printed between 1708 and 1760. Addison and Steele's *Spectator*, printed between 1711-14 and reprinted over the course of the entire century, also filled the public's appetite for literature about London, offering a sanitized and controlled version of the metropolis with a focus on the West End, and presenting ideas about politeness, modesty, and sociability. At the same time, novels such as *Moll Flanders* (1722), *David Simple* (1744), *Tom Jones* (1748), and *Roderick Random* (1748) were also feeding the public's

[1] *The Midnight Ramble; or the Adventures of Two Noble Females* (London, 1754).

appetite to read about London and the experiences of new arrivals in the metropolis, drawing on the picaresque tradition.

The ramble and spy narratives reemerge in the 1760s, possibly resulting from the appearance and popularity of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World* (1760-1), itself a re-imagining of Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721) set mainly in Paris. *The Citizen of the World* was first printed in *The Public Ledger*, then published complete in 1762, and featured the letters of a Chinese philosopher, Lien Chi Altangi, written during his visit to London. As well as reintroducing a narrative of London from the viewpoint of someone to whom it is foreign, Goldsmith also used the figure of the guide to occasionally lead the philosopher through London and explain what he sees. As these narratives reemerged, the appearance of a guide to assist the newcomer in their travels through London, mediating and explaining the disorienting scenes on display, remained one of their key features. Just as Ward's spy meets an old school friend who knows London, later texts make use of names reflecting the qualifications of the guides: Urbanus, Mentor, an 'assistant genius,' Mr. Ambler, Mr. Portfolio, and Peripatetic. Goldsmith's narrative of London also influenced later eighteenth-century fictional travelogues, such as Hamilton's *Translations of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* (1796) and Southey's *Letters from England* (1807).

6. NEW AND MODERN: RECYCLING, REPRINTING, AND REWRITING

Claims to novelty and the presentation of the 'modern' metropolis are features that are especially prevalent in the ramble and spy texts of the second half of the century as a way in which to argue their relevance. Their arguments, however, are undermined by the reliance on various earlier texts to support swift production and commercial gain, suggesting that booksellers felt that writing which reflected the changes in London was entirely unnecessary. *The Midnight Spy* (1766) copies portions of Brown's texts into a 'new' narrative, while other authors of the later ramble and spy texts draw connections to Brown's narrative by borrowing his idea of a narrative of London as the 'book of the world' by describing their own work as a 'book of life.'[1] Titles such as *The New London Spy* (1771) and *The Complete Modern London Spy* (1781) draw immediate connections with Ward's text, further outlined in their prefaces. *The New London Spy* argues that the 'customs alluded to in [Ward's *London Spy*], are now entirely out of date' and that his text will include 'many scenes...that had not taken place in those earlier days.' The author also takes issue with texts like *The Midnight Spy* (1766) for being defective, presenting only the nocturnal goings-on of the metropolis. As a further corrective, the book format of the later narratives suggested that the information was somehow complete: although they contained a ramble, it had a distinct beginning and ending, and chapters to divide and contain that which was experienced. Unlike Ward's periodical, readers did not need to wait for

[1] *The Complete Modern London Spy* ([1781]), for example, describes its narrative as 'the *World in Miniature*' and a '*Book of Life*', p. iii.

the next issue to learn more about the metropolis: all relevant information was, by implication, contained within the text.

The ramble and spy texts also modelled themselves on the satiric 'guides' detailing the cheats, frauds, and snares occasionally performed, offering the non-Londoner 'instructions', however false or tenuous, on how to avoid danger.[1] The ramble texts breathed life into these often static collections of examples of possible situations by creating a narrator who, with the aid of a guide, viewed these scenarios, remarked on them, and revealed them to the public.

The title pages of many of the books, with their lists of places and entertainments, also mirrored more traditional guidebooks and urban topographies by announcing that the contents of the book would offer information on various aspects of life in the metropolis, despite the fact that they were fictitious narratives. The ramble and spy works and the 'guides' to the various cheats and frauds of London could be complementary to the traditional guidebook. In 1792, 1793, and 1795, *A Fortnights Ramble through London, or a Complete Display of all the Cheats and Frauds Practised in that Great Metropolis with the Best Methods of Eluding Them* was published by John Roach. In 1793 and 1796 *Roach's Pocket Pilot, or Stranger's Guide through the Metropolis* was printed, offering a combination of narrative tales and somewhat more practical advice. The title page announced that it was '*Intended as a Companion to the Fortnight's Ramble.*'

[1] For a discussion of the various forms of London guidebooks in the eighteenth century see Michael Harris, 'London Guidebooks before 1800' in *Maps and Prints: Aspects of the English Book Trade*, ed. Michael Harris and Robin Myers (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1984), 31-66.

However, to argue that the texts were merely early, or even alternate, forms of guidebooks is to overlook the fact that they were a distinct genre. They attempted to map the metropolis by its people and places, and were concerned with illustrating scenes of life in London rather than offering particularly useful or dependable information to visitors. The second edition of *A Sunday Ramble; or, Modern Sabbath-Day Journey, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster* ([1776?]) explains that the author's 'distance from the metropolis':

> would not conveniently permit him to review the scenes, and adapt the descriptions of the various places of resort more agreeable, perhaps, to their present appearance. But, as he apprehends there are not in so short a space of time any material alterations, and as a trifling variation can be of no consequence to those readers who are not frequenters of the place described, and will easily be distinguished by such as are, it is presumed this will not be esteemed any disadvantage in the work.

Those unfamiliar with the scenes described cannot raise any objection to their misrepresentations, while those who are frequenters of such places will be able to ascertain what has changed. Potentially inaccurate or outdated information is thus deemed unproblematic.[1] Another feature of the ramble and spy texts deviating from the more traditional guidebook was their commitment to the moment, suggesting that the scenes described were to a certain extent 'novel' to that particular day, or year, or ramble. *The Complete Modern London Spy* (1781), for example, is recorded after twenty-four hours rambling through London: 'I no sooner rose in the morning, than I determined to commit to

[1] *A Sunday Ramble; or, Modern Sabbath-Day Journey, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, [1776]), unnumbered page.

paper, a sketch of my tour.'[1] In composing the texts at the end of the ramble, the narrators assert a sense of immediacy; the act of writing is represented as a result of the act of rambling.

English character books, based on the Theophrastian tradition were also appropriated by the English writers in the ramble and spy genre. Character books, popular in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, presented different London types, or characters, describing each by appearance, mannerisms, and typical haunts. John Earle's *Microcosmographie* (1628) and Donald Lupton's *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quatered into Severall Characters* (1632), as well as translations of Jean de la Bruyere's *Les Caracteres* (1688) and borrowings from this text, including *The English Theophrastus* (1708), offered material to English writers. Character books presented a different survey of London than the descriptions and histories of places; they instead concern themselves with the various inhabitants of the metropolis.[2] From this tradition emerged the inclusion of anecdotes of various characters.

Another key influence on the ramble texts was Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux* (1707), which told the story of a Spanish scholar in Madrid, Don Cleofas, who frees a demon from a bottle.[3] The demon, Asmodeus, takes Don Cleofas to the top of a steeple, and removes the roofs from houses to allow Don Cleofas to view inside. Asmodeus is omniscient, and shares with Don Cleofas the secrets of those they see, revealing what is happening underneath

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[1] *The Complete Modern London Spy* (London, [1781]), p.124.

[2] Dana Brand, *The Spectator and the City in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 21-3.

[3] Brand, pp. 26-7.

appearances. The two travel from roof to roof, surveying different areas of Madrid from particular perspectives. In remaining stationary at their points of observation, they remain far more detached than the rambling spies and mentors of London, who mix more closely, at street level and within the coffee-house, with the company that they discuss.

Le Sage's text was translated and imitated over the course of the entire eighteenth century. Texts based on *Diable Boiteux* appeared shortly after its publication in 1707, and numerous printings of translations were available for much of the second half of the century. *The Devil Upon Two Sticks in England, or Night Scenes in London* (1755) borrowed from Le Sage's plan. It told the story of a young student, Eugenio, who is visited by Asmodeus one night while walking in St. James's Park. Asmodeus renders them invisible, and they view various London scenes from roofs and steeples while Asmodeus reveals the various characters of the people they see. A second imitation, *The Devil Upon Two Sticks in England: Being a Continuation of Le Diable Boiteux of Le Sage* was published in six volumes in 1790-91. In this version, Don Cleofas is transported to London with Asmodeus, where they discuss the bustle, the manners, and the customs of London.

Finally, the narratives formed a self-perpetuating genre. *A Sunday Ramble; or, Modern Sabbath-Day Journey* ([1776?]) and *A Modern Sabbath, or a Sunday Ramble* (1794) focus on the lack of religious observance and scenes of entertainment and debauchery which have become common in the metropolis. The narratives take their hint from *Low-life: or One Half of the World, Knows Not How the Other Half Live* [1755], which is itself cribbed from the opening pages of *Hell upon Earth: or the Town in an Uproar* (1729).

A Modern Sabbath borrows from *A Sunday Ramble* (including much of the extensive title page) and includes passages from *The Complete Modern London Spy.* Several ramble and spy narratives, including *The Midnight Rambler* ([1772?]), *The Complete Modern London Spy* (1781), and *London Unmask'd; or the New Town Spy* (1784) include frontispieces of late night scenes in coffee-houses or bagnios, reminiscent in content at least of Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation* (1733). Many of the ramble and spy texts of the second half of the eighteenth century were printed on a regular basis, and by only a few printers. By the late eighteenth century it was not uncommon for printers and booksellers to pull together pastiche texts based on parts of other texts by different writers. It is quite likely that 'new' ramble and spy narratives were created from the earlier texts available to the printer, possibly with a writer hired to polish off a 'new' narrative based on the 'publisher's sense of the market.'[1]

When *The Midnight Spy* was published in 1766, critics were quick to spot its lack of originality. *The Monthly Review* remarked that 'The public have often been edified and entertained with a variety of these Spies,' while the *Critical Review* regarded it as nothing more than 'a motley imitation' of *The Devil Upon Two Sticks* and *Low-life.*[2] The response of the press, however, did not hinder other printers from selling similar texts, and the number of editions that certain texts went through attests to their popularity.[3]

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[1] John Brewer and Iain McCalman, 'Publishing' in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1776-1832*, ed. Iain McCalman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 200-1.

[2] *The Monthly Review* 34 (1766), p. 315 and *The Critical Review* 21 (1766), p. 313.

[3] *The New London Spy; or, a Twenty-Four Hours Ramble through the Bills of Mortality*, for example, appeared in 1771 and 1772, was published with slightly altered title in 1781, and appeared in condensed form in 1800.

Presumably because of the success of *The Midnight Spy* and *The New London Spy*, first printed in 1771, the bookseller John Cooke printed *The Midnight Rambler; or, New Nocturnal Spy, for the Present Year* in 1772.[1] A catalogue printed for Cooke distinguishes the text from others in the genre with the accolade 'AN ENTIRE NEW WORK,'[2] suggesting originality as the distinguishing feature. Nevertheless, the preface names Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux* as its main influence: the spy's guide in this instance, an 'assistant Genius' in the guise of a human, is a reincarnation of the 'evil spirit, as we find in the instance of the celebrated *Diable Boiteux* of Monsieur *Le Sage*' (6). The title page of *The Complete Modern London Spy* (1781) claims to offer scenes and anecdotes 'never noticed before in any old Books of this Kind,' while *London Unmask'd: or the New Town Spy* (1784) claims to use the format to present a 'moral and sentimental plan.' Indeed, alterations and differences between the various narratives do exist. The 'moral and sentimental plan' seems to be an attempt to rewrite the format along the lines of sentimental literature, much the same way as nocturnal and twenty-four hour rambles attempt to exploit the popularity of the Richardsonian idea of writing to the moment. The various narratives also organize their material differently, or single out different specific places to visit. But the arbitrary nature of these distinctions in the context of actually presenting all that is 'new' in contemporary London is exemplified in the 1800 edition of *The New London Spy*. There is an attempt to include new places that have not been mentioned in earlier versions of the narratives, such as Sotheby's, alongside

[1] *The Midnight Rambler; or the New Nocturnal Spy, for the Present Year* (London, [1772?]).

[2] *A Catalogue of Useful and Entertaining Books, Printed for, and Sold by J. Cooke* ([London, 1770?]), p. 10.

the original material, but at the same time, the narrative has been incredibly shortened, by almost half its original length. The different narratives may reveal different scenes, or present them in different ways, but the genre itself never actually seeks to reflect the changes in London, only to feed the public's appetite for London literature.

Titles published by John Cooke and Alexander Hogg demonstrate the extent to which the publication of these narratives was a lucrative, profitable enterprise. John Cooke, based at Temple Bar and then the Strand between 1756-66, established himself at the Shakespeare's Head in Paternoster Row from 1766. His publications include *The Midnight Spy* (1766), *The Midnight Rambler* ([c.1770], [1772]), *The Cheats of London Exposed, or Tricks of the Town Laid Open* ([c.1770], [1780?]), *The New London Spy: or, A Twenty-Four Hours Ramble through the Bills of Mortality* (1771, 1772), *The Countryman's Guide to London, or Villainy Detected* ([1775?]), *A New Complete History and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjacent* ([1770]), and *A New and Universal History and Description of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent* ([1775], [1776]). Cooke's ex-journeyman, Alexander Hogg, established himself in Paternoster Row from at least 1780 and at the very least, the two shared a friendly rivalry.[1] Given the amount of Cooke's titles that were eventually printed and sold by Hogg, it seems even possible that the two actively sought to maintain a monopoly over such lucrative materials. Reprintings and revisions of texts originally printed and sold by Cooke include *The New Cheats of London Exposed; or, the Frauds*

[1] Harris, p. 52 and n. 46.

and Tricks of the Town Laid Open ([1780?]), *The Frauds of London Detected* ([1779?], [1780?]), *The Complete Modern London Spy for the Present Year 1781* ([1781]), *The New Complete and Universal History, Description, and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and the Parts Adjacent* ([1784?], [1785?]), and *The New London Spy or Modern Twenty-Four Hours Ramble through the Great British Metropolis* ([1794?], [1800?]). Richard King is named as the author of many of these texts, both in Cooke's and Hogg's printings; whether he was in fact an author of sorts, hired to pull together and rewrite older materials, or whether the name was invented to attach to the text, is unclear.[1]

7. THE RAMBLE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The narrators of ramble and spy texts passed through scenes of novelty unnoticed (and occasionally invisible); to a certain extent, they instructed readers on how to be inconspicuous in London. In contrast, Pierce Egan's narrative of Regency London, *Life in London* (1820), depicted characters who desired above all to participate in the entertainments on offer, and to be seen participating in them.[2] Interspersed with Egan's prose narratives are poems, songs, and sketches representing the various scenes of London life described. Situating itself in the ramble tradition, the narrative features Corinthian Tom, a

[1] Harris refers to Richard King as 'an obscure hack' (p. 52) while the ESTC notes Richard King as a pseudonym.

[2] Pierce Egan, *Life in London: or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, Esq. and His Elegant Friend Corinthian Tom, Accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in Their Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904).

young society gentleman with an appetite for life, Bob Logic, Tom's friend with an even larger appetite for life and who, by the end of the book, runs himself into debt, and Jerry Hawthorn, Tom's country cousin who visits him in the metropolis and is transformed from a country rustic to a gentleman of the *Bon Ton.* The text serves in many ways as an actual guide on living a certain lifestyle in London.

Tom, Jerry, and Bob visit various scenes of high and low life, participating in everything they encounter. The reader, however, remains completely and safely detached from the spectacle on offer. For the reader, the highs and lows of London life, and all the spaces and characters in between, have been transformed and condensed into the space of the book: 'whenever it is necessary to change the scene it is only requisite to pull the string, *i.e.* to turn over leaf after leaf, and LIFE IN LONDON will be seen without any fear or apprehension of danger' (16). When low life becomes too dangerous and frightening, the reader need merely turn the page and find themselves in the midst of high society, unlike the heroes of the text who must negotiate their way in and out of various social groups and their places of entertainment around London.

When Tom introduces Bob to Jerry, he explains to Jerry that 'you will not only find in him a complete map of the Metropolis, as to peculiar points and situations; but likewise a pocket dictionary respecting many of the living characters it contains' (118). Bob is a human guidebook, containing a map of the places of pleasure, information on manners and customs, knowledge of 'living characters,' and is, as 'dictionary' suggests, full of the latest lingo to storm high society. In order for both Jerry and the reader to follow the

terminology, Egan places footnotes throughout the text, glossing the various words and phrases in fashion. Rather than speculation on men and characters, the text presents London as sheer spectacle.[1] Egan explains: 'Tom's time was so incessantly occupied, and his mind so overwhelmed with passing subjects, that reflection was quite out of the question' (36). London, as experienced by Egan's Regency bucks, is a series of fleeting, 'passing subjects.' There is no time for reflection, rumination, or speculation; as one subject or object passes, another fills its place. The characters' desire to 'see life,' to experience it rather than describe it (the act of which is left to a third person narrator), is what motivates the rambles. The reader is informed early on that London is 'a complete CYCLOPAEDIA' (19), rendering the text a similar item.

Originally published monthly, the text, episodic and random, is itself a reflection on the nature of life in the metropolis.[2] Presenting London as sheer spectacle became a feature of the Regency ramble texts. New forms of masculinity, new spaces of male entertainment, and new architectural forms influenced the way in which London was described and experienced during the period.[3] Regency ramblers were young sporting gentlemen with an appetite for pleasure, idling in the new arcades and shops in Bond Street catering to their fashionable tastes, and lounging by the window of prestigious clubs. The ramblers displayed their status on the body, by wearing the latest

[1] Brand, pp. 58-60.

[2] Roger Sales, 'Pierce Egan and the Representation of London' in *Reviewing Romanticism*, ed. Philip W. Martin and Robin Jarvis (Houndmills and London: Macmillan, 1992), 154-169.

[3] Jane Rendell, "Displaying Sexuality: Gendered Identities and the Early Nineteenth-Century Street" in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity, and Control in Public Space*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 75-91; Jane Rendell, "'Bazaar Beauties" or "Pleasure Is Our Pursuit': A Spatial Story of Exchange" in *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, ed. Iain Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell, with Alicia Pivaro (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2001) 104-121.

fashions and by being seen in exclusive places. The magazine, that very urban literary form, incorporated the figure of the rambler: titles like *The Rambler's Magazine or Fashionable Companion* (1824-5) and *The Rambler's Magazine or Annals of Gallantry, Glee, Pleasure and Bon Ton* (1828) illustrate the new incarnation of the rambler as a gentleman of pleasure idling away the hours in pursuit of pleasure, gallantry, and fashionable entertainment. The ramble, it seems, had come full circle, returning to its Restoration origins as a pursuit of sexual pleasure.

CHAPTER TWO

POLICING POLITENESS IN THE PERIODICALS OF ADDISON AND STEELE

The periodicals of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, the *Tatler* (1709-10), the *Spectator* (1711-14), and the *Guardian* (1713), attempted to organize and order the new and fast-expanding West End of London, creating a code of etiquette for the use of its public spaces. In contrast to London narratives such as *The London Spy*, discussed in Chapter One, Addison and Steele's periodicals presented the chaos of London in an ordered, comprehensible, unthreatening manner. Unlike the unwary country bumpkin or foreigner at the center of Ward's and Brown's London narratives, the authorial voices in the periodicals represented themselves as capable of understanding and interpreting what to others seemed to be disparate and chaotic. Members of the developing public sphere, with its Shaftesburian notion of polite sociability, were at once the subject of as well as the audience for these periodicals. The periodicals, as Habermas explains, allowed the reading public to 'come to a self-understanding...through entering itself into "literature" as an object.' In reading the papers and debating their contents, 'the public...read and debated about itself.'[1]

[1] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), p. 43.

In determining appropriate and inappropriate behavior, as well as applying the philosophical ideals of politeness to everyday life, the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian* observe and categorize London and its inhabitants, reading London both geographically and demographically. Through their observations and criticisms, Addison and Steele's narrators sanitize London's streets by advocating reforms, 'censoring' inappropriate dress and manners, and championing polite, appropriate behavior. Even where their proposals appear self-consciously absurd, parodying their own desire for regulation, they emerge from a serious concern to check the more visible, ostentatious manifestations of luxury, and to create a new etiquette for use in the new public spaces west of the Strand.

1. THE RISE OF THE TOWN

From the development of Covent Garden, designed by Inigo Jones, in the 1630s, London began its westward expansion via the developing of estates into townhouses and squares designed for the polite and fashionable. John Summerson divides London's westward development into four major building booms, the first two of which are relevant to the present study.[1] The Restoration building boom brought the aristocracy into the West End and closer to the court. Along with courtiers, many luxury trades whose livelihood depended on their custom moved westward as well. The slow rebuilding of the City after the Great Fire of 1666 occasioned others to move westward

without returning. Important at this stage is the development of Bloomsbury Square around 1665, the first open space designated as a square, which provided a general format of development for the West End. Other developments resulting from this first building boom were Soho Square (1681), Lincoln's Inn Fields, Red Lion Square, and St. James's Square (all around 1684). The second major wave of development began around 1710, resulting from expanding numbers of country gentlemen setting up a London residence for 'the season.' This stage of development resulted in Grosvenor Square (lease granted 1710, though little is developed before the 1720s) and Hanover Square (projected in 1712). Burlington begins developing his estate around 1717, and Berkeley Square is developed in the 1720s. By the time of the printing of the periodicals at the end of the first decade and into the second decade of the eighteenth century, London's West End had become home to courtiers, merchants, and country gentlemen alike.

Development in the West End generally followed the pattern set out by Bloomsbury Square. The square itself served as more than a communal open space within the development; it was the center of a residential unit which often included shops, a market place, and often (but not always) a church. The general plan of development focused upon the central square, with the most expensive houses, intended for single family occupancy, facing it. Along the minor streets to the sides of the square were less expensive houses, generally home to tradesman and shopkeepers. With houses, shops, church, and square, these developments resembled small self-sufficient towns.[2]

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[1] John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London: Pleiades Books, 1956), pp. 8-9.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

The development of squares and open spaces, as well as broad and harmonious streets, created a spacious feeling that was lacking in the City. The dirty, narrow, haphazard streets of the City as described in Swift's poem "A Description of a City Shower" (first published in *Tatler* 238, 1710), with kennels, or gutters, overflowing with 'Filth of all hues and odour...Sweeping from butchers' stalls, dung, guts, and blood,/Drown'd puppies, stinking sprats, all drench'd in mud,/Dead cats, and turnip-tops' were the complete antithesis to the open, airy developments of the West End.[1] The labyrinthine streets of the City, with crowds of porters and tradesmen pushing their way through on business, offered no opportunity for pleasurable walking. As Bernard Mandeville argues in his Preface to the 1714 edition of *The Fable of the Bees*:

> There are, I believe, few people in *London*, of those that are at any time forc'd to go a foot, but what could wish the streets of it much cleaner than generally they are; whilst they regard nothing but their own Cloaths and private Conveniency; but when they come to consider, that what offends them is the result of the Plenty, great Traffick and Opulency of the mighty City, if they have any Concern in its Welfare, they will hardly ever wish to see the Streets of it less dirty.

The streets are dirty and in poor condition because of prosperous industry, as a result of the amount of:

> Victuals, Drink and Fewel that are daily consum'd in it; the Waste and Superfluities that must be produc'd from them, the multitudes of Horses and other Cattle that are always dawbing the streets, the Carts, the Coaches and more heavy Carriages that are perpetually wearing and breaking the Pavement of them, and above all the numberless swarms of People that are continually harassing and trampling through every part of them.

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[1] Jonathan Swift, 'A Description of a City Shower' in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), no. 238, III: 227.

The cost to clean the streets daily and to constantly repair the paving means that 'it is impossible that *London* should be more cleanly before it is less flourishing.' Mandeville's response to the problem is that the condition of the City of London is a 'necessary Evil inseparable from the Felicity of *London*,' and his solution is to walk elsewhere, outside of London.[1] By eliminating as far as possible the dirt and smells, as well as the danger of walking the streets, the planners of the West End created an urban space for the polite public to pass through without fear of dirtying their clothes or offending their sensibilities.[2] Rather than confront the disorder of the streets of the City, Addison and Steele's narrators remain in West End, regulating its public places using politeness as their model.

2. THE PARADIGM OF POLITENESS

Politeness emerged in the eighteenth century as a model of behavior at the heart of which was sociability. Its most articulate and prolific proponent was Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, and it was incorporated into the writings of many eighteenth-century authors and eventually disseminated to a wide reading public. Conversation was at the core of ideas of politeness; it was the realm in which the governing of one's

[1] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, ed. Philip Harth (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 57.

[2] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 172.

words and actions to please others and in turn to please oneself took place.[1] As a way of healing and avoiding the political and religious wounds of the seventeenth century, politeness created, as Lawrence Klein has termed it, 'a new public, gentlemanly culture of criticism' separate from the church and monarchy. Politeness went beyond merely creating a set of norms for conversation. It was, Klein continues, a means 'to envision the shape of discourse and culture in new ways...politeness was becoming a dominant paradigm, offering the scene of gentlemen in polite conversation as a model for discursive and cultural activity and authority.'[2] In clubs, coffeehouses, parks, pleasure gardens, and the pages of the periodical press, politeness was reshaping social norms in the eighteenth century.

While, to use Klein's words, Shaftesbury was 'the philosopher of politeness, aiming at an intellectual and social elite,' the project of Addison and Steele in the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian* was to use 'the resources of print culture to disseminate polite moralism to a broad audience.'[3] Indeed, as Mr. Spectator explains in *Spectator* number 10, reflecting on the success of the newspaper, 'I shall be ambitious to have it said of me, that I have brought philosophy out of Closets and Libraries, Schools and Colleges, to dwell in Clubs and Assemblies, at Tea-Tables, and in Coffee-Houses.'[4] Despite Addison and Steele's aims to make politeness more accessible than

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[1] For an overview of politeness in the period, see Lawrence Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[4] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), no. 10, I: 44.

Shaftesbury by bringing it into everyday spaces of conversation and exchange (including the club, the assembly, the tea table, and the coffeehouse), their projects were nevertheless fundamentally linked. Klein explains that the three writers envisioned the model of politeness as offering 'a way to conceptualize complex and erratic social phenomena, giving them normative shape and direction,' simultaneously serving as 'a blueprint for social and cultural creation.'[1]

In early eighteenth-century London in particular, social and cultural shifts included an increasingly commercially powerful middling class of tradesmen, shopkeepers, merchants, and professionals. At the same time, what has now been termed 'the commercialization of leisure' was well underway, rendering social and cultural sites of exchange, including assemblies, public walks, pleasure gardens, the theatre, and the opera, open to all who could afford the cost of entrance, and, in theory at least, regardless of social status. The result: the 'complex and erratic social phenomenon' which brought together men and women from a range of social and economic backgrounds to enjoy the same leisure activities. The *Tatler* and *Spectator* made known to its wide reading audience ideas about taste and politeness, offering readers a model with which to govern their own behavior in these new spaces of leisure and amongst a range of people. Literary and social criticism taught readers new to London's increasingly accessible sites of entertainment how to act and converse in a way that reflected their sense of taste, while at the same time offering politeness as a model for exchange across social strata.

[1] Klein, p. 9.

London and cultural processes and forms emanating out of the modern metropolitan experience, especially the coffeehouse, the club, and the newspaper as sites of discourse and exchange, were fundamentally linked to the paradigm of politeness. Politeness offered a means of ordering and controlling 'the babble, diversity, and liberty of the new discursive world of the Town.' At the center of Addison and Steele's periodicals, Klein argues, was a discussion of 'the pitfalls and possibilities of discourse in the modern Town...their works represented London as a field in which opportunities for politeness were both won and lost.'[1] The authorial voices of the periodicals sought to organize, shape, and represent London and its inhabitants in a way that championed politeness by presenting good and bad behavior from a variety of perspectives, ultimately creating a code of conduct.

Politeness, as critics and historians have demonstrated, was not exclusive of 'popular' forms of entertainment and discourse, and the periodicals of Addison and Steele demonstrate the extent to which polite and popular forms could influence and shape one another. Representations of popular culture in visual and literary form throughout the eighteenth century, as John Mullan and Christopher Reid have noted, are frequently presented from the vantage point of the polite, such as Addison's writing on *The Ballad of Chevy Chase* in *Spectator* 70 and 74, or Hogarth's representations of scenes from London life, including *Southwark Fair* (1734), *Beer Street*, and *Gin Lane* (both 1751).[2] Just as significant was the interplay between polite and popular forms of entertainment, such as the virtuosi's private cabinet popularized and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[2] John Mullan and Christopher Reid, *Eighteenth-Century Popular Culture: A Selection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 15.

made accessible to a broader public in Don Saltero's coffeehouse, while Vauxhall Gardens, opened from 1661 and remodeled beginning in 1728, had more popular counterparts such as Sadler's Wells, first developed around 1683. While Addison and Steele's periodicals rendered politeness accessible to a wide audience, a large amount of conduct and improvement literature aimed at the middling sorts, eager to climb up the social ladder, emerged in affordable formats.[1] The exchange between polite and popular cultures did not work only in a downward fashion, with politeness remodelling popular culture. Sites of popular culture, such as Moll King's coffee-house in Covent Garden, drew customers from the upper echelons of society, the area's prostitutes, and the market's fruit and vegetable sellers, offering gentlemen accustomed to the confines of polite culture a chance to deviate from it, however temporarily or incompletely, via the language of 'flash' talk.[2]

While politeness served as the fundamental aim of the periodicals, the *Tatler* and *Spectator* also share attributes that link the periodicals with the ramble and spy texts discussed in Chapter One. To a certain extent, the periodicals might be seen as a re-imagining of Ward and Brown's narratives of London. Rather than organize their periodicals around a man newly arrived from the country and a discerning guide to generate discussion about London, Addison and Steele create narrators who know London, its people, and its places. Bickerstaff divides the topics of discussion in the paper in a manner

[1] Lawrence Klein, 'Politeness for Plebes: Consumption and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England' in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 362-82.

[2] Helen Berry, 'Rethinking Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Moll King's Coffee House and the Significance of "Flash Talk"' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Sixth Series, Vol. IX pp. 65-81.

that reflects the cultural topography of London, while Mr. Spectator claims an ability to pass among any group of men as one of their own. In doing so, Addison and Steele present a more cohesive, organized, and ordered version of the metropolis, but in doing so suggest that the metropolis is potentially incoherent and disorganized, and needs the controlling gaze of a Mr. Spectator, or the organizational methods of a Censor, to make sense of the whole. Mr. Spectator in particular also seems rooted in Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux*, making use of Le Sage's omniscient demon Asmodeus, but rendering him into the figure of a silent observer to be found at any of London's entertainments. The absence of a country bumpkin figure in both periodicals renders the daily reader the object of instruction, while Bickerstaff and Mr. Spectator become the readers' faithful guides to London. Addison and Steele also borrow from La Bruyere's *Caracteres*. Mr. Spectator's descriptions of London as 'an aggregate of various nations' is a translation of La Bruyere's description of Paris, while his reference to the insignificant men who attempt to join him and his company in St. James's Park echoes La Bruyere's description of the Tuileries.[1] In addition to aiding to meet the demand of daily production by offering a means to articulate and describe the people and places of the modern metropolis, La Bruyere's moralism supports Addison and Steele's aims to bring ideas about politeness and morality, in understandable and applicable terms, to a wide audience.

[1] *Spectator* 403, III:506 and *Spectator* 24, I: 100-101. Both are taken from La Bruyere's description 'De la Ville' in *Les Caracteres; ou les Moeurs de Ce Siecle* (1688) in *Oeuvres Completes*, ed. Julien Benda. (Monaco: Bibliothequ de Pleiade, 1962), pp. 202-3.

3. MAPPING AND PRESENTING LONDON

Organizing and ordering the metropolis was both one of the aims of the periodicals and something that resulted from the act of writing them. London's public places offered an ideal setting for the ruminations of an Isaac Bickerstaff (*Tatler*) and a Mr. Spectator, offering much to be observed and discussed. The very titles of the periodicals signal this, 'tatler' referring to gossip, while 'spectator' implies a spectacle worthy of observation. The roaming narrators (both Bickerstaff and Mr. Spectator often refer to their 'walks' around the Town) assert their authority by demonstrating their knowledge of how London works and claiming an ability to infiltrate its various clubs and coffeehouses, with their various social mixes, in order to report on what happens there.

In the first issue of the *Tatler*, Isaac Bickerstaff explains the manner in which he will present his works from corresponding sections of London, mapping the metropolis by its sites and its many forms and topics of discourse. From the beginning of the series, the use of place names (both streets and establishments such as coffee-houses) evoke very particular meanings. Isaac Bickerstaff informs his audience:

> *All Accounts of* Gallantry, Pleasure, *and* Entertainment, *shall be under the Article of* White's Chocolate-House; Poetry, *under that of* Will's Coffee-house; Learning, *under the Title of* Graecian; Foreign and Domestick News, *you will have from St.* James's Coffee-house; *and what else I have to offer on any other Subject, shall be dated from my own* Apartment.[1]

[1] *Tatler* no. 1, I:16.

The contemporary reader would immediately recognize the significance of these places. Donald Bond points out that White's Chocolate-House, St. James's Street, was 'a rendezvous for men of fashion'; its twopence entrance charge made it somewhat more exclusive than other coffee and chocolate houses and hence home to experts on 'gallantry, pleasure, and entertainment.'[1] Will's Coffee-house, Covent Garden, was 'the resort of wits,' frequented by many literary figures of the period including Dryden, Wycherley, and Pope, but it was eventually eclipsed during the period of the periodicals' publication by Button's.[2] The Grecian, in Devereux Court, Strand, was frequented by 'lawyers, scholars, and members of the Royal Society'; and St. James's Coffee-house, St. James's Street was, due to its location near the palace and Houses of Parliament, 'an obvious center for news.'[3] The periodical thus served to bring together, within its pages, the various interests in these major sites of discourse, with topics to be covered generated from their correlating locations in London.

As Stuart Sherman has argued, the pages of the *Tatler* were mapped by the same schema that mapped London for the readers of the periodical. In organizing the periodical by the location of the origins of its subject matter, Addison and Steele create a periodical more organized than earlier miscellanies, and one that presents itself as 'a particularly polished, comprehensive, and multifaceted social mirror.' The periodical does not dictate the categorical divisions of London, but reflects the readers who

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[1] Ben Wienreb and Christopher Hibbert, eds. *The London Encyclopaedia* (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 988.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 992.

[3] *Tatler* no. 1, I: 16, n. 5.

'already occupy [the categories of person and experience] as actual physical spaces – local habitations with well-known names.' The periodical thus mirrors the inhabitants of London in their diversity of interests and pleasures. Sherman explains that this division of news grants a new importance to London: foreign news, he offers as an example, will not be dated from other countries, but from St. James's coffee-house, 'where the business of knowing the world, transacted through reading and conversation, shapes what is known about it.'[1] While asserting the authority of what he reports by datelining news from its London origins, Bickerstaff's use of the names of places that the periodical's readers inhabits grants his audience a sense of contributing to the periodical, determining themselves that which is newsworthy.

While Bickerstaff datelines various topics from major sites of conversation and exchange in the metropolis, Mr. Spectator introduces his periodical by describing his access to a range of public, social spaces in London where he blends with the crowd in order to observe them. In the first issue, he claims that he is 'Frequently seen in most Publick Places, tho' there are not above half a dozen that know me...There is no Place of general Resort, wherein I do not often make my Appearance.' He is everywhere, but inconspicuous, passing in and out of, and across, social groupings as if he belonged in any one of them:

> ... sometimes I am seen thrusting my Head into a Round of Politician's at *Will*'s, and listning with great Attention to the Narratives that are made in those little Circular Audiences. Sometimes I smoak a Pipe at *Child*'s; and whilst I seem attentive to nothing but the *Post-Man*, overhear the Conversation of every Table in the Room. I appear on *Sunday*

[1] Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 126.

> nights at St. *James*'s Coffee-House, and sometimes join the little Committee of Politicks in the Inner-Room, as one who comes there to hear and improve. My Face is likewise very well known at the *Grecian*, the *Cocoa-Tree*, and in the Theaters both of *Drury-Lane*, and the *Hay-Market*. I have been taken for a Merchant upon the *Exchange* for above these ten Years, and sometimes pass for a *Jew* in the Assembly of Stock-Jobbers at *Jonathan*'s. In short, where-ever I see a Cluster of People I always mix with them, tho' I never open my Lips but in my own Club.

His appearance, unnoticed but not invisible, in London's coffeehouses and theatres reassures his readers, whether they be politicians, lawyers, clergymen, scientists, merchants, wits, Whigs, or Tories, that he shares their concerns. As Mr. Spectator makes clear in number 10, women, too, will be among those he addresses. While mixing with his readers, however, he remains detached from them, 'seeming' attentive to the *Post-Man*, and appearing 'as one who comes...to improve' while only eavesdropping on their conversation, not seeking to partake in it. Claiming in the first issue that part of his project is 'to print Myself out,' Mr. Spectator interiorizes aspects of London life, printing them out in his periodical essays.[1]

Mr. Spectator's ability to pass through 'clusters of people' unnoticed, to pass as 'a speculative Statesman, Soldier, Merchant, and Artizan, without ever medling with any Practical Part of Life' also renders him almost omniscient, observing all around him without the distractions or concerns of any particular occupation.[2] To a certain extent, the periodicals can be seen to function on a model similar to that of Jeremy Bentham's late eighteenth-

[1] *Spectator* no. 1, I: 3-5.

[2] *Spectator* no. 1, I: 4-5.

century theory of the Panopticon.[1] In its architectural form, the Panopticon features a central tower surrounded at a distance by cells that allow sunlight to enter from behind, rendering each individual constantly visible to the figure in the central tower. As Michel Foucault has explained, one of the major features of the Panopticon is that the inspector does not need to survey continually and uninterruptedly; the Panopticon works because the one being observed is conscious of always potentially being observed. Bentham's notion of power, as described by Foucault, is that is should be visible, rendering the observed always aware of the presence of an observer, and unverifiable, ensuring that the observed is never certain of when he is being observed, only that 'he may always be so.'[2] The *Spectator* in particular creates a forum to discuss the men and women of London, and their entertainments, in such a way as to remind them continually that they themselves are the subject of the periodical, and may be observed at any moment. In order to put forth their project of politeness, Addison and Steele create within the periodicals a community of spectators who together determine their own ideas about normative behavior and are willing to report the ways in which men and women have deviated from these norms.

Letters from correspondents serve as one way in which a community appears involved in creating and maintaining order and identity. Whether or not any of the printed letters were in fact written by Addison and Steele is of less consequence than the way in which their publication within the

[1] The connection between the Panopticon and the literature of urban spectatorship, and with the *Spectator* in particular, has been made by Brand, pp. 24-5.

[2] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979), pp. 200-201.

periodicals create at the very least an appearance of a communal forum. In the *Tatler*, Bickerstaff remarks on the way in which the letters from correspondents reflect 'the different Tasts that reign in the different Parts of this City...There is no Particular in which my Correspondents of all Ages, Conditions, sexes, and Complexions, universally agree, except only in their Thirst after Scandal.'[1] The thirst for scandal suggests a desire to expose, and through exposure possibly correct, those who do not seem to conform to the norm. The periodical brings together 'the different Tasts' prevalent in the various parts of London, and the periodical's varying readership, for discussion.

References to correspondents and narrative constructs such as Mr. Spectator's 'Club,' whose members are described in the second issue, make the issues of etiquette and behavior less the opinion of one subjective 'I' in the form of a narrator and instead expresses them as matters of concern and interest for the wider public. The diverse characters of the club represent a cross-section of the Town, including a man of fashion, a clergyman, a Tory country gentleman, and a prosperous City merchant, all of whom share their opinions at different times and on different topics. Mr. Spectator asks for letters from 'all manner of Persons...who have ever made Thinking a Part of their Business or Diversion, and have anything worthy to impart on these Subjects to the World,' explaining that 'tho' our Club meets only on *Tuesdays* and *Thursdays*, we have appointed a Committee to sit every Night, for the Inspection of all such Papers as may contribute to the Advancement of the

[1] *Tatler* no. 164, II: 411.

Common Weal.'[1] He declares that such correspondence from all types of people will 'produce a new Field of Diversion, an Instruction more agreeable than has yet appeared.' The periodical will differ from conduct literature which dictates polite behavior, by instead making polite behavior a topic for discussion, serving as a forum for public interest.

The periodical thus becomes the mouthpiece for the public to discuss and advance the common good. The letters included in the papers cover a range of topics, including manners, behavior, and fashion. Women's fashion in particular receives much coverage in the papers, from the excesses of the hoop-petticoat to revealing necklines. A letter in the *Spectator*, for example, complains of 'the *Naked Shoulder'd*' women promenading along the Mall. Recalling a particular instance, a correspondent describes these women as 'not contented to make Lovers wherever they appear, but they must also make Rivals at the same time...you would expect those who followed her and those who met her could immediately draw their swords for her.'[2] A letter in the *Guardian* makes a similar complaint: a correspondent recounts visiting a public walk with a gentleman 'just come to town' who was so distracted upon seeing a particular beauty by 'the Sight of such snowy Breasts' that he thought it best to leave the Park.[3] In both these letters, the extremities of fashion and affectation in manners are represented as interrupting polite sociability. Politeness demanded control of one's passions – political, religious, and sexual. Through their 'fashionable' attire, the women draw attention to

[1] *Spectator* no. 1, I: 6.

[2] *Spectator* no. 437, IV: 38.

[3] Addison, Joseph, and Richard Steele, *The Guardian*, ed. John Calhoun Stephens (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), no. 133, p. 443.

themselves, exciting passions amongst the men present, creating rivalries, and inciting duels. The inclusion of letters complaining about men and women who dress or act inappropriately creates a sense of communal experience, reinforcing the ideas that the men and women who read the paper share the same concerns, interests, and inhabit the same social spaces.

4. CATEGORIZING LONDON

Like the various predecessors to the *Tatler* and *Spectator* discussed in Chapter One, including histories and topographies as well as Ward and Brown's narratives, Addison and Steele's periodicals actively seek to divide and order the metropolis in their presentation of it to the public. In addition to datelining subjects from the different coffeehouses where they are frequently discussed, Addison and Steele attempt to maintain order in a changing society by organizing the inhabitants of the metropolis. Drawing on the growth of London as the 'sum of its various parishes and liberties, Mr. Spectator describes London as 'an Aggregate of various Nations distinguished from each other by their respective Customs, Manners, and Interests.' The 'several Quarters and Divisions' remain autonomous by the humors of their inhabitants.[1] Gait and physical appearance, means of classifying types in character books, remained a means in the periodicals for organizing and ordering London. In one issue, the *Spectator* runs a letter from 'one of the Directors of the Society of the Reformation of Manners,' who claims he can:

> ... describe every Parish by its Impieties, and can tell you in which of our Streets Lewdness prevails, which Gaming has taken Possession of, and where Drunkenness has got the better of them both. When I am disposed to raise a Fine for the Poor, I know the Lanes and Allies that are inhabited by common Swearers. When I would encourage the Hospital of *Bridewell* and improve the Hempen Manufacture, I am very well acquainted with all the Haunts and Resorts of Female Night-walkers.[2]

The letter divides the city by vice and impiety, offering one means of organizing the metropolis. Taking in London as a whole, Addison and Steele perform various topographic and demographic readings of London, with an eye to maintaining order and distinction among the metropolis' tradesmen, merchants, polite society, and nobility.

Mr. Spectator's position as a gentleman living off of the rents of a small estate places him in a position to survey all of society, seeing its distinct parts as well as comprehending the whole. As John Barrell has noted of the figure of the gentleman in the eighteenth century, 'it was often believed, having no need to follow any determinate occupation, [he] had the potential to comprehend them all.'[3] This privileged and disinterested position is exemplified in Mr. Spectator's description of the Royal Exchange and his twenty-four hour ramble through London. In his visit to the Royal Exchange, Mr. Spectator sees not the scene of promiscuous intermixing that Ward's spy recorded, but instead a harmonious view of society. It is a place that gives him a 'secret Satisfaction': 'a grand Scene of Business [that] gives me an

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[1] *Spectator* no. 403, III: 506.

[2] *Spectator* no. 8, I: 36.

[3] John Barrell, *English Literature in History 1730-80: An Equal, Wide Survey* (London: Hutchinson, 1983), p. 33.

infinite variety of solid and substantial Entertainments.'[1] The scene he views while walking through the Exchange exemplifies the mutual benefit to society that an interdependency woven together by trade offers the various nations who take part, as well as the importance of London as a center of trade. As a man whose position is secure, independent of the goings-on that he observes, he can view with pleasure a scene that from his perspective emanates harmony.

In number 454, Mr. Spectator, feeling 'a certain busy Inclination one sometimes has', rises at four in the morning determined:

> to rove by Boat and Coach for the next Four and twenty Hours, till the many Objects I must needs meet with should tire my Imagination, and give me an Inclination to a Repose more profound than I was at that Time capable of.[2]

To this end, Mr. Spectator rambles through London, delighted in all he sees. The crowded Thames full of boats transporting goods to the city's various markets, along with the people and goods lining the shores, become a 'beautified' landscape, one that is beautiful because of its busy-ness. Once on shore, he wanders through the fruit and vegetable market in Covent Garden, declaring that he 'could not find any Place more entertaining.' Later in the day, Mr. Spectator moves towards the City of London, pleased with the sight of 'gay Signs, well disposed Streets, magnificent publick Structures, and wealthy shops, adorn'd with contented Faces.' He determines to visit 'the Centre of the City, and Centre of the World of Trade, the *Exchange* of

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[1] *Spectator* 69, I: 292, 294.

[2] *Spectator* 454, IV: 98.

London', feeling as much joy in observing the people around him as he suspects they feel with 'their Hopes and Bargains.' After taking a turn amongst the shops on the upper level, where he is entertained with the shop ladies' 'pretty Hands busy in the Foldings of Ribbands and the utmost Eagerness of [their] agreeable Faces,' he adjourns to Robin's coffee-house, a haunt of merchants, and finally to Will's. His imagination finally satiated, Mr. Spectator hires a link boy to lead him home, with whom he discusses the life of a link – 'the Charge, Hazard, Profit, and Loss of a family' dependant on such an occupation – and ends the evening in composing the 'minutes' of his day. His lesson to his readers: 'to keep their Minds open to Gratification,' a pursuit which will make 'every Object a pleasing one.' Passing in and out of various groups allows Mr. Spectator to present his readers with a harmonious view of society that comes through an understanding of its particular parts.[1] Throughout the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, Addison and Steele guide their readers' responses to the diversity of the metropolis, offering a perspective that takes in London in all its variety and presents it as a complex yet harmonious whole.

The act of 'reading' the faces of passers-by demonstrates their ability to read and criticize London types. In an essay regarding his choice of a husband for his sister Jenny, Bickerstaff claims that any man, 'even below the Skill of an Astrologer' (Bickerstaff's occupation in Swift's original incarnation of him) can:

> Behold the Faces he meets as soon as he passes *Cheapside-Conduit*, and...see a deep Attention and a certain unthinking Sharpness in every Countenance. They look attentive; but their Thoughts are engag'd upon mean Purposes. To me it is very

[1] *Spectator* no. 454, IV:98-103.

> apparent when I see a Citizen pass by, whether his Head is upon Woollen, Silks, Iron, Sugar, Indigo, or Stocks.[1]

His characterization and criticism of Citizens, London's tradesmen, portrays them as obsessed with their affairs and accounts. They 'look attentive,' yet the nature of their attentiveness is 'mean Purposes' – business and, more particularly, money. Bickerstaff draws on the physiognomy of an avaricious Citizen in order to demonstrate the necessity of pairing men and women of different inclinations and humors for marriage in order insure balanced characters in their offspring. In a separate issue, Bickerstaff reflects on how courtiers around the offices at Whitehall are also discernible by their own thoughts reflected in their appearance:

> I left my Lodgings and, took a Walk a to the Court End of Town; and the Hurry and Busy Faces I met with about *Whitehall*, made me form to my self Ideas of the different Prospects of all I saw, from the Turn and Cast of their Countenances. All, methought, had the same Thing in View, but prosecuted their Hopes with a different Air: Some showed an unbecoming Eagerness, some a surly Impatience, some a winning Deference, but the Generality a servile Complaisance.

Their faces illustrate their preoccupation with advancement: while some men 'who were still but in Expectation, murmured at Fortune,' those 'who had obtained their Wishes, immediately began to say, there was no such Being.' The periodicals criticize those who characterize the worst traits of people in various stations.[2]

The *Spectator* classifies people by the time of day they stir, satirizing the idea of keeping late and unnatural hours as the height of fashion:

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[1] *Tatler* no. 75, I: 516.

[2] *Tatler* no. 170, II: 436-7.

> The Hours of the Day are taken up in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* by People as different from each other as those who are born in different Centuries. Men of Six a Clock give Way to those of Nine, they of Nine to the Generation of Twelve, and they of Twelve disappear, and make Room for the fashionable World, who have made Two a Clock the Noon of the Day.[1]

The day begins with the men and women of Industry, who start their day at six. The fashionable world, however, has made two the new fashionable noon. Identifying and classifying people by their appearance are not just abilities; it is also an amusing pastime. The *Spectator* asserts:

> When we look around us, and behold the strange variety of Faces and Persons which fill the Streets with Business and Hurry, it is not unpleasant Amusement to make Guesses at their different Pursuits, and judge by their Countenances what it is that so anxiously engages their present Attention.[2]

Addison and Steele render what might be overwhelming (the variety of people moving swiftly through London) into an entertainment, encouraging the reader to test his or her own abilities at discerning physiognomic features.

5. CENSORS OF MANNERS AND APPEARANCES

In the dedication to Maynwaring printed in each volume of the 1710 collected edition of the *Tatler*, Bickerstaff explains that paper was designed to 'observe upon the Manners of the Pleasurable, as well as the Busie Part of

[1] *Spectator* no. 454, IV: 99.

[2] *Spectator* no. 193, II: 256.

Mankind.' In doing so, he makes clear that he aims at a wide readership by including observations that might be interesting and relevant to everyone. 'The general Purpose of this Paper,' he continues, 'is to expose the false Arts of Life, to pull off the Disguises of Cunning, Vanity, and Affectation, and to recommend a general Simplicity in our Dress, our Discourse, and our Behaviour.'[1] In order to effect this, Bickerstaff and, later, Mr. Spectator, must reveal in what 'disguises' these vices hide. At various times, extravagances and singularities of dress or ridiculous fashions become objects of scrutiny and derision in the pages of the periodical. Under attack in particular are articles of clothing which render walking difficult for other pedestrians. Accessories such as long swords and canes, as well as garments such as the hoop-petticoat, come under inspection in an attempt to regulate the ways in which taste and status is displayed via clothes and accessories. Extravagant clothes, unnecessary accessories, and affected limps come under attack, while more modest manners, clothes, and deportment are championed.

In the *Tatler*, Isaac Bickerstaff goes so far as to declare himself Censor, based on the Roman post responsible for checking the population and curtailing luxury through the passage of sumptuary laws. At a point when there is an explosion in 'the world of goods' and no legal means to control consumption, the periodicals serve to coerce their readership into self-examination.[2] Although Bickerstaff does not officially declare the title until the *Tatler* no. 144, nor give details of his duties as such until no. 162, he is in

[1] *Tatler*, 'To Mr. *Maynwaring*', I:7-8.

[2] Erin Mackie, *Market a la Mode: Fashion, Commodity, and Gender in The Tatler and The Spectator*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, p. 22. Mackie cites Michael McKeon, 'Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660-1760,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (28) 1995.

fact describing what he has been doing all along, and what will also be done in the *Spectator* and the *Guardian*, 'observ[ing] upon Things which do not fall within the Cognizance of real Authority.'[1] He describes his duties as follows:

> I find, the Duty of the *Roman Censor* was Twofold. The first Part of it consisted in making frequent Reviews of the People, in casting up their Numbers, ranging them under their several Tribes, disposing them into proper Classes, and subdividing them into their respective Centuries...The Second Part of the *Roman Censor*'s Office was to look into the Manners of the People, and to check any growing Luxury, whether in Diet, Dress, or Building.

In fulfilling his first duty, Bickerstaff takes 'many curious Surveys of this great City,' dividing the population into various types. In performing nuanced classifications such as 'separat[ing] *Cits* from *Citizens*, *Free-Thinkers* from *Philosophers*, *Wits* from *Snuff-Takers*, and *Duellists* from *Men of Honour*,' Bickerstaff divides the truly polite in each case from those who err on the side of affectation or lack of sociability.[2] Printing attacks on those who dress foolishly, keep an equipage when clearly none is necessary, and act inappropriately fulfills his second duty.

The fashion for large hoop-petticoats epitomized, for Bickerstaff, the excesses of fashion, and women were satirized as blocking thoroughfares and unable to be accommodated in doorways and passages. Bickerstaff convenes a court of inquiry into the hoop-petticoat; the young woman questioned 'had endeavoured twice or thrice to come in, but could not do it by reason of her Petticoat, which was too large for the Entrance of my House.'[3] Indeed, when

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[1] *Tatler* no. 144, II: 319

[2] *Tatler* no. 162, II: 403.

[3] *Tatler* no. 116, II: 191.

the Assembly Rooms in York, designed by Burlington, were opened to the public, the columns were too close together for women to pass through. The woman's defense was that she had put off wearing it as long as possible, until she began to feel unfashionable in the eyes of other women. A letter from 'Tom. Plain' printed in the *Guardian* details some of the complaints others have with hoop-petticoats:

> Many are the Inconveniences that accrue to Her Majesty's loving Subjects from the said Petticoats, as hurting Mens Shins, sweeping down the Ware of industrious Females in the Street, &c....Many other Disasters I could tell you of that befall themselves as well as others, by means of this unwieldy Garment.[1]

Fashion not only creates physical inconvenience but also disrupts the business of more 'industrious' women.

Another fashion represented as dangerous, imposing, and disruptive in public places is the fashion for wearing long swords. Ironside writes in the *Guardian* that he has received:

> Frequent Complaints...by Men of Discretion and Sobriety, in most of the Coffee-houses from St. *James*'s to *Jonathan*'s, that there is sprung up of late a very numerous Race of young Fellows about the Town, who have the Confidence to walk the Streets, and come into all Publick Places in open Day light, with Swords of such an immoderate length, as strike Terror into a great many of her Majesty's good Subjects. Besides this, half a dozen of this Fraternity in a Room, or a narrow Street, are as inconvenient as so many Turn-styles, because you can pass neither backward nor forward, till you have first put their Weapons aside.[2]

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[1] *Guardian* no. 115, p. 389.

[2] *Guardian.* no. 143, p. 471.

In explaining that the complaints come from 'most of the Coffee-houses from St. *James*'s to *Jonathan*'s,' the periodical makes the issue one of communal concern across London, from the merchants in Jonathan's in Cornhill, to the politicians in St. James's coffeehouse. In doing so, the periodical allows for 'men of Discretion and Sobriety' in all strata of society, uniting them in their concerns about the inconveniences in public places caused by these young men.

The 'fashion' for certain ailments (poor vision, a limp, or general frailty, for example) also comes under attack. In order to ensure that eyeglasses and canes are used properly, Bickerstaff places himself in charge of determining when impairments are real or merely affectation of 'genteel' behavior. The use of an eyeglass had once been the fashion, but:

> a janty Limp is the present Beauty. I think I have formerly observ'd, a Cane is Part of the Dress of a Prig, and always worn upon a Button, for fear he should be thought to have an Occasion for it, or be esteem'd really, and not genteely a Cripple.[1]

The carrying of a cane as ornament instead of necessity, as Bickerstaff mockingly suggests, signifies that the wearer is a 'genteel' cripple, and not a real one. In response to Bickerstaff's complaints, a letter is printed three issues later from a man with a genuine limp who writes in order to 'beg leave to limp along the Streets after my own Way, or I shall be inevitably ruin'd in Coach-hire.' Bickerstaff grants permission 'upon paying his Fees, which shall

[1] *Tatler* no. 77, I: 525.

empower him to wear a Cane till the 13th of *March* next; Five Months being the most I can allow for a Sprain.'[1]

In a later issue, Bickerstaff decides to regulate the use of canes by issuing passes, such as the following, that prove that the carrier does have need for the cane and may carry it as long as he does not abuse the privilege:

> You are hereby required to permit the Bearer of this Cane to pass and repass through the Streets and Suburbs of *London*, or any Place within Ten Miles of it, without Lett or Molestation; provided that he does not walk with it under his Arm, brandish it in the Air, or hang it on a Button: In which Case it shall be forfeited; and I hereby declare it forfeited, to any one who shall think it safe to take it from him.
>
> *Isaac Bickerstaff.*

Among those who visit Bickerstaff to receive a pass are a young man who claims he had been bred to always use cane, and two others who lie about their need to use a cane. In the first instance, Bickerstaff replaces the young man's fashionable cane with a more austere model, allowing him to carry it only three days a week in order to wean him off of it. In the other two cases, Bickerstaff soon learns that the men can walk perfectly well without a cane, and refuses to issue a pass in each case. During the session, a young lawyer passing by on the street is taken up and forced before Bickerstaff, refusing to forfeit his cane (which he wears on his button) on the basis that 'He had a Property in it' and could use it as he wished. Bickerstaff in response 'order'd him to wear it about his Neck, instead of hanging it upon his Button,' in an attempt to persuade him to leave the cane at home as an alternative to appearing ridiculous.[2]

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[1] *Tatler* no. 80, II: 12.

[2] *Tatler* no. 103, II: 130-3.

While Bickerstaff's concerns with the public's manner of dress are ironic and overly fastidious, designed to amuse by virtue of how extreme they are, they still arise from a sincere concern to identify and address social problems. Although his complaints appear ridiculous, the contemporary reader would, based on Bickerstaff's observations, be able to recognize the kinds of people that he singles out for criticism. The issues and solutions are self-consciously absurd; yet that does not render their writing ineffective. In response to affectation, Bickerstaff especially advocates contentment in one's station in life, and not aspiring to surpass it, which extravagant forms of dress and behavior signal. Bickerstaff cites Epictetus, proclaiming 'we are all but acting Parts in a Play; and it is not a Distinction in it self to be high or low, but to become the parts we are to perform.' Although 'acting one's part' suggests performance and thus affectation in one's manners, each has his or her own natural part. As part of his role as Censor, Bickerstaff determines to 'give those who are a little out in their Parts such soft Hints as may help them proceed,' while threatening to recast those who are 'quite out of character' in roles more appropriate.[1]

In another issue, Bickerstaff offers as an example a man who aims to perform a part unnatural to him:

> In my Walks every Day there appear all round me very great Offenders in the Point of Dress. An armed Taylor had the Impudence Yesterday in the Park to smile in my Face, and pull off a Laced Hat to me, as it were in Contempt of my Authority.

The tailor, leisurely promenading in St. James's Park, appears 'armed' with a sword and dressed in a laced hat, an appearance unsuitable to his station.

[1] *Tatler* no. 180, II: 481.

Greeting Bickerstaff in the Park serves as his final offence, a show of flagrant contempt for Bickerstaff's regulations. In saluting Bickerstaff, the tailor claims an acquaintance with him in front of the fashionable world, seeking prestige by association. Despite the tailor's inappropriate decorum, Bickerstaff feels 'a very great Satisfaction, that other People as well as my self are offended with these Improprieties,' and continues by printing letters that are 'a sufficient Instance how useful my Lucubrations are to the Publick.'[1]

One letter, from a City tradesman, asserts:

> It is...with no small Concern, that I behold in Coffee-houses and publick Places my Brethren, the Tradesmen of this City, put off the smooth, even and ancient Decorum of thriving Citizens, for a fantastical Dress and Figure, improper for their Person and Characters, to the utter Destruction of that Order and Distinction which of Right out to be between St. *James*'s and *Milk-street*, the Camp and *Cheapside*.[2]

Rather than satirize the figure of the citizen dressed discernibly above his station in emulation of those of higher social standing, the periodical instead places the censure in the voice of a tradesmen who laments the appearance of his 'Brethren' in 'publick Places' like parks, theatres, and coffeehouses dressed in 'fantastical dress.' These clothes are 'improper' both for their 'Person' and their 'Characters,' awkwardly suiting both their bodies and their business. Instead, the author of the letter suggests that citizens should be proud of their 'thriving' situation by proudly wearing the modest and traditional clothing suited to their position in society.

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[1] *Tatler* no. 270, III: 358.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 359.

Bickerstaff's inability to regulate the whole of London leads him to determine:

> instead of continuing to write against the Singularity some are guilty of in their Habit and Behaviour, I shall henceforward desire them to persevere in it; and not only so, but shall take it as a Favour of all the Coxcombs in the Town, if they will set Marks upon themselves that they are not of sound Understanding, to give the World Notice of it, and spare Mankind the Pains of finding them out.[1]

Instead of correcting the singularity and faults of others, Bickerstaff instead prints a list of faults characteristic of different types of men, ensuring they will be easily recognized and properly categorized. He offers as an example that 'A Cane upon the Fifth Button shall from henceforth be the Type of a Dapper.'[2] While there are those who persist in their singularities, Bickerstaff is nevertheless confident that his ideas have reached and influenced the majority. In persevering in their poor taste, the 'Coxcombs of the Town' physically mark themselves in a way which signals to 'the World,' or polite society in London, that their understanding is defective. That judgement is not only Bickerstaff's but extended to 'the World' as a whole.

'Patterns of discourse,' Stallybrass and White and have demonstrated, 'are regulated through the forms of corporate assembly in which they are produced.'[1] Coffeehouses, pleasure gardens, public walks, the theatre, and the street, serve as the setting for Bickerstaff and Mr. Spectator's observations on manners and morals. In the periodicals, the discourse of polite sociability

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[1] *Tatler* no. 96, II: 97.

[2] *Ibid.* The description of a 'Dapper' in number 85 as 'a distant Imitation of a forward Fop' is the first use of the word dapper as a noun in the *OED*.

regulates and influences taste, manners, and modest appearance as well as conversation. In making taste, politeness, manners, and morals the subject of their periodicals, Addison and Steele claim that the subjects of their writings are those in which members of the public are invested. At the same time, however, the discussion of these issues in the pages of the periodical insured that these topics were then among those discussed in the coffeehouse and at the tea table. In creating an imagined forum in which manners and morals are seemingly regulated by all, the periodicals persuaded readers to 'check' their own behavior in spaces of communal assembly.

6. POLITENESS IN THE STREETS

In addition to singling out fashion as disrupting polite sociability in the Town, Addison and Steele also addressed issues regarding the use of public spaces, forging a new etiquette for their use. As Stallybrass and White point out, 'Concomitant with the establishing of the "refined" public sphere and its distinct notion of professional authorship was a widespread attempt to regulate body and crowd behaviour so as to create conditions favourable to the operation of the sphere.'[2] Refined sensibilities depended on the regulation of the body. Throughout the periodicals, Addison and Steele regulate body and crowd behavior by putting forth ideas about good and bad behavior in

[1] Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 83-4.

London's social spaces. However, their project was not merely limited to the playhouse, assembly, coffeehouse, and promenade: their regulatory efforts spilled out into the streets as they sought to ensure that notions of politeness adhered to in company were also regulating everyday life. In advocating the interests of the 'polite' pedestrian, the periodicals create an etiquette for the use of the streets.

Bickerstaff's first 'act' as Censor in number 144 illustrates his disgust over the way that:

> The Horses and Slaves of the Rich take up the whole Street, while we Peripateticks are very glad to watch Opportunity to whisk cross a Passage, very thankful that we are not run over for interrupting the Machine, that carries in it a Person neither more handsome, wise, or valiant, than the meanest of us. For this Reason, were I to propose a Tax, it should certainly be upon Coaches and Chairs; for no Man living can assign a Reason why one Man should have half a Street to carry him at his Ease, and perhaps only in Pursuit of Pleasures, when as good a Man as himself wants Room for his own Person to pass upon the most necessary and urgent Occasion.[1]

His first act, significantly, reflects a desire to pedestrianize the streets of London, clearing it of coaches for the polite, but modest, public to pass through. The reversal of priority in thoroughfares, taking it away from the coaches of the rich and offering it instead to the modest pedestrian, reflects Bickerstaff's division of society between the rich and idle who are carried 'at Ease' and 'only in Pursuit of Pleasures,' and the 'busie' and industrious part of the population whose movements are described as 'necessary and urgent.'

Until such an act can be passed, he intends to 'take upon me to vest certain Rights in the Scavengers of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, to

[1] *Tatler* no. 144, II:319.

take the Horses and Servants of all such as do not become or deserve such Distinctions into their peculiar Custody.' Bickerstaff does not aim to eliminate all distinction, but targets luxury in the form of coaches and chairs used to convey 'a Person neither more handsome, wise, or valiant, than the meanest of us.' The problem is a result of the fact that 'the Distinction of riding in a Coach is not to be appointed according to a Man's Merit, or Service to their Country, nor...as a Reward for some eminent Virtue,' leaving anyone who is able to afford to ride in a coach (whether their own or hired) able to do so. When the use of a coach or chair conveys a distinction that the person 'becomes' or 'deserves,' then no action will be taken. Bickerstaff has vested powers in scavengers to seize the horses and servants of those riding who should be walking, insisting that those men and women will be entitled to be 'Conduct[ed] to their Places of Abode in the Carts of the said Scavengers.' Bickerstaff threatens to literally take them from the height of their distinction, enclosed and above the street, and place them into the midst of the filth of the street collected in the carts of the scavengers, whose job it is to clean the streets. Their horses, however, 'shall be mounted by their Footmen, and sent into the Service Abroad.' Bickerstaff expresses his amazement at the manner in which some people can:

> Out of meer Pride or Laziness expose themselves at this Rate to publick View, and put us all upon pronouncing those Three terrible Syllables, Who is that? When it comes to that Question, our Method is to consider the Mien and Air of the Passenger, and comfort our selves for being dirty to the Ankles by laughing at his Figure and Appearance who overlooks us.[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 319-20.

These persons in carriages and chairs seek nothing more than to 'expose' themselves, parading their status and distinction. Bickerstaff suggests an ironic reversal – when men and women like these appear in London's streets, inviting pedestrians to stare, he suggests that they should be regarded as inciting laughter rather than awe.

John Gay's *Trivia* also includes an attack on luxury voiced through the difference between riding in coaches and chairs and walking. Like Addison and Steele, Gay reasserts the image of lazy men and women who are too proud to walk:

> Thus was of old *Britannia*'s City bless'd,
> E'er Pride and Luxury her Sons possess'd:
> Coaches and Chariots yet unfashion'd lay,
> Nor late invented Chairs perplex'd the Way:
> Then the proud Lady trip'd along the Town,
> And tuck'd up Petticoats secur'd her Gown,
> Her rosie Cheek with distant Visits glow'd,
> And Exercise unartful Charms bestow'd;
> But since in braided Gold her Foot is bound,
> And a long trailing Manteau sweeps the Ground,
> Her shoe disdains the Streets; the lazy Fair,
> With narrow Step affects a limping Air.
> Now gaudy Pride corrupts the lavish Age,
> And the Streets flame with glaring Equipage...
> (I, 101-114)

Gay looks back to a past when even 'the proud Lady trip'd along the Town.' Before luxury corrupted the English, he argues, clothes were suitable for walking, and the exercise instilled a natural, 'unartful' healthy appearance. However, now 'in braided Gold her Foot is bound/Her shoe disdains the Street.' As in Addison and Steele's writings, the evils of luxury are signaled through fashion: delicate shoes, garments that trail behind the wearer. Gay's use of the term 'unfashion'd' evokes not just the making of coaches and chairs

but their relationship with a fashionable lifestyle; since their fashioning, 'the Streets flame with glaring Equipage.' Gay's poem champions modesty, suggesting the wearing of appropriate clothing for walking in London, and offers advice on how to discern what may be appropriate in different weather conditions. Shoes suitable for dancing are not suitable for walking; instead one should 'Let firm well-hammer'd Soles protect thy Feet/Thro' freezing Snows, and Rains, and soaking Sleet' (I, 33-4). One should also 'chuse a proper Coat for Winter's Wear' (I, 42). Women, to avoid the bad weather, should make use of hoods, umbrellas, and pattens to protect shoes, while men should consider wearing an old wig and hat so as not to ruin good garments.

Along with insuring that those in coaches mind their pedestrian counterparts, Addison and Steele are also concerned with whether or not walkers offer each other due respect and pay each other proper civilities. In number 250, Bickerstaff invites all those who feel they have suffered affronts, including 'hav[ing] been defrauded of their Right to the Wall' when walking through London.[1] Six issues later, Isaac Bickerstaff convenes court on the case of a man whose etiquette is in question:

> *PETER Plumb*, of *London*, Merchant, was indicted by the Honourable Mr. *Thomas Gules* of *Gule-Hall* in the County of *Salop*, for that the said *Peter Plumb* did in *Lombard-Street*, *London*, between the Hours of Two and Three in the Afternoon, meet the said Mr. *Thomas Gules*, and after a short Salutation, put on his Hat, Value Five-Pence, while the Honourable Mr. *Gules* stood bare-headed for the Space of Two Seconds. It was further urged against the Criminal, That during his Discourse with the Prosecutor, he feloniously stole the Wall of him, having clapped his Back against it in such a Manner that it was impossible for Mr. *Gules* to recover it again at his taking Leave of him.[2]

[1] *Tatler* no. 250, III: 275.

[2] *Tatler* no. 256, III: 297-8.

Peter Plumb, a merchant whose name refers to his fortune of one hundred thousand pounds, is here indicted on charges of incivility that took place on Lombard Street, the center of London's banking.[1] Bickerstaff charges him with replacing his hat before a person of superior rank in conversation, and of asserting the wall, the cleanest and safest space to walk. Peter Plumb 'urged in his Defence, That he put on his Hat through Ignorance, and took the Wall by Accident.'[2] The 'Honourable Mr. *Thomas Gules*' is presumably a country gentleman, perhaps in London on business. Despite the fact that they know each other (Mr. Gules stops to talk with Peter Plumb when he salutes him on the street), Mr. Gules is affronted that Plumb acts as if on an equal footing with a gentleman.

The idea of Gules bringing charges against Peter Plumb for his incivility suggests a man determined to maintain distinction between the two. Gules explains that he would rather 'starve like a Man of Honour, than do anything beneath his Quality,' while Plumb tells the court that Gules is in fact worth nothing, and is 'an Idle, Beggarly Fellow, and of no Use to the Publick.' Plumb, who allegedly suffered from a cold at the time, presents several witnesses who claim:

> That he made several Motions with his Hat in his Hands, which are generally understood as an Invitation to the Person we talk with to be covered; and that the Gentleman not taking the Hint, he was forced to put on his Hat, as being troubled with a Cold...And as for the Wall, it was alledged, That he had taken

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[1] In *Tatler* no. 40 Bickerstaff explains that a plumb is what 'the Citizens call an Hundred Thousand Pounds.' I: 288.

[2] *Tatler* no. 256, III: 298.

> it inadvertently, to save himself from a Shower of Rain which was then falling.

Bickerstaff and his judges, however, agree that Plumb's defense:

> Did rather aggravate than extenuate his Crime; That the Motions and Intimations of the Hat were a Token of Superiority of Conversation, and therefore not to be used by the Criminal to a Man of the Prosecutor's Quality, who was likewise vested with a double Title to the Wall at the Time of their Conversation, both as it was the upper Hand, and as it was Shelter from the Weather.[1]

Replacing one's hat first, and suggesting that one's company replace theirs, are rights reserved in conversation for the person of superior quality. Plumb, as a merchant, had no right to such claims, despite his cold. Furthermore, the rain was all the more reason to offer the wall to a person of superior quality.

The judges are at first inclined to suggest a physical punishment for Plumb's crimes, until Bickerstaff reminds them that the 'Court was erected for the finding out of Penalties suitable to Offences.' When the jury returns with a less severe physical punishment, the 'Slitting of his Nose and the Cutting off both his Ears,' Bickerstaff, 'smiling upon the Court,' explains that such a punishment 'might be of ill Consequences in a Trading Nation,' suggesting that the wealthy merchant contributes to the public good. He then determines as Plumb's punishment:

> That his Hat, which was the Instrument of Offence, should be forfeited to the Court; That the Criminal should go back to the Warehouse from whence he came, and thence, as Occasion should require, proceed to the *Exchange*, or *Garraway*'s Coffee-house, in what Manner he pleased; but that neither he nor any of the Family of the *Plumbs* should hereafter appear in

[1] *Ibid.*, III: 298-9.

> the Streets of *London* out of their Coaches, that so the Foot-Way might be left open and undisturbed for their Betters.[1]

Bickerstaff confines the merchant to places of trade and business: his warehouse, the Exchange, and Garraway's Coffee-house in Exchange Alley, an auction house where merchants could purchase luxury goods to sell. Plumb's restricted movements still allow him to attend to business, ensuring that as a prosperous merchant he can contribute to the good of the nation. In deciding to confine him and his family to 'their Coaches,' Bickerstaff, as is apparent from his earlier comments about the distinctions between those who ride and those who walk, actually places Plumb in a superior position to Gule who, due to his financial circumstances and his refusal to 'sully himself with Business,' must continue to walk. While Bickerstaff is again over-fastidious in his notion of etiquette, his assertions are intended to amuse because, as with all good comedy, his observations are familiar and rely on a mutual understanding of what proper behavior is.

Preparing the streets for polite use depended on more than simply the creation of etiquette or rules of behavior for the streets. Indeed, the twin aims of ordering and clearing up space and setting forth ideals of appropriate behavior were inextricably linked: in order to ensure controlled and regulated behavior, Addison and Steele had to ensure that London's public places were suited to encourage polite behavior. Attempts to clean up the appearance of London's streets appeared in the periodicals, which addressed issues such as poor paving and illegible shop signs. The lack of clarity of such signs, which often consisted of little more than a street name and a shop sign, made it

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 297-300.

difficult to locate particular addresses, or even to identify a particular type of shop. In the *Tatler*, Isaac Bickerstaff laments the poor presentation of these signs:

> There is an Offence I have a Thousand Times lamented, but fear I shall never see remedy'd, which is, That in a Nation where Learning is so frequent as in *Great Britain*, there should be so many gross Errors, as there are in the very Directions of Things, wherein Accuracy is necessary for the Conduct of Life. This is notoriously observ'd by all Men of Letters when they first come to Town (at which Time they are usually curious that Way) in the Inscriptions on Sign-Posts.[1]

More than just an inconvenience, the inaccuracy and illegibility of many of London's signs blights the national character for 'frequent Learning' and constant improvement. Furthermore, clarity and accuracy in shop signs are necessary not merely for conducting oneself through London's streets, but for 'the Conduct of Life': for shopkeepers put their own businesses at risk by hanging out ambiguous or misspelled signs.

Lamenting the situation whereby strangers in London must make sense of signs that are both ill-painted and misspelled, Bickerstaff continues:

> I have a Cousin now in Town, who...wander'd a whole Day by the Mistake of one Letter; for it was written, *This is the BEER*, instead of, *This is the BEAR*. He was set right at last, by enquiring for the House, of a Fellow who could not read, and knew the Place mechanically only by having often been drunk there. But, in the Name of Goodness, let us make our Learning of Use to us, or not. Was not this a Shame, that a Philosopher should thus be directed by a Cobler?

The signs serve no purpose for those trying to find their way. Instead, places are known 'mechanically' from people having been there several times. For

[1] *Tatler* no. 18, I: 145.

the philosopher, who cannot read them, they are beyond his knowledge; yet a drunk and illiterate man can easily find his way to the establishment out of habit.

While ideas about polite identity throughout the periodical normally concern themselves with checking luxury amongst the wealthy and regulating relations between the social classes, order and regularity are here described as necessary for the good of the entire nation. Great Britain is cited as a nation of learning, and Bickerstaff notes that 'if it were known how many have suffer'd in this Kind by false spelling since the Union,' the problem would already have been eradicated. Taking into consideration the number of Scotsmen who might need or want to travel to London since the Act of Union, Bickerstaff suggests ways of making London easier to navigate. He goes on to point out that the want of distinct character of places within London also contributes to the confusion of strangers new to London, citing an instance in which he came across a Scottish gentlemen of his acquaintance in the Stocks-Market demanding his 'Ludgings.' Bickerstaff soon realized that the statue of Charles II, similar to that of Charles I at Charing-Cross, led the Scottish gentleman to believe himself to be at Charing-Cross. In articulating concerns over shop signs and similarities between places, Bickerstaff, with humor, determines to make the metropolis more accessible to the increasing number of strangers who find it necessary to visit London. He ends with a proposal, 'That every Tradesman in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, shall give me Sixpence a Quarter for keeping their Signs in Repair, as to the Grammatical Part.'[1] The

[1] *Tatler* no. 18, I: 146.

suggestions seems part of an attempt to regulate the English language as well, to standardize and render it comprehensible and useful to the British nation.

Similarly, the *Spectator* prints a letter complaining about the state of the illustrations on signs, proposing that the author of the letter be made 'Superintendent' in charge of monitoring the 'Absurdities hung out upon the Sign-Posts of this City...with full Powers to rectify or expunge whatever I find irregular or defective.' The illustrations are often incongruous, and are even more incomprehensible when considered in relation to the type of industry they are meant to advertise. The author of the letter claims that as Superintendent of the signs, he would 'forbid that creatures of jarring and incongruous Natures should be joined together in the same Sign' and 'enjoin every Shop to make use of a Sign which bears some Affinity to the Wares in which it deals.' Furthermore, they are 'every where thrusting themselves out to the Eye, and endeavouring to become visible,' vying for business by making themselves prominent, a problem not rectified until 1766, when an Act was passed to have them removed in order to allow more light and air to circulate in the streets. Finally, the author would prefer that 'When the Name gives an Occasion for an ingenious Sign-post,...the Owner ..take the Opportunity of letting the World know who he is.'[1] The iconography of the signs distract instead of assist the walker, in that the signs make no sense. The sign should be an indication of what type of shop it advertises. It is the representation of the shop to those passing in the street. When the configuration of icons on the sign no longer refers to the wares for sale, and in itself makes no sense, the signs are rendered useless. Recommending such

[1] *Spectator* no. 28, I: 115-8.

changes is an absurd intention, but points to a sense of disorder of London's streets.

In a letter to the *Spectator* in number 251, another reader expresses his concern over the 'cries' of London used by peddlers to advertise their wares, of which Mr. Spectator says that 'nothing...more astonishes a Foreigner and frights a Country Squire, than the *Cries of London.*' The author of the letter proposes that he become 'Comptroller general of the *London* Cries, which are at present under no manner of Rules or Discipline.' They are an attribute of London life which Bickerstaff and Mr. Spectator have yet to order, categorize, and render understandable. To make these sounds more suitable for the polite public, the author explains that should he be offered the post, 'it should be my care to sweeten and mellow the Voices of these itinerant Tradesmen, before they make their appearance in our Streets; as also to accommodate their Cries to their respective Wares,' sentiments that reflect those expressed over the state of shop signs. Furthermore, he hopes that by filling the streets with the cries of those with decent voices, the noisy crowds and rattling coaches will be drowned out:

> I think it would be very proper that some Man of good Sense and sound Judgement should preside over these Publick Cries, who should permit none to lift up their Voices in our Streets, that have not tuneable Throats, and are not only able to overcome the Noise of the Croud, and the rattling of Coaches, but also to vend their respective Merchandizes in apt Phrases, and in the most distinct and agreeable Sounds.[1]

By drowning out the more general noise of London, and by sweetening the cries and making them more concise, the noise of industry becomes suitable

[1] *Spectator* no. 251, II: 474-6.

for a polite public. The cries would then seem less like the nuisance Sir Roger de Coverley finds them, and more like the music sweeter than nightingales that Will Honeycomb thinks.

The concerns for the physical and sensory ordering of London are coterminous with the issues raised about the etiquette for the use of the streets. By addressing in both topics even the minutest details and responding with the most outlandish solutions, the periodicals bring the issues to light in the public sphere, to be laughed at surely, but also to recognize the needs of the growing metropolis and its expanding numbers of men and women with aspirations to be part of 'polite' society. Responses to such problems as the unreadable shop signs and the use of carriages to the annoyance of walkers are not meant to solve problems, but in their ironic and fastidious ways, to pinpoint issues.

7. A COMMUNITY OF SPECTATORS

The use of correspondence and the framework of Mr. Spectator's Club presented the issues raised in the periodical as discussions to which everyone could contribute. It was intended that men and women reading the paper would then govern their own dress and manners accordingly. One series of correspondence highlights the extent to which the readers of the periodical were meant to feel as though they could potentially, at any moment, be observed for improper appearance or behavior: Mr. Spectator's observation post at Temple Bar. Mr. Spectator commissions John Sly, haberdasher, to 'give an Account of Enormities' that occur outside his shop in Devereux

Court, Strand, conveniently situated where Fleet Street and the Strand, or the City and the West End meet. After receiving two letters of complaints from an informer in Widow's Coffeehouse, also in Devereux Court, complaining of young lawyers racing coaches, Mr. Spectator creates this post because:

> Frequent Disorders, Affronts, Indignities, Omissions, and Trespasses, for which there are no Remedies by any form of Law, but which apparently disturb and disquiet the Minds of Men, happen near the Place of your Residence...

There are no 'Law[s]' of etiquette, but the fact that inappropriate behavior can 'disturb and disquiet' suggests there are unwritten, unspoken, understood rules.[1]

Mr. Spectator orders John Sly, whom he deems 'properly qualified for the Observation of the said Offences':

> From the Hours of Nine in the Morning till Four in the Afternoon, to keep a strict Eye upon all Persons and Things that are convey'd in Coaches, carry'd in Carts, or walk on Foot from the City of *London* to the City of *Westminster*, or from the City of *Westminster* to the City of *London*, within the said Hours. You are therefore not to depart from your Observatory at the End of *Devereux-Court* during the said Space of each Day; but to observe the Behaviour of all Persons who are suddenly transported from stamping on Pebbles to sit at Ease in Chariots, what Notice they take of their Foot-Acquaintance, and send me the speediest Advice when they are guilty of over-looking, turning from, or appearing grave and distant to their old Friends.[2]

Mr. Spectator's main concern is the manner in which those suddenly able to afford to be transported through London by coach acknowledge and respect their pedestrian acquaintances. Has their new condition taught them

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[1] *Spectator* no. 526, IV: 376.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

affectation and a haughty disregard for pedestrians? Mr. Spectator further order Mr. Sly to take notice whether or not walkers are content or dissatisfied with their condition:

> As to persons on Foot, you are to be attentive whether they are pleased with their Condition, and are dress'd suitable to it; but especially to distinguish such as appear discreet, by a low-heel'd Shooe, with the decent Ornament of a Leather-Garter.

Pedestrians should be happy in their situation, and not covet the position of those riding in coaches. He again advocates modesty in appearance, and asks that those in 'discreet' shoes be especially distinguished by Mr. Sly. Sly's situation in Devereux Court, Strand positions him between London and Westminster; for this reason, Mr. Spectator closes his deposition with one final request:

> You are to do all that in you lies that Coaches and Passengers give Way according to the Course of Business, all the Morning in Term Time towards *Westminster*, the rest of the Year towards the *Exchange*.[1]

By instilling the etiquette he creates as habit, not only would foot and coach passengers treat each other with proper respect, but traffic would also flow as necessary to the Court end of London during term-time, and towards London's center of business at all other times.

One week later, John Sly offers an update for the *Spectator*, reporting that 'all Persons passing by his Observatory behaved themselves with same Decorum, as if your Honour your self had been present,' suggesting the extent to which the awareness of an observation post commissioned by the authority

[1] *Ibid.*, 377.

of Mr. Spectator influences the behavior of men and women when they pass it.[1] Two days later, however, Sly realizes that the behavior of passers-by changes once they pass his shop:

> The World is pretty regular for about forty Rod East, and ten West of the Observatory of the said Mr. *Sly*; but he is credibly inform'd that when they are got beyond the Pass into the *Strand*, or those who move Cityward are got within *Temple-Bar*, they are just as they were before. It is therefore humbly proposed, that moving Centries may be appointed all the busy Hours of the Day between the *Exchange* and *Westminster*, and report what passes to your Honour, or your subordinate Officers, from Time to Time.[2]

John Sly's situation in his shop allows for limited range of observation, and appropriate levels of decorum are maintained only within his viewing range. To rectify the situation, and to expand observation, Sly recommends the use of 'moving Centries,' or foot soldiers, to police the entire extent of Fleet Street and the Strand, as well as the streets leading on beyond the ends of the thoroughfares to the court and the Royal Exchange.

While some critics may suggest that the periodicals of Addison and Steele, the *Spectator* in particular, attempted to enforce conformity by creating a fear of humiliation,[3] to read the periodicals in such a manner is to miss the point. While many complaints were aired under the names of Bickerstaff, Ironside, and Mr. Spectator, a large number of complaints were included in the form of letters from correspondents, whether real or fictitious. The meticulousness with which scenarios of unacceptable etiquette, as well as

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[1] *Spectator* no. 532, IV: 399-400.

[2] *Spectator* no. 534, IV: 408

[3] Scott Paul Gordon, 'Voyeuristic Dreams: Mr. Spectator and the Power of Spectacle' *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 36:1 (1995), pp. 3-23.

spaces and customs of London inappropriate for polite use, are documented, signals the humor with which these periodicals were written and read. While the design of the periodicals often suggests that everyone is always and everywhere watched, the format is not one which creates fear of humiliation. The Panopticon is, after all, democratic: Foucault explains that there is no risk of tyranny, for it is 'constantly accessible...an observer may observe, at a glance, so many different individuals, [and] also enables everyone to come and observe any of the observers.'[1]

The format of the periodicals, in presenting letters from readers as well as the speculations and lucubrations of their respective narrators (whether these letter be from actual readers or written by Addison and Steele themselves) suggests, if perhaps not actually presenting, a community at work in the creation of a new identity for itself. As Stallybrass and White state, these periodicals 'negotiat[ed] a cultural alliance between the gentry, the Court, and the town through the formation of an inclusive, refined public gently coerced with a mixture of satire and example, into the ways of tolerance good manners.'[2] I would add the City to this cultural alliance. By involving the public via the publication of letters, as well as by offering opportunities for what was presented in the periodicals to be discussed and debated in the coffeehouse, Addison and Steele created, as Habermas points out, a means by which the public could determine its own ideals of good manners.[3] The *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian* did not so much enforce notions of

[1] Foucault, p. 207.

[2] Stallybrass and White, p. 83.

[3] Habermas, p. 43.

politeness, etiquette, and appropriate behavior, as serve as a forum for determining what in fact politeness, etiquette, and appropriate behavior meant to an expanding, increasingly commercially-based London middling class.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITENESS, SOCIAL ASPIRATION, AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PROMENADE

Politeness in the eighteenth century lacked a fixed meaning; scholars using politeness as a means to interpret the eighteenth century are acutely aware of the various ways in which it might have been appropriated by different people. The development and spread of ideas of politeness in texts like the periodicals of Addison and Steele offered a range of opportunities for improvement and a number of ways in which to render politeness applicable to everyday life. As ideas about politeness reached a socially diverse audience, men and women in different spheres might take on and develop certain aspects of that model of taste and behavior that they deemed suitable to their station. At the same time, however, the spread of politeness rendered it into something that appeared to be codified and easily learned through imitation. We have seen how, in the periodicals of Addison and Steele, polite sociability was a means to unite people despite their various social spheres, all the while maintaining order and distinction by championing an ease and modesty within one's station in life. But there was always the possibility for politeness and gentility to become a performance, and a means of competition that served as a means of distinction; this was nowhere more evident than in London's spaces of entertainment, especially the promenade. In representations of London's promenades over the course of the century, tensions created by the

performance of genteel behavior within a range of social spheres became a central trope, with men and women depicted as competing for status within the space of the Park.

The pedestrian promenade emerged in the seventeenth century and, by the eighteenth century, any town of importance had its fashionable promenade, either for pedestrians or carriages. Paris had the Tuileries, Copenhagen Tivoli Gardens, while in some European towns, such as Antwerp and St. Petersburg, a particular avenue or circuit emerged as the town promenade.[1] The habit of walking as a form of sociability, to meet with friends and gather news and gossip, became a prominent feature of London life and was soon imitated in provincial towns throughout Britain. As John Brewer has explained, many cultural sites of the eighteenth century served as places of performance for those attending. Theatre and exhibition audiences, for example, did not passively enjoy the spectacle on display, but actively participated in the broader spectacle of performance, in which social display and self-presentation played an important part.[2] In London's pleasure gardens, the promenade served as one of the chief entertainments, offering visitors an opportunity to parade themselves in front of others. In the promenade in London's royal parks, St. James's Park, Hyde Park, Green Park, and Kensington Gardens, display and presentation played an especially important part: with no other entertainment on offer but the act of promenading, the men and women in the park were the only spectacle on display.

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[1] Mark Girouard, *Cities and People* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 188-9.

[2] John Brewer, "'The Most Polite Age and the Most Vicious": Attitude Towards Culture as Commodity, 1660-1800' in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. John Brewer and Ann Bermingham (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 341-61.

Peter Borsay has demonstrated that the promenade served as a means of both inclusion and exclusion: men and women could parade their own sense of taste and status in the hopes of being accepted by the beau monde, while the competitive aspect of outdoing others in appearance and manners served as a means to distinguish oneself from those one deemed inferior. Borsay explains that 'the instruments of battle...to acquire status on the walks' incorporated both behavior, including carriage, manners, and conversation, and material accoutrements – fashionable accessories that bespoke one's wealth.[1] Richard Sennett has argued that in the space of the promenade, a public persona could be created 'out of action at a distance from the self, from its immediate history, circumstances, needs.'[2] In taking part in the promenade, the middling sorts could thus test their claims to be members of polite society, displaying their sense of taste and politeness in a public arena, perhaps learning where to improve. In 1662, for example, the socially aspiring Samuel Pepys records in his *Diary* that 'my wife and I walked to Grayes Inn [then a fashionable promenade] to observe the fashions of the ladies, because of my wife's making some clothes.'[3] More recently, Borsay has suggested that the decline of polite space in the provincial town in the late eighteenth century resulted from the growing number of tradesmen and families whose wealth came from commerce and who were able to afford to be part of polite leisure activities. The middling sorts were invited to take part in polite entertainments in the

[1] Peter Borsay, 'The Rise of the Promenade: The Social and Cultural Use of Space in the English Provincial Town c. 1660-1800' *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 9:2 (Autumn 1986), pp. 125-40.

[2] Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1992), p. 87.

[3] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1970), III:77.

provincial town only until there were too many to be comfortably accommodated.[1] I would suggest that in London, this was always the case: the middling sorts, growing in numbers, always threatened to overrun London's polite entertainments.

The appearance of the aspiring middling sorts alongside the nobility and gentry in social spaces offered writers and artists material with which to articulate concerns about luxury, taste, and consumption, as well as to satirize the times. The middling sorts were often represented as appearing foolish and absurd in their attempts to emulate the fashions and pursuits of the beau monde, who were in turn portrayed as determined to maintain distinctions between themselves and those they deemed their inferiors by any means necessary. In the middle of the century, Henry Fielding noted in an essay on the people of 'fashion':

> what Wonderful care these People take to preserve their Circle safe and inviolate, and with how jealous an Eye they guard against any Intrusion of those whom they are pleased to call the Vulgar, who are, on the other Hand, as vigilant to watch, and as active to improve every Opportunity of invading this Circle, and breaking into it.[2]

In Fielding's description of the concerns harboured by the polite regarding the aspirations of the middling sorts, the two groups become figured as armies battling over contested terrain. Fashionable society struggle to 'preserve' their fortified territory, 'guarding' against 'intrusion' by an enemy they are

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[1] Peter Borsay, 'The Rise, Fall, and Rise of Polite Urban Space, 1700-2000.' Lecture presented at the University of York's Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies' lecture series *Eighteenth-Century York: Culture, Space, Society*, 18 October 2001.

[2] Henry Fielding, *The Covent-Garden Journal*, no. 37 (Saturday May 9, 1752) in *The Convent-Garden Journal and A Plan of the Universal Register-Office*, ed. Bertrand A. Goldgar in The Wesleyan Edition of the Works of Henry Fielding (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 219.

'pleased' to distinguish from themselves as 'Vulgar.' However, naming those men and women whose wealth comes from trade as other than themselves is not enough to ensure that distinctions remain in place. The imaginary demarcated space of the fashionable, their 'circle,' is always at a risk of being invaded by men and women eager to improve, and men and women of fashion must constantly be on guard, altering rules of admission to ensure their exclusivity.

In representations of the promenade that focus on it as a space where social emulation and aspiration is rife, certain London types such as ladies and gentleman newly arrived from the country and eager to parade their sense of fashion, or the cit and his family who think themselves members of the beau monde, become key figures. In the *Tatler*, for example, Bickerstaff exposes a country squire who 'marched' along the Mall 'with a Carriage and Behaviour made intirely out of his own Head.' Gaudy clothes, a bushy wig, and a swinging cane make him both an eyesore and an inconvenience to others on the promenade, making it 'unsafe for anyone to walk within several Yards of him.'[1] The cit as a figure of satire may be traced back to the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth century it is his presence at public entertainments, wife and daughters in tow, that renders him a figure of satire. According to Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), a cit is 'a pert low townsman' or 'a pragmatical trader' who is distinct from the truly polite in appearance, conversation, and manners.[2] In the literature of the period the cit appears as one who ought to stay in his shop, and is often

[1] *Tatler* no. 96, II: 97.

[2] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: Times Books, 1979).

represented as obsessively concerned with the cost of things, how much he's earning and how much he's spending, at all times. In *Evelina*, for example, the Branghtons are typical cits: caught up in their own sense of self-importance, the Branghton children cannot even see, let alone understand, the distinction between themselves and Evelina. Their manners are unpolished, they lack any sense of taste and good judgement, and Mr. Branghton in particular constantly complains about the cost of things such as coach fare and the admission price to the opera. In representations of Vauxhall Gardens the figure of the cit is represented as unrefined and miserly, while in London's royal parks, the cit and his family are depicted as a threat to polite space.

1. VAUXHALL GARDENS

Cultural historians such as David Solkin and Miles Ogborn have recently focused attention on Vauxhall Gardens; drawing on their discussions, I want to provide an overview of the way the gardens were presented as polite spaces of entertainment, and the way in which issues of class boundaries were defined and presented in representations of the gardens.[1] A pleasure garden had existed on the site south of the Thames since the early years of the Restoration; it was known for its dark winding walks, intinerant musicians,

[1] This overview is taken mainly from David H. Solkin, *Painting For Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 106-156 and Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680-1780* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1998), pp. 116-157. See also Warwick Wroth's classic account, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (1896), (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1979), pp. 286-326.

and opportunities for sexual adventure, a reputation it maintained through the early years of the eighteenth century. When Jonathan Tyers took out a lease on the gardens in 1728, however, all of this was to change.

Tyers spent over three years remodeling the gardens as a space of polite and fashionable entertainment before he reopened Vauxhall to the public. The transformations were designed in part to encourage the return of those who had stopped visiting the gardens because of the reputation for promiscuous behavior. During the time Tyers ran Vauxhall, his plans for the gardens included straightening and lighting the walks, the enclosure of the gardens, an entrance fee, and the exclusion of servants in livery (who were made to wait for their parties in a separate room near the entrance). Tyers also made alterations to the way that visitors would spend their time: in addition to the already existing, but newly modified, paths for promenading, Tyers's changes also included the formation of supper boxes, an orchestra to replace the wandering musicians of the past, the display of English painting, and the creation of various picturesque 'ruins' and scenes throughout the Park. The new forms of sensory experience were designed as a contrast to the sensuality that had existed in the gardens through the Restoration and the early eighteenth century. David Solkin has described part of Tyers' task as 'legitimising the elegant pleasure enabled by commercial wealth': creating a legitimate means of consuming culture that in theory was designed as a refined form of entertainment. Tyers managed this by 'a dual process of ideological purification: apart from cleansing luxury of its long-standing associations with human vice and folly, it was at the same time essential to remove polite

enjoyment as far as possible from any stink of sensual vulgarity.'[1] In short, Tyers had to advertise his gardens as polite to anyone who might suspect them to be a less than appropriate place of entertainment, while at the same time marketing them as the place of refined form of consumption for those middling sorts with wealth to spare and aspirations to dispose of it in a 'genteel' manner. This balance between refined luxury and sensory pleasures was epitomized in the operation of Vauxhall and representations of it.

Another balance Tyers needed to strike was to market the gardens as polite entertainment while at the same time, to maximize profit, making them accessible to as many people as possible. In order to achieve this, he introduced a shilling entrance fee, which suggested exclusivity but was affordable to many. Once inside, parties could decide whether or not to eat and drink at an extra cost. Tyers served incredibly small portions of food at a large profit, but that did not stop men and women from wanting to partake of refreshment in the gardens. Miles Ogborn has noted how Tyers was able to turn even eating into an act of polite consumption. Portions served were too small to actually satiate one's bodily appetite, but the desire to be seen partaking of the expensive refreshments was represented as part of the Vauxhall experience.[2]

Behavior in the gardens appears to have been closely monitored. A guidebook to the gardens printed in 1762, *A Description of Vaux-Hall* explains that 'A peculiar attention is paid to the preservation of good order and decorum by a number of proper persons stationed in different parts of the

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[1] Solkin, p. 106.

[2] Ogborn, p. 124.

gardens,' painting an image of anonymous spectators taking note of disorderly visitors.[1] Solkin further notes that the reference to complaints about bad behavior in announcements to changes in the gardens suggests that men and women who visited the gardens perhaps felt the need from time to time to police the space themselves, ensuring it remained the kind of leisure activity they would want to take part in. Nevertheless, there always remained an air of impropriety that, as Solkin and others have noted, was one of the attractions, and a feature which Tyers carefully marketed.

Although the entrance fee was chosen to allow men and women from across social groups to mix together in the gardens, representations of the gardens often depict rigid distinctions remaining intact. Just as the spending of money on refreshment in Vauxhall was a means of announcing one's status, so too did the response to the gardens' various entertainments serve as a way to demonstrate one's sense of taste. Satires of the figure of the cit in Vauxhall Gardens focused on a preoccupation with the costs of the evening's entertainments, and responding wrongly to the gardens' sights in a way that revealed a lack of taste. *The Connoisseur* (1754-6), a mid-century periodical that, following in the footsteps of the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, was written in the voice of 'Mr. Town, Critic and Censor General,' printed several essays lampooning the cit. One issue, for example, detailed the Sunday amusements of the cit, and another described a visit to a citizen's 'rural mansion.'[2] Robert Lloyd's "The Cit's Country Box" (1756) was first printed in the periodical, satirizing the lack of taste of a City merchant, Sir Thrifty, and his wife.

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[1] *A Description of Vaux-Hall Gardens. Being a Proper Companion and Guide for All Who Visit That Place* (London, 1762), p. 51. Quoted in Solkin, p. 111.

[2] *The Connoisseur* 33 (London: Jones & Co., 1826), p. 57.

Spurned on by pride after a fellow cit, Sir Traffic, sets up a country house, the poem details their efforts to emulate the quality and 'not be out-done' that result in a gaudy monstrosity of a house where architectural styles clash and the natural landscape is destroyed to suit their 'taste.'[1]

In an essay on Vauxhall Gardens, Mr. Town records an evening spent there by a cit, his wife, and his two daughters, noting that even 'the substantial cit, who comes from behind the counter two or three evenings in the summer, can never enough regret the thin wafer-like slices of beef and ham, that taste of nothing but the knife.'[2] Once seated in a supper-box, the citizen's wife insists on 'appear[ing] like somebody' and, despite her husband's protestations over the expense, orders ham, beef, chicken, wine, cakes, and tarts. The cit, whose mind constantly runs to the cost of things, begins to assess the profit made on the food served at extraordinarily marked-up prices and counts with each bite how much the morsel has cost him: 'There goes two pence – there goes three pence – there goes a groat.' The cit and his family are too preoccupied to enjoy the refreshment: the cit with how much the evening is costing him, and the women with making sure they are seen purchasing enough meats, wine, and cakes to be considered genteel, not realizing that, to the truly polite, less was more.

The city type's concern with appearing polite and genteel in Vauxhall also serves as the topic of a letter is Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*.[3] Lien Chi Altangi, the Chinese narrator, goes to Vauxhall with his friend who serves

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[1] Robert Lloyd, 'The Cit's Country Box' *The Connoisseur* 135.

[2] *The Connoisseur* 68, pp. 116-8.

[3] Oliver Goldsmith, *The Citizen of the World* (1760-61) in *The Citizen of the World and The Bee* (London and New York: J. M. Dent and Dutton, 1970), pp. 197-201.

as his guide, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Tibbs, and a pawnbroker's widow. Mr. Tibbs, described as a 'shabby beau,' is depicted in an earlier letter as donning, to the best of his ability, the appearance of finery, situation, and good breeding, in order to show himself in public places like Vauxhall and St. James's Park in an attempt to hide his poverty. His wife, dressed 'in flimsy silk [and] dirty gauze' appears less wealthy than the widow, 'dressed out in green damask, with three gold rings on every finger.' Nevertheless, Mrs. Tibbs is desperate to hold on to her status and spends the evening criticizing the widow's excitement at the less sophisticated forms of entertainment on offer. On determining how best to spend their time, Mrs. Tibbs insists on 'keeping the genteel walk of the garden, where she observed there was always the very best company' while the widow, 'who came but once a season,' insists on procuring a place from which to view the water-works. The women trade insults, Mrs. Tibbs 'wonder[ing] how people could pretend to know the polite world who had received all their rudiments of breeding behind a counter.'

As a compromise, the party procure a supper-box, where a battle of politeness ensues; the widow, delighted with the refreshment, is 'fairly conquered in point of politeness' and 'content to yield the victory' when she hears Mr. and Mrs. Tibbs criticize the dressing and the wine. Determined 'to listen and improve,' the widow spends the remainder of the evening trying to curb her natural curiosity and her own opinions of the music and the paintings in order to make a more sophisticated, genteel appearance. Occasionally she forgets herself, but is always brought back 'to miserable refinement' by Mrs. Tibbs. The party eventually misses the water-works as a result of an

impromptu and unpleasant vocal performance by Mrs. Tibbs. The widow, angry, storms home while Mrs. Tibbs declares that the 'polite hours' were only just beginning. The scene reveals both Mrs. Tibbs's ungrounded pretensions to refinement and desperation to maintain distinction, as well as the widow's eagerness to 'improve.'

In representations of Vauxhall Gardens, authors were able to draw on concerns central to the eighteenth-century imagination: social mobility, luxury, consumption, taste, and politeness, and to examine the ways in which these concerns overlap. Vauxhall provided the ideal backdrop, both for serious writers and those satirizing the times· it brought together men and women of various social groups into one space of consumption. The forms of consumption and entertainment present in the gardens – food, drink, music, paintings, landscapes, fireworks, waterworks, promenades – were presented to the public by Tyers as polite and refined rather than luxurious and decadent. Nevertheless, moralists depicted the gardens as a site of promiscuous social mixing and dubious entertainment. Satirists mocked visitors with pretensions to taste and refinement, presenting them as critical of everything on offer yet willing to visit Vauxhall nonetheless, while presenting the middling sorts as desperate to improve and eager for opportunities to parade their own sense of gentility. Everything in Vauxhall Gardens seemed to boil down to money: spending it, and being seen to spend it in the correct ways. The mixing of social spheres becomes more complex in London's royal parks, with no admission charge and no other entertainment on offer except watching the company stroll.

2. THE PROMENADE IN ST. JAMES'S PARK

Unlike other forms of entertainment in the metropolis, there was no cost to enter London's royal parks, although the desire to cut a fashionable figure and blend with the beau monde meant that expense was necessarily incurred. Representations of St. James's Park over the course of the eighteenth century illustrate concerns about the upward social mobility of the middling sorts, describing the Park as corrupted by their presence. At first, the satires represent the typical cit using the Park as a space of leisure. During the first half of the century, despite questions and concerns about the social mixing that occurs in the Park, 'City gentry' and country rustics are always characterized as recognizable by their inappropriate fashions and their poor imitations of polite behavior. Towards the second half of the eighteenth century, however, distinctions between the nobility and the commercially wealthy are represented as less clear. The concerns articulated from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards are often about an inability to discern one's equals and one's inferior; the Park then begins to be described as a crowded space where polite and vulgar mix so closely as to brush against one another. Despite the numerous suggestions throughout the century that the Park had a glorified past in which it was relegated to the sole use of the elite, the reality is far less simple. From the time of the Park's opening to the public in the Restoration, it had always been represented as a place where high society mixed with tradesmen, shopkeeepers, and even 'low' life.

Rochester's Restoration poem "A Ramble in St. James's Park" represents the Park as a place where high and low mixed together. The scene brings together:

Whores...Great Ladies, Chamber-Maids, and *Drudges*
The *Rag-picker* and *Heiress...*
Carr-men, Divines, great *Lords*, and *Taylors,*
Prentices, Poets, Pimps, and *Gaolers*;
Foot-Men, fine *Fops...*

Rather than fear or disgust, or a concern regarding the invasion of the Park by the vulgar, the company is titillated by their surroundings, 'promiscuously' mixing and disappearing down shaded alleys to perform a range of deviant sexual behaviour, including '*Bugg'ries, Rapes*, and *Incests*' (24-31).[1] Throughout the Restoration, St. James's Park, as well as Hyde Park, was often used as a setting for sexual intrigue and assignation, in comedies such as Wycherley's *Love in a Wood; or, St. James's Park* (1670) and Etherege's *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter* (1676). With the rise of politeness, representations of sexual activity in the Park were replaced with concerns about appropriate and inappropriate manners, which eventually manifested itself in concerns about a polite, commercial middling class making use of the Park for themselves.[2]

The City had its own promenades: Moorfields, lying just north of London Wall, was donated by two women 'to the City for the use and enjoyment of the Citizens.'[3] It was then made suitable for walking after the ground was levelled, turf added, and the field quartered with gravel walks

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[1] *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Harold Love (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 76-80.

[2] This is not to say that the Park's reputation for sexual intrigue had disappeared. In *St. James's Park: A Comedy* (1733), male characters describe the promenade as offering an opportunity of 'perfect Carnival to the Women...no Freedoms, that can be taken here, are reckon'd indecent' because promenading in the Park 'carries so much the appearance of Innocence, yet at the same time, has all the opportunities of Vice', p. 58.

[3] Quoted in Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *London: The Unique City* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960), p. 79.

lined with trees.[1] Drapers Garden, situated just south of London Wall, was opened to the public after the Great Fire. Gray's Inn Walks and Lincoln's Inn Fields were also fashionable promenades in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the opening of St. James's Park to the public by Charles II drew visitors from all over the metropolis. The King's improvements to the Park included the addition of a canal, Rosamond's pond, wildlife, and the laying out of the Mall, which soon became London's most fashionable promenade. By the 1690s, one visitor to London claimed that 'you may find thousands of people of all sorts' promenading in the Park on a fine day.[2]

Hyde Park also remained one of London's fashionable promenades, but avoided the same amount of satirical treatment that St. James's Park received in the period. The main reason was because social distinctions remained more rigidly in place: those who had their own equipage would parade in their carriages, while to be seen walking through the Park was an indication of not being able to afford to ride. One satirical representation of Hyde Park from 1709 explores the imagined sense of superiority that those parading in coaches feel when they travel past those on foot:

> One Acquaintance will not bow to another, if the advantage lies on either side, especially if one be on Foot, and the other is mounted, as he imagines, in his triumphant Chariot...Gentlemen...must have no Conversation together, except upon equal terms, lest some should say to the man of Figure, *Bless me, Sir! what strange filthy Fellow was that you bow'd to parading in the* Mall *as you was driving to the* Ring?[3]

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[1] Borsay, 'The Rise of the Promenade', p. 125.

[2] *A Very Interesting and Accurate Description of a Journey through France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, &c. between the Years 1693-96. By a Famous Traveller* (Amsterdam, 1700). Quoted in Jacob Larwood, *The Story of the London Parks* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1872), p. 370.

[3] *The Circus; or, British Olympicks. A Satyr on the Ring in Hide-Park* (London, 1709), p. 3.

The poem explores the pride and folly of the beau monde who view an equipage as a sign of greatness, anticipating the concerns to be articulated in Addison and Steele's periodicals. Nevertheless, riding through Hyde Park in a carriage served to prohibit the close physical and social mixing with men and women of various stations by keeping those in carriages detached from the scene and by limiting any kind of conversational exchange.

But for those with aspirations to mix with the nobility and gentry as well as men and women of fashion themselves, by the early eighteenth century St. James's Park was the place 'to *see* and be *seen*, to *censure* and be *censured*.'[1] The *English Theophrastus* (1708), in its section 'Of Publick Walks,' explains how 'There's a kind of tacit, but very punctual Assignation, we reciprocally give one another to meet in St. *James*'s Park, or at the Ring, only to stare one another in the Face.'[2] The time of congregation is implicit: anyone who is fashionable knows at exactly what time to assemble for the sole purpose of staring at one another. The author continues to summarize the scene:

> In those Places of General Resort, where ladies flock to shew a fine Stuff, and gather the Fruits of their *Toilet*, People seldom walk with a Companion for Conversation sake, but only to appear with greater Assurance upon the Stage, get into Familiarity with the Publick, and fortifie themselves against Criticks.[3]

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[1] *A Trip through the Town* (London, [1735?]), p. 3; *A Trip from St. James's to the Royal Exchange* (London, 1744), p. 4.

[2] *The English Theophrastus: or, the Manners of the Age. Being the Modern Characters of the Court, Town, and the City* (London, 1708), p. 348.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

Ladies promenaded for the sake of 'gathering the Fruits of their *Toilet*': compliments, status, and perhaps an admirer or eventually a marriage proposal. Company was not kept for 'conversation sake' but instead as a means of gaining confidence upon the public 'Stage' and as an attempt to avoid potential criticism.

One means of guarding against criticism was to be seen alongside a group of people whose status seemed secure. The *Spectator* complains of the:

> great number of insignificant People who are by no means fit for the better sort of Conversation, and yet have an impertinent Ambition of appearing with those to whom they are not welcome.[1]

By joining others, these walkers hope to gain status through association, more than to socialize or enjoy the company. The observations in *The English Theophrastus* and the *Spectator* are echoed in a satirical ramble published in the mid-1730s. The author describes how people group together not for conversation but 'to get a little Confidence, and embolden themselves against the common Reflections of the *Place*,' where everyone is 'curious in examining those who pass them, and are very nice and very malicious' in their comments.[2]

On the pedestrian promenade, walking was transformed into a polite accomplishment. One mid-century satirical text describes it as the only place where it was fashionable for women to be seen walking:

> In the *Mall*, *Ladies* will walk four or five Miles in a Morning with all the Alacrity imaginable, who at home would think it an

[1] *Spectator* no. 24, I: 100-101.

[2] *A Trip through the Town* (London, [1735]), p. 3.

> insupportable Fatigue to *journey* from one end of their Chamber to the other.[1]

Women too genteel not to be waited on at home were at the same time too genteel not to be seen walking for hours on the promenade. Representations of those who appeared out of place in refined company, by virtue of either their gait or their clothes, formed a popular basis for satire. A letter to the *Spectator* by a woman recently placed in charge of 'a young Country Kinswoman' complains that:

> She is no more able now to walk, than she was to go at a Year old. By Walking you will easily know I mean that regular but easy Motion, which gives our Persons so irresistible a Grace as if we mov'd to Musick, and is a Kind of disengag'd Figure, or, if I may so speak, recitative Dancing. But the Want of this I cannot blame in her, for I find she has no Ear, and means nothing by Walking but to change her Place.

The refined woman writing the letter cannot understand why her country relative means only to move by walking, and not take advantage of the opportunity to display a sense of 'easy Motion' and 'Grace,' conveying an air and rhythm of dancing.[2] While the correspondent seemingly exposes her cousin's lack of grace, the reader is invited to laugh at the fastidious sense of good breeding the letter writer describes, where walking merely to move from place to place is deemed vulgar. While the country rustic was often used to expose the vanities of London, as we have seen in Chapter One, the cit became an especially popular figure for representations of the promenade, and was

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[1] *A Trip from St. James's to the Royal Exchange* (London, 1744), p. 6.

[2] *Spectator* no. 66, I: 281-2.

figured as a more immediate threat to the stability of the social order and the exclusivity of the fashionable.

3. THE CIT IN THE PARK

Representations of the commercial middling sorts in the early eighteenth century began to depict them as using the Park to fulfill social ambitions, imitating and emulating men and women of fashion and attempting to gain status by being seen with the right people. The act of competing for one's claims to politeness and for a place in polite society changed the Park into a space devoid of polite behavior, a space of empty, vulgar show, where claims to taste, status, and politeness were affected. *St. James's Park: A Satyr* (1708) depicts the Park as full of insipid fools and prattling, gossiping men and women who walk the Mall, affecting an air of gallantry and emulating genteel behavior.[1] Men and women of fashion congregate to flirt, men come in search of women of light character, and City types appear on the Mall attempting to mix with fashionable society. The author claims that even the 'sober trading Cit' cannot:

> forbear,
> From coming to regale his Palate here,
> With the fresh Breezes of *St. James*'s Air;
> Which whets his Appetite to a Degree
> Of imitating the Top of Quality (p. 12)

[1] *St. James's Park: A Satyr* (London, 1708).

The pure, 'fresh' air of the Park stirs the cit's appetite to emulate the fashionable parties in the Park. The author explains that despite his efforts, 'like an *Ape*, he mimicks [them] in his Dress,' suggesting that he can do no more than offer a shallow and transparent imitation, his clothes awkwardly suiting his body. The author also describes two 'ugly' women from the City who attend the promenade in the Park, oblivious to the difference between their appearance and manners and those of true quality. They:

> Mix ev'ry Night among the charming Fair;
> And tho' their Age and Malice both prevail,
> They would perswade themselves each is a Belle.
> So from the City they constantly come
> And mortify themselves, and then go Home (p. 14)

The two women, who should be mortified rather than pleased with their appearance, make a habit of appearing in the Mall with those who congregate to parade their beauty and display their skills in 'the Art of Pleasing.' Having persuaded themselves that they are as fit to be seen as any young belle, they cannot imagine anyone perceiving their ugliness and ill humor.

Over the century, writers made the connection between the promenade and the theatre with titles like *The Promenade: or, Theatre of Beauty*, a 1788 poem extolling the virtues of Dublin's fashionable society. *St. James's Park: A Comedy. As It is Acted Every Fine Day, Between the Hours of Twelve and Two, During this Season* (1733) draws more explicitly on the performance aspect of the promenade. The text, apparently a theatrical comedy performed in the Park, is in fact not a play at all but a satire of the 'performance' that takes place in the Park every day during the season. The author's prologue describes the Mall as the 'natural Theatre' where, 'In this gay Scene, the

Beaux and *Belles* appear,/ And each *fine Day*, perform for half the Year.'[1] The performance enjoys a guaranteed 'Six-Months Run' during the season, during which 'the walking Audience' may delight in the intrigues of the Park. Each of the characters' names asserts an aspect of their personality and their reasons for coming to the promenade: Sir Harry Peerabout, for example, attends to gaze at all the women, while Miss Forward has a reputation for using the Park as a place to arrange sexual assignations. Other characters' names, such as Miss Winchgait and Miss Wriggle, signal affected gaits and movements. Female gallantry serves as one of the central themes: the text consists entirely of parties of men and women gossiping or planning intrigues. Additionally, duped husbands learn of their wives' affairs, mothers find their daughters alone with young men in secluded places, and young women with no inheritance attempt to snare wealthy husbands. Peerabout explains, 'The Hours of *Park-Walking* are times of perfect *Carnival* to the Women...no Freedoms, that can be taken here, are reckon'd indecent: All passes for Rallery [sic] and harmless Gallantry' (3). Another gentleman later seconds Peerabout's opinion, stating that women come to St. James's Park for more than the air, because 'it carries so much the appearance of Innocence, yet at the same time, has all the opportunities of Vice' (58).

The Park is also figured as a marriage market where unwanted women with no inheritance or beauty resort in their desperation to find a husband. Peerabout, for example, mentions Miss Bolsterbubby's lack of fortune, her signalling the manner in which she pushes up her breasts as a means of attracting attention, and her need to rove the Mall day after day in the hopes of

[1] *St. James's Park: A Comedy. As It Is Acted Every Fine Day, Between the Hours of Twelve and Two, During This Season* (London, 1733), p. ix.

finding a husband: 'her Father has a great many Children – there's no money – and – but that's enough. She is constantly here every fair Morning in Winter, and every Evening in Summer; she is as well known as the Benches' (4). Her constant appearance in the Park would in fact make her less appealing to a potential suitor: her appearance has become familiar and less exciting, and her designs are transparent. The reference to being as familiar as the benches suggests a hint of vulgarity in her position and actions: the pseudonymous and anecdotal *Story of the London Parks* (1872) explains that in the eighteenth century, 'to sit on the benches, then as now, was considered the height of vulgarity' and was a practice 'entirely abandoned to the lower orders.'[1] While Miss Bolsterbubby is treated as an object of pity, City gentry promenading in the Park with hopes to marry above their station threaten the stability of the fashionable world. Mrs. Mopsaphil, wife to a City lawyer, brings her daughter to the Park to search for a wealthy husband for her. Their conversation along the Mall reveals the extent to which Miss Mopsaphil's appearance of cheerful innocence is a performance designed to ensnare potential suitors. Mrs. Mophsaphil warns her daughter that she overuses certain looks, causing her to lose any appearance of sincerity.

The fashionable characters who view the Mall as their rightful territory take delight in mocking Miss Mopsaphil for her outdated clothes, and in deriding other poor imitators of polite society. Lady Betty gathers her friends to join her on the Mall and to assault those who do not belong: 'You'll laugh yourself into a Fit, when you see what a Pack of odd drest-up things of both Sexes are come abroad to air their best Array this Morning in the Sun' (11).

[1] Larwood, p. 156.

The party decides to walk along the Mall abreast to intimidate and unsettle those who stand out as not belonging, eventually determining that 'we have drove a good number of those City-Drones back to their Hive; they won't pretend to breathe *St. James's* Air again yet a-while' (32). The city types are again recognizable by their appearance in outdated clothes or oddly 'drest-up.' While the women have no power to prohibit the entrance of City men and women into the Park, they nevertheless do all they can to police the Mall, intimidating those beneath them and frightening them away.

The text raises many issues surrounding the eighteenth century promenade, including the concerns about and distaste for social mixing, and the Park's reputation for sexual assignation. The Park is depicted as the site of 'fashionable' entertainment: gossip, scandal, and affairs are rife. As a place of female gallantry, it places the order of society in question: daughters of City merchants are brought there by their mothers in search of wealthy husbands, full of insincere looks of innocence; wealthy husbands lose their wives to younger, more exciting lovers; marriages take place as a result of unfounded rumours of wealth. Furthermore, the play illustrates fashionable society's concerns with the appearance in the Park of men and women not considered part of 'polite' society, and their resulting desire for exclusivity.

In this period of social mixing in the Park, the ability to discern the truly polite from poor imitations was itself a means of demonstrating one's taste and refinement. In *A Trip through the Town, Containing Observations on the Customs and Manners of the Age* ([1735?]) and subsequent versions of the narrative, including *A Ramble through London: Containing Observations on Men and Things* (1738) and *A Trip from St. James's to the Royal Exchange*

(1744), the 'City Gentry' are mocked for their pretensions to mix with their betters in St. James's Park.[1] The latter two narratives refer to the 'beauty' of the Mall when 'adorned' with the nation's nobility, and especially when they are 'freed from mix'd Crouds of Saucy Fops and *City* Gentry.' The crowds in the Park are, however, mixed; but, as the author points out, the 'Saucy Fops and City Gentry' are 'Pedants in Dress and Manners, who to an ingenious Eye are as distinguishable as a *Judge* from his *Clerk*, or a *Madam* from her *Maid.*'[2] While the City gentry's purchasing power might be increasing, the texts make it clear that status does not depend on expensive, fashionable clothing alone. 'People of Quality's Mien and Behaviour,' the author explains, are deemed 'sufficient to discover them' amongst the socially mixed crowds in the Park, asserting a sense of stability in the social order.

The texts satirize the man with ambitions to be included among the quality but who lacks the necessary taste and distinction to know how to seek them out: he risks making 'a *false step*' by annexing himself to 'a *Groom* of the *Bed-Chamber*' when his '*escaping Eye* hath...passed over a Gentleman Usher.'[3] While a certain 'Air of Dignity' and 'a graceful Presence' indicate a person of quality, an awkwardness of manner and posture reveals City tradesmen aiming to pass themselves off as their superiors. Acknowledging the desire to imitate their betters, the author describes the middling sorts as 'very mean *Copies* of fine *Originals.*' While a City gentleman's appearance might fool his equals, who lack the ability to discern the difference, 'towards

[1] Like the *Spectator* and *The English Theophrastus*, these three texts also translate from la Bruyere's *Caracteres*

[2] *A Ramble through London*, p. 8.

[3] *A Trip through the Town*, p. 4; *A Trip from St. James's*, p. 6.

St. James's he won't pass muster, he must be...return'd to *Leaden-Hall*, like a counterfeit Guinea that won't go.' By placing the cit in Leadenhall, the author not only situates him in a typical City street, but also refers to his 'leaden' appearance and mannerisms, which are lackluster, heavy, and difficult to alter. The 'hobble,' 'swing,' 'jolt and wriggle,' and 'waddle' in their walks reveal their true status. In addition to their awkward gaits and movements, the texts represent the ambitious city type as permanently and discernibly marked by trade:

> I have known that neither a Removal from *Portsoken* or *Vintry* Wards, to *Hanover* or *Grosvenor* Squares...nor even the Mirror of Knighthood itself, was able to erase the Impressions which a *Counter*, a *Leather Apron*, or a *Livery*, have left upon a Man's Manners.[1]

Trade permanently disfigures the man, leaving marks that cannot be erased or removed, altered or hidden even when the man in question has moved from the City into the fashionable squares of the West End. By continually referring to the cit's 'counter,' authors evoke an imaginary boundary between the cit and fashionable world, who remain solely on the purchasing side of the counter.

The unsuitability of the cit to a life of leisure was a central theme in a satirical song printed in *The St. James's Yearly Chronicle for 1761*, which describes the 'absurdity' of the typical Cit's attempts to 'confound' 'all orders of rank.'[1] The author reminds the socially ambitious tradesman of 'Old Gresham...the grave cit' who 'silently frowns at a conduct so strange,/So remote from your int'rests and you.' In addition to suggesting that a

[1] *A Trip from St. James's to the Royal Exchange*, pp. 4-5.

respectable citizen ought to be a grave businessman, the author warns tradesmen not to dress out of their stations nor pursue leisure activities unsuitable to their position in life. By dressing above his station, the merchant creates an air of wealth whose '*splendour* deter[s] us from *bills*'; his fine appearance might actually decrease his wealth by giving his fashionable customers the impression that he does not need their payments. He is advised that 'frugality's garb will conceal your vast gain' and ensure payment on time. Despite the wearing of fashionable clothes, the Cit can never mix entirely with the fashionable West End gentlemen in the Park: 'The ease of a court, and the air of a camp,/Are graces no cit can procure.' The song ends with a warning about the potential loss of business if the cit continues emulating those he is meant to serve:

> Thus if, apes of the fashion, St. James's you croud,
> And press onwards, in spite of all stops,
> The Mall you may *fill*, and be airy and loud,
> But trust me, you'll never *fill* your shops.

Fashionable society, disgusted at the audacity of a cit who attempts to mingle with them in the Park, threatens to abandon his business, denying him any opportunity to appear respectable. The boundary between the fashionable and commercial spheres is again figured in the song as the boundary of the shop counter. The cit is advised that '*counters* should guard [him] from all ills,' as long, that is, as he stays on the proper side of the counter and does not attempt to mimic the purchasing habits of the nobility and gentry.

The cit embodied for the eighteenth-century imagination all that seemed problematic about reconciling the idea of a 'polite' and a

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[1] 'A Song for the Mall. A Parody on Whitehead's Song for Ranelagh' in *The St. James's*

'commercial' nation. The satirical figure of the cit depended on a number of impressions. First, the cit represented all that was mean and low about wealth derived from commercial activity: he represented a narrowly focused concern on wealth and monetary gain, and was often represented as miserly, hoarding his wealth, and excessively concerned with the cost of things. Secondly, his restricted sphere of interest meant that he lacked the necessary manners to partake in polite conversation, and as a result lost out on opportunities for improvement by extending the range of his concerns. Thus, while the cit and his family were represented as spending money in order to emulate the fashionable in their clothes, leisure pursuits, and choice of abode, it was always represented as being done without any sense of taste and refinement. Finally, the wealth of families engaged in commercial enterprises could often surpass wealth derived from inherited estates, and the cit posed a threat to the stability of the social order, attempting to turn culture, status, and refinement into things that could be bought. St. James's Park served as an ideal backdrop for these anxieties because of the range of people to whom it was accessible over the course of the entire century.

4. POLICING THE PARK

Charles II opened St. James's Park to the public, and subsequent monarchs struggled with ways in which to maintain order and exclusivity within its bounds. In the reign of Anne, a halfpenny tax on entrance to the

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Yearly Chronicle for M, DCC, LXI (London, 1762), p. 187-8.

Park was proposed, to apply to all except the nobility, the court, and members of Parliament, in an attempt to exclude the lower orders while funding all maintenance and upkeep in the Park.[1] Later, under George II, Queen Caroline desired to return the Park to its former status as a private garden for the sovereign: when she asked Robert Walpole what the cost would be to remove the public's right of access, he famously replied 'only three crowns.'[2] Revoking the public's access to the Park was clearly not a viable option, and a tax in the form of an entrance fee would likewise create more problems than it hoped to solve. Instead, under Queen Anne royal orders were issued in January 1703 to control the use of the Park, vesting power in 'the keeper and his servants, gate keepers &c.' to 'take care that they are duly obeyed.'[3] Some of the rules were designed to prevent damage to the Park: coaches and carts were prohibited from riding on the grass; 'hogs and dogs' were to be kept out; and pedestrians were limited to the gravel walkways, only gardeners being allowed to walk on the grass. The rest of the orders attempted to keep the lower sorts out of the Park: people with carts were forbidden to use it as a public passage; 'rude, disorderly people or beggars' were denied admittance; and no one was to be permitted to sell anything.[4]

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[1] Jacob Larwood, *The Story of the London Parks* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1881), pp. 17-8. Cited in Susan Lasdun, *The English Park: Royal, Private & Public* (London: Andre Deutsche, 1991), pp. 126-7.

[2] Larwood, 1881, pp. 100-1. Quoted in Lasdun, p. 127.

[3] Mahaffy, Robert Pentland, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series. Of the Reign of Queen Anne* 2 vols. (London, 1916), I, p.539.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 539-40.

Five months later, stricter orders were issued, to be observed 'under pain of the Queen's displeasure.'[1] These regulations included the policing of the entrance gates to the Park by 'sentinels and gatekeepers' to exclude those types of people named in the earlier orders, and in addition, women in pattens. Pattens were overshoes worn to protect the foot from the mud, and were worn almost exclusively by working women; forbidding their entrance denied certain types of women the use of the Park to walk through, or from selling goods there. Presumably as a further attempt to limit entry, 'no person' was allowed 'to make any doors, passages or encroachments into the Park or throw down or demolish any of the Park walls.' Again, the regulations were designed both to prevent damage and maintain a certain amount of decorum by attempting to exclude the lower sorts. Carts, coaches, and horses, with very strict exceptions, were forbidden to ride through the Park; walking on the Mall 'in all wet weather,' was prohibited, as was the drying of linen in the Park; and visitors were not 'to presume to go into the wilderness or plantation where the deer lie' or disturb any of the animals therein. To ensure the effectiveness of the royal orders, 'the officer on guard' was given the power 'to send a corporal and soldiers when necessary to assist the keepers in enforcing these regulations and bringing offenders before a Justice of the Peace.'[2] A few weeks later, the regulations were 'renewed' and, as an addendum, a regulation was passed whereby no person 'shall...by any grant or

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 723.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 723.

pretence receive any money or gratuity for any doors or passages open to the park, the same being at pleasure and permitted *gratis*.'[1]

The rules laid down by Anne appear to have remained in place over the course of the century: official rules for 'the Several Keepers and Gate-Keepers in St. James's Park' were printed under George II, and presented to the public in 1760 under George III.[2] The regulations were 'printed and stuck up in every Centry Box in the Park,' presumably to remind the rangers of their duties as well as declare their right to take action against any who breech them.[3] Nevertheless, over the course of the century the Park remained, as we have seen, a place where the cit could rub shoulders with the gentry, and where prostitutes would ply for business, as Boswell's diary of his time in London clearly illustrates.[4] The rules prescribe the same very limited sense of purpose for the pedestrian in the park, and applied to 'all Persons without Distinction,' signalling the decline of the Park's fashionable status.[5] The rules applied without distinction because the public, with very limited exceptions, was free to enter without distinction, from the nobility down through to the common prostitute.

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[1] Mahaffy, ed. *Calendar of State Papers*, II:459. The number of keys of access seems to have been a particular problem: 6,500 is the often-cited figure for legitimate keys to the Park, while the prohibition suggests a lucrative black-market trade as well. See Weinred and Hibbert, *The London Encyclopedia*, p. 739, and Frederick A. Pottle, ed. *Boswell's London Journal 1762-63* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1950), 'Introduction,' p. 25.

[2] Public Record Office TS11/843/2870. This document includes the 1757 and 1760 rules, as well as notes from a court case brought against one of the sentries in the carrying out of his duties.

[3] *Ibid.* The enforcement of the regulations appears to have been a very serious matter: a carpenter, for example, had been sent to Bridewell for one month for having walking along the Mall in wet weather.

[4] James Boswell, *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763*, ed. James A. Pottle (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 67; 230-1.

[5] Public Records Office, TS11/843/287.

The attempts to enforce a sense of order in the Park were ineffectual: writing in 1766, John Gwynn, in *London and Westminster Improved*, paints a bleak image of the state of the Park. Its 'verdure' is compromised by 'the unaccountable liberties which the common people take of trampling upon every part which their caprice and insolence suggests,' while 'shameful neglect' is leading the Park to ruin. Mentioning various alterations to the Park made in the 1740s and 50s, Gwynn remarks:

> When the Old Mall was altered and gave place to the present form, all distinction between the publick walks had been destroyed, for this reason the people of Quality, who had hitherto uninterruptedly possessed that place while it was kept in order, deserted the Park in disgust, and the middling people, who could not hope to have respect enough shown them by the inferior sort, were compelled to retreat to the Green-Park.

In Gwynn's description, it is now 'common' people who have overrun the Park, pushing out even the middling sorts. He calls for improvements to reinstate it to its former appearance and status as 'the theatre of beauty and nobility,' in an attempt to 'deter the meaner part of the people from intruding into a place which by no means seemed suited to persons of their appearance.'[1]

[1] John Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved* (1766), (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1969), p. 88-9.

5. THE CROWDING OF THE MALL

Visual representations of the Mall over the century depicted the same concerns about social mixing that satirical literature articulated, especially the perceived transformation from a polite, open space illustrated with groups of men and women situated at a distance from one another, into a crowded, popular entertainment [fig. 2]. Images of the Park from the middle of the century, and especially images from the end of the century such as figure 2, portray the Mall as overcrowded, with everyone brushing against his or her neighbour with no space remaining in which to promenade. Earlier satires, such as *Taste a la Mode* (1745), featured a mixed crowd: men and women from different spheres, people dressed in gaudy fashions that do not suit them, fashionable men and women seemingly out of place amongst the people that surround them. The mixing of men and women from various social spheres also became incorporated into paintings of the Mall.

Thomas Gainsborough's 1784 painting *The Mall in St. James's Park* [fig. 3] illustrates beautifully the mixing of company across social boundaries, and I want here to focus on two nodal points of the painting, the three central ladies and the two prostitutes on the right. The central three ladies, very conscious of being observed, walk confidently down the center of the Mall, observing those around them. A fourth woman can just barely be seen between the middle lady and the lady to the right of her. She may not know them very well, but seems to wish to be seen as one of their company: rather than promenading with them, she peers out from behind them. The lady on the right of the group, blushing, is approached by a soldier, suggestive of the

Figure 2. *Promenade in St. James's Park* (London, 1793). Reproduced by kind permission of The Museum of London.

Figure 3. Thomas Gainsborough, *The Mall in St. James's Park* (1784).

sort of gallantry for which the Park was famous. The others (one with a sidelong glance, one with an amused smirk) are looking at three women seated on a bench, the most unfashionable place to be seen in the Park. The woman in the center of the bench watches the women passing and leans into her friend, as though passing a comment on the central group.

On the right, two prostitutes, garishly dressed walk towards us; on the left, two women, walking away from us pass comments upon them: one turning to her companion, the other staring at them. This lady's look is returned with some annoyance by one of the prostitutes, who is oblivious to the sneering look from the woman to the right of the painting. Others, too, are taking a close interest in the prostitutes. A woman, possibly a lady's maid, looks with a sense of awe at ladies who are more expensively dressed than she; to the right, and barely noticeable, a man lurks in the trees staring. Meanwhile, three small dogs mimic, in miniature, the petty exchanges occurring around them.

The different types of people present in the painting are indicative of the sort of mixing across social and economic divisions that occurred in St. James's Park by the end of the century. As one reviewer of Gainsborough's 1784 exhibition wrote, here are 'all descriptions of characters – women of fashion, women of frolic, military beaux, and *petit maitres*' all looking at each other.[1] The painting as a whole illustrates the social scene in the Park: observing others, gossiping about them, conscious of being looked at in return. All (with perhaps the exception of the soldier looking longingly at the woman he walks near) appear more interested in what there is to see around them than

[1] From the *Morning Herald*'s review of Gainsborough's 1784 exhibition. Quoted in William T. Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough* (New York: Scribner's, 1915), p. 226.

with their particular company, aping, ogling, or sneering at, their superiors or inferiors.

The polite, and even the middling sort, as Gwynn suggests, responded to the changing nature of St. James's Park by altering the place or time of day for promenading. The polite and fashionable world frequented the Park to promenade during the day after dinner, expecting city types to make use of it at night or on Sundays, after working hours. The author of a mid-century narrative chronicling a Sunday in London, *Low-Life; or, One Half of the World, Knows Not how the Other Half Live* [1755?], determines from five until six in the evening to be the time when:

> [W]ell-dressed Gentlewomen and Ladies of Quality [are] drove out of *St. James's Park*, *Lincoln's Inn Gardens*, and *Gray's Inn Walks*, by Milliners, Mantua-Makers, Gentlemens Gentlemen, Taylors Wives, conceited old Maids, and Butchers Daughters.[1]

In 1790, Trusler's *London Adviser and Guide* explains that the Park is crowded during the week from one until three in the afternoon during May and June with 'people of fashion' while 'in the evenings, all the summer, the walks are covered with the trading part of the people.'[2] While polite and fashionable society would leave London at the end of the season in June, the citizens would remain and make use of the Park throughout the summer. In 1795, the author of *A Fortnights Ramble through London* describes Cheapside on a Sunday: 'All trade is at a stand, and silence reigns where noise and bustle around the week prevail. The merchants are making merry at their rural

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[1] *Low-Life; or, One Half of the World, Knows Not how the Other Half Live* (London, [1755?]), 77.

[2] Trusler, p. 177.

pavilions; the shopmen are walking in the Mell, [or] riding around the Ring in Hyde-Park.'[1] Trusler goes on to describe Hyde Park as a place where 'persons of distinction assemble on horse-back and in carriages,' and Kensington Gardens as catering to 'persons of fashion.'[2]

Kensington Gardens were opened to 'respectably dressed people' by George II and, as one end of the century guidebook explains, regulated by 'servants placed at the different entrances, to prevent persons meanly clad from going into the garden.'[3] Excluding servants in livery was intended to create a more polite atmosphere, but instead occasionally created a more raucous environment, with those excluded yelling insults to those entering the Gardens. A letter printed in the *Morning Herald* complained of this treatment, imploring ladies and gentlemen who visited the gardens to mind their servants:

> Yesterday it was hardly possible to get near the gate leading into the Gardens, for the croud of servants who gathered round there, and who insulted every person not particularly known to them, going in, or coming out of the Gardens.[4]

What was intended as a more exclusive environment instead became susceptible to impolite behavior. Similar behaviour by servants was described as early as the middle of the century outside Hyde Park, with footmen 'Wrestling, Cudgel-Playing, and Jumping' while drunk servants could be seen 'Swearing, Fighting, Spewing, Sleeping, &c. till their Ladies return from the

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[1] *A Fortnights Ramble through London, or a Complete Display of all the Cheats and Frauds Practized in that great Metropolis, with the Best Methods for Eluding Them* (London, 1795), p. 18.

[2] Trusler, 177.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[4] Quoted in Neville Baybrooke, *London Green: The Story of Kensington Gardens, Hyde Park, Green Park & St. James's Park* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1959), p. 27.

Ring.'[1] A ramble narrative of 1794, *A Modern Sabbath, or, a Sunday Ramble, and Sabbath-Day Journey, Circuitous and Descriptive*, explains that in Kensington Gardens:

> notwithstanding the great care that is taken to preserve decency and decorum in this place, there is a generally complained of nuisance prevails, the removal of which seems not to be attempted; and that is, the unpardonable folly of scribbling obscene verses on the glass of the green-house.[2]

Policing the types of men and women who enter the gardens proves an ineffectual way to ensure polite behavior.

When Burney's eponymous heroine Evelina attends the promenade in St. James's Park with Mrs. Mirvan and Miss Mirvan, it is a Sunday, and the Park would presumably have been filled with people from all strata of society, dressed with the intention of being seen. Evelina comments on how the promenade:

> [B]y no means answered my expectations: it is a long straight walk of dirty gravel, very uneasy to the feet...However, the walk was agreeable to us; everybody looked gay, and seemed pleased; and the ladies were so much dressed, that Miss Mirvan and I could do nothing but look at them.[3]

The language she uses to describe everyone – that they *looked* gay and *seemed* pleased – is significant: Evelina unconsciously recognizes that what she sees is merely an appearance of things. Mrs. Mirvan is able to recognize that the

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[1] *Low-Life*, p. 78.

[2] *A Modern Sabbath, or, A Sunday Ramble, and Sabbath-Day Journey, Circuitous and Descriptive* (London, 1794), p. 79. As mentioned in Chapter One, this narrative draws together a range of material from different sources. The description of Kensington Gardens is partially drawn from Trusler.

[3] Frances Burney, *Evelina, or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1965), 15-16.

Mall contains quite a mix of people, despite their appearance of finery. Evelina writes that 'Mrs. Mirvan says we are not to walk in the Park again next Sunday...because there is better company in Kensington Gardens; but really if you had seen how much everybody was dressed, you would not think that possible.'[1] Evelina's naïve and undiscerning eye equates being 'much' dressed with being well dressed: she assumes that appearance is indicative of status. Interestingly, when Evelina does go to Kensington Gardens it is not with the Mirvans but instead with her relatives the Branghtons. Mr. Branghton is a tradesman from the City, whose son and two daughters think of themselves as polite and refined despite their obvious lack of modest taste and good manners. Her trip to Kensington Gardens with them suggests that it was not long before trading City families again encroached on polite space.

By the end of the century, all of London's royal parks were represented as full of men and women lacking distinction and polite behavior. An 1809 print 'A Meeting in Green Park' illustrates the extent to which the Parks were imagined to be and represented as full of the lower middling sorts (fig. 4). In the print, two ladies in the Park are approached by two young men, one of whom steps on the train of one of the ladies' dress. According to Warwick Wroth, this had been a means of affecting an introduction at the White Conduit House, a tea garden catering to City types: 'A White Conduit method of effecting an introduction was for the gallant 'prentice to tread on a lady's train, to apologise profusely, and finally to suggest an adjournment for tea in

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[1] Burney, 16.

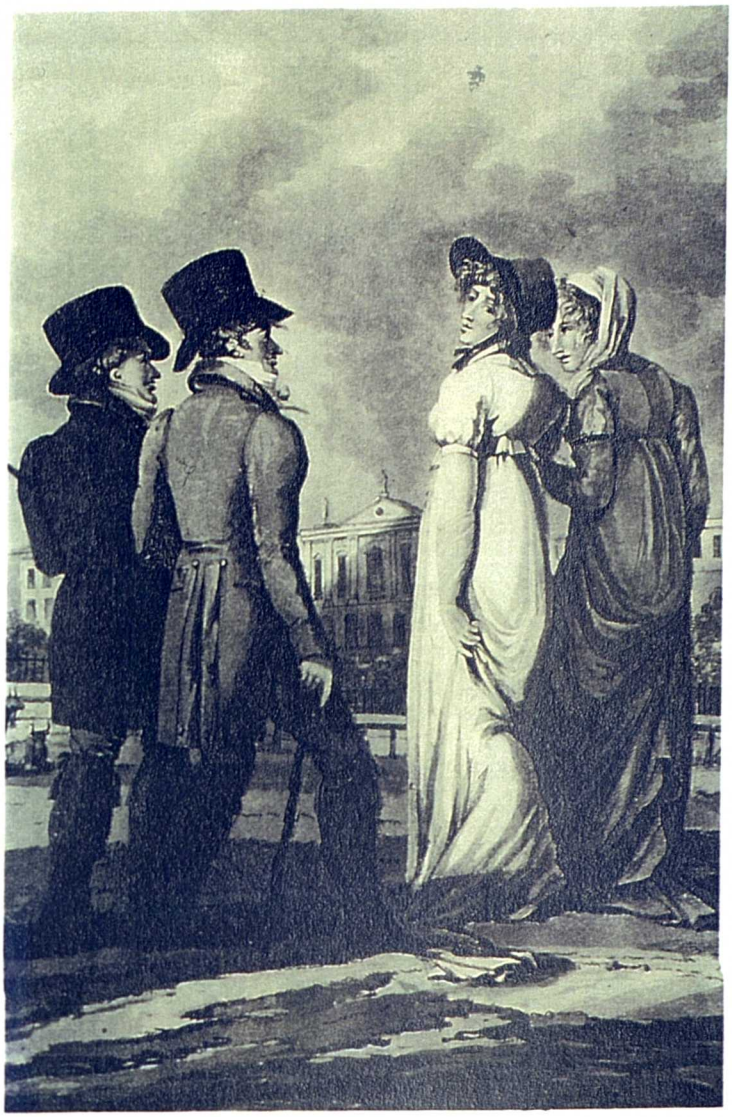

Figure 4. *A Meeting in Green Park* (London, 1809). Reproduced by kind permission of The Museum of London.

one of the arbours.'[1] Behavior typically associated with apprentices on their days off is now being depicted in the space of the promenade.

6. THE PROMENADE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Priscilla Wakefield's *Perambulations around London* (1809) illustrates how far St. James's Park had fallen out of fashion, while Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens continued to fill with people. St. James's receives merely a physical description, while Wakefield describes Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens as places of grandeur and fashion, as well as places where the middling sort still mixes with the 'polite':

> Hyde Park...on fine Sundays in winter and spring, presents one of the grandest promenades in Europe. Spacious gravel-roads, that intersect the parks, are on these occasions covered with gentlemen, mounted on the finest horses, and carriages of the greatest elegance. The foot-paths are equally full of persons of all ranks; but all rivaling each other in taste and fashion, and mostly crowding towards Kensington Gardens, which...are open to all persons of genteel appearance.[2]

As we have seen, in Hyde Park, where the most fashionable would arrive in their chariots to ride rather than walk, distinctions could remain in place: 'fine' horses and 'elegant' carriages were a sign of status, while 'persons of all ranks' walked along the pathways. However, to suggest that Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park were places where the polite and fashionable could

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[1] Warwick Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1979) first published 1896, p. 133.
[2] Priscilla Wakefield, *Perambulations around London, and its Environs* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1809), p. 256.

maintain their exclusivity away from the aping middling sorts would be false. Just as Evelina's visit to Kensington Gardens with her relations illustrates how soon the middling sort had infiltrated those boundaries, so too Hyde Park soon became represented as a crowded, popular promenade. Describing the promenade in Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens in the early nineteenth century, Sir Richard Phillips invites the pedestrian to view the difference between the two parks. Hyde Park is full of 'carriages, horsemen, and foot passengers...all eager to push forward in various directions,' in contrast to 'the more composed scene of company sauntering in the gardens' [fig. 5].[1] Visual representations of Hyde Park in the early nineteenth century illustrate its popularity, with barely any space empty of people. Phillips also describes how the mixing of 'various ranks' occurs in all the public promenades, especially on Sunday:

> The *different* ranks of people are scarcely distinguished either by their dress or manners. The duchess and her *femme de chambre* are dressed exactly alike...The dapper milliner, and the sauntering female of slender reputation, imitate the woman of fashion, in the choice of their clothes, and the tenor of their conversation.[2]

The promenade, regardless of its location, has become a place where social mixing occurs, where the middling sort, who were often but not always upwardly mobile, could mimic fashionable society and attempt to transgress the social boundaries that the polite were eager to enforce.

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[1] Richard Phillips, *Modern London; Being the History and Present State of the British Metropolis* (London, 1805), 259.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 458.

Figure 5. *The Entrance to Hyde Park on a Sunday* (London, 1804). Reproduced by kind permission of The Guildhall Library, London.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, according to Richard Phillips, St. James's Park was barren of its former splendour. Phillips lamented the decline of the Mall as a resort of the fashionable:

> My spirits sunk and a tear started into my eyes as I brought to mind those crowds of beauty, rank and fashion which used to be displayed in the centre Mall of this park on Sunday evenings. How often in my youth had I been a delighted spectator of this enchanted and enchanting assemblage! Here used to promenade for one or two hours after dinner, the whole British world of gaiety, beauty, and splendour. Here could be seen, moving in one mass, extending the whole length of the Mall, 5,000 of the most lovely women in this country of female beauty, all splendidly attired and accompanied by as many well-dressed men.[1]

Ironically, Phillips' lament for the decline of the Mall comes not from a man of fashion but from a man who is himself a 'cit': a man of low *birth and* inconsequential social status who eventually became a printer and earned his knighthood in return for services while sheriff of London. Presumably without intending to do so, Phillips illustrates the way in which social change over the course of the century played itself out in public, social spaces. For as long as there was someone beneath oneself, there was always a group to be seen as 'invading' the space to which one feels one has earned a right. His mention of 5,000 women and as many men along the promenade as the height of its splendour points to a period when the Mall was already overcrowded.

Phillips offers several possible explanations for the absence of people promenading in St. James's Park, and the decline in splendour of the appearances of those promenading elsewhere. While fashionable society formerly promenaded in full dinner dress after the dinner hour of four to five

[1] Richard Phillips, *A Morning's Walk from London to Kew*, p. 15-6.

o'clock, the trend for the later dinner hour of eight to nine o'clock caused this practice to fade. Even Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park, although 'gay and imposing' lack the splendor once prevalent in St. James's Park. The quality in their carriages deprive the promenade of the presence of the people of rank and distinction. Finally, those who can afford to travel to the seaside or the countryside once fine weather appears, do so.[1] Nevertheless, people still walked in St. James's Park: Phillips' 1820 description indicates, however, that the promenade as a social activity, where men and women would congregate at a give time to perform in front of others, was beginning to fade.[2] Significantly, by the end of the eighteenth century much development had taken place around London's parks, and the growing need to cross through the parks to travel to other points in the metropolis unavoidably contributed to the decline.[3] Phillips himself notes while walking in the Park that 'all the faces and footsteps were earnestly directed towards London.'[4] The tensions over status in St. James's Park might finally be said to end in 1827: when John Nash was hired to redesign the Park, he planned for 'the whole of the space in St. James's Park, now laid out in grass, and from which the Public are excluded, [to] be thrown open (with the exception of the parts to be planted) for use of persons on foot.'[5]

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[1] Phillips, *Modern London*, p. 16-7.

[2] Phillips, *A Morning's Walk*, pp. 11-13.

[3] Susan Lasdun, *The English Park: Royal, Private & Public*, p. 128

[4] Phillips, *A Morning's Walk*, p. 11.

[5] Land Use Consultants, *Historical Surveys of the Royal Parks: St. James's Park*, p. 16. Quoted in Lasdun, *The English Park*, p. 128.

The distinctions being drawn between polite and popular or vulgar in descriptions and representations of the promenade over the course of the eighteenth century are tenuous, and dependent on who is describing and for what audience. The aspiring middling sorts, for example, might read a satire of the cit, or of a poor imitation of polite society, proud in their own minds that they are not so vulgar as those being described. Similarly, Eliza Haywood depicts her eponymous heroine Betsy Thoughtless – orphaned daughter of a merchant left to the guardianship of a City merchant who lives in the West End – as mixing comfortably with polite company in St. James's Park, certainly aware that her female audience of middle class readers could then easily identify with Betsy. The representations over the course of the century depict a concern that polite space is being overrun by the middling sorts. The recurring tropes and images in the representations of the promenade constantly gesture towards a past *when this was not yet a problem.* Yet as more people gained enough status to appear in the Park, a different social group then aspires to it, creating a never-ending escalator of aspiration. However, given that descriptions of St. James's Park as being filled with high and low date back to the Restoration, when it was first opened to the public, the airing of these concerns results not from the mixing of the two classes, polite and commercial, each supposed to be readily identifiable, so much as from the impossibility of maintaining any distinction between the two.

CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN, SHOPPING, SPECTACLE

By the second half of the eighteenth century, London had emerged in literature and for visitors as a spectacular metropolis, full of danger and delights. London as a place of deceit and corruption was a common literary trope, and women might be depicted as the victims of this corruption (*Clarissa*), complicit in it (*Moll Flanders*), or both (Hogarth's Moll Hackabout who, unlike Moll Flanders, arrives in London innocent and eventually succumbs to the corruption around her). Even when the consequences were less than disastrous, the cityscape continued to be represented as morally dubious, a place that inspired levity just when a young woman's judgement needed to be most acute. Young heroines in novels were represented as unprepared to handle the novelty and excitement of the metropolis, while the variety of people, goods, and public entertainments were deemed threatening to their understanding. In *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751), Eliza Haywood describes the metropolis as a place of 'promiscuous enjoyment' for young women not accustomed to life in London:

> It cannot, therefore, seem strange that Miss Betsy, to whom all these things were entirely new, should have her head turned with the promiscuous enjoyment, and the very power of reflection lost amidst the giddy whirl...[1]

[1] Eliza Haywood, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751), (London and New York: Pandora, 1986), p. 12.

Danger seemed to lurk in the 'giddy whirl' of sights, sounds, and tastes on offer, creating a simulacrum that challenged a young woman's powers of perception and judgement, suspending her 'power of reflection.' Indeed, as Betsy's name illustrates, her 'thoughtlessness' concerning notions of acceptable behavior places her in situations dangerous to herself and her reputation.

For Lydia Melford, part of the travelling Bramble family in Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), London is also strange in its newness, rendering Lydia liable to overextend her imagination to describe it to her correspondent or creating a need to explain that she 'cannot pretend to describe' all 'the wonders of this vast metropolis' because she is in 'quite a maze of admiration.' She writes that she can have 'no idea' of sights comparable to St. Paul's or the 'stupendous bridges' over the Thames. Even everyday life, the 'crowds of people that swarm in the streets,' becomes a spectacle in the eyes of Lydia:

> I at first imagined, that some great assembly was just dismissed, and wanted to stand aside till the multitude should pass; but this human tide continues to flow, without interruption or abatement, from morn till night. Then there is such an infinity of gay equipages, coaches, chariots, chaises, and other carriages, continually rolling and shifting before your eyes, that one's head grows giddy looking at them; and the imagination is quite confounded with splendour and variety.[1]

London had developed into a spectacular city, one whose men and women – their numbers, appearance, and seemingly incessant movement – rivaled anything the imagination could conjure, rendering a naïve observer

[1] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), ed. James L. Thorson (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1983), pp. 86-7.

(represented as women, foreigners, and newly arrived men from the country) 'confounded' with how to respond to the scenes on offer.

In both Haywood's and Smollett's representations of young women new to London, the metropolis becomes associated with giddiness. The endless succession of people and vehicles produces a dizzying sense of movement which makes one's head 'grow giddy,' rendering the young female observer incapable of focusing her attention or sustaining a coherent train of thought. According to Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755), giddy meant not only 'vertiginous; having in the head a whirl, or sensation of circular motion' such as that produced by dizziness or drunkenness. 'Giddy' also described, according to Johnson, a state of being 'elated to thoughtlessness; overcome by any overpowering inticement.'[1] It is this second definition which best describes eighteenth-century literature's representation of women in the metropolis, depicting London as a place that distracts, entices, and causes a 'thoughtlessness' that might lead to dangerous consequences.

This chapter examines women, shopping, and spectacle in eighteenth-century London. Beginning with a discussion of narratives about prostitution in the metropolis, the chapter examines the problems of women walking as represented in the literature of the second half of the century. There was no defined space of prostitution in eighteenth-century London, and many prostitutes would seek business in and around places of fashionable entertainment, especially around Covent Garden and along the Strand. The chapter goes on to look at the development of the Strand and the rise of shopping in London, and ends with a discussion of the transformation of

[1] Johnson, *Dictionary*.

London into a spectacle in the imagination of eighteenth-century writers and visitors to the metropolis.

1. PROSTITUTION IN THE METROPOLIS

Enlightenment town planning was informed by the medical sciences' new discourses of the body, including new discoveries relating to blood flow and the need of the skin to 'breathe' oxygen. In *Flesh and Stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization*, Richard Sennett draws on the manner in which these medical discourses influenced both town planning and economic discourse.[1] William Harvey's 1628 medical discoveries on the circulation of the blood brought about changes in the perception of public health, ideas that were then superimposed on the city. For a healthy body to function, blood must be able to flow freely, and the skin must be kept clean in order for it to breathe. These ideas translated into town development in the form of wider streets, to facilitate better flow of people, the lifeblood of the city, and clean streets that would allow air and light to circulate. The squares of London's developing West End were built with these concepts in mind: broad streets and open spaces facilitating movement as well as letting in light and air.

The conceptualization of London's streets as parts of a healthy body in turn influenced the discussion of prostitution in the metropolis, which became figured as a disease or an infestation that attacked the lifeblood of the city if

[1] Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (London and Boston: Faber & Faber, 1994), pp. 255-70.

London's streets are its veins, designed for healthy circulation, then women loitering, slowing the pace of movement, threaten the health of the metropolis. Indeed, as many writers in the period suggest, it is the presence of prostitutes on London's streets, more than in brothels and bawdy-houses, that is problematic. Although prostitution was wide-spread throughout the metropolis, the various places of entertainment centered in Covent Garden made the area an ideal place for prostitutes to solicit business.[1] The effects of Covent Garden's prostitution on Fleet Street and the Strand, the major artery between the City and the West End, became, for writers of the period, especially problematic. The author of *Some Considerations Upon Street Walkers* complains about the women 'crouding the streets,' constantly trying to attract potential customers, making a swift and easy passage almost impossible:

> With what Impatience and Indignation have I walked from *Charing-Cross* to *Ludgate*, when being in full Speed upon important Business, I have every now and then been put to the Halt; sometimes by the full Encounter of an audacious Harlot, whose impudent Leer shew'd she only stopp'd my Passage in order to draw my Observation on her; at other times, by Twitches on the Sleeve, lewd and ogling Salutations; and not infrequently by the more profligate Impudence of some Jades, who boldly dare to seize a Man by the Elbow, and make insolent demands of Wine and Treats before they let him go.[2]

The number of prostitutes in the street 'Halt' him while he is 'in full speed upon important Business,' threatening to prevent him from his business altogether. The passage from Charing Cross to Ludgate covers the extent of

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[1] Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), p. 59.

[2] *Some Considerations upon Street-Walkers. With a Proposal for Lessening the Present Number of Them. In Two Letters to a Member of Parliament* (London, [1726]), p. 2.

both the Strand and Fleet Street. In loitering along these streets, the 'Rabble of Harlots...infests our Publick Ways,' slowing down movement and thus, in the author's description, business and commerce (7-8).

The author calls for a 'cleans[ing]' of the streets to cure the disease, an attempt to keep the blockage and infection under control by allowing the existence of brothels, which would ensure that 'common Whores are kept in a sort of decent Order' (4). In *Every-body's Business is No-body's Business; or, Private Abuses, Publick Grievances* (1725), Daniel Defoe articulates concern that the habits and manners of the lower sort will soon infect the domestic sphere as well.[1] In order to prevent the way in which 'Servants who go on errands...bring home some Scraps of...beastly, profane Wit,' dragging the life of the streets into the house, he proposes 'to clear the streets of...Vermin' (27). The problem with prostitutes for reformers throughout the eighteenth century was their visibility and their presence on the streets more than the nature of their activities. In *Some Considerations*, the author remarks on how, in other European cities, 'Men meet no Temptations in the Street, tho' every one knows where he may repair when Frailty comes upon him' (3). He objects to what he calls 'publick Whoring' (4), the 'Street-walking Whore' who embodies 'Riot and Disease' (6) (qualities which, he argues, prevent her from fulfilling her female duty of child bearing). Prostitutes infect not only the public streets, but also, of course, the men who come into contact with them. *The Midnight Spy* describes the way in which, at night, 'the order of nature seems reversed,' and the 'disgust[ing]' 'emaciated figure and wan complexion' of the prostitute, so apparent by light of day, is obscured by

[1] [Daniel Defoe], *Every-body's Business is No-body's Business; or Private Abuses, Publick Grievances* (London, 1725).

artificial light. The narrative describes how the desires of the 'deluded rake' will 'sicken on the ensuing dawn.' The reader is left to imagine that more than his desires have been sickened by their meeting.[1]

Saunders Welch, in the very title of his 1758 pamphlet *A Proposal to Render Effectual a Plan, to Remove the Nusance of Common Prostitutes from the Streets of this Metropolis*, asserts what he will explain again fully in his introduction: 'By this plan, bawdy-houses are left untouched; they may still seduce the innocent, and continue their mischief to society with their usual impunity.'[2] He argues that 'there is a wide difference between vice hiding its head and skulking in corners, and vice exposing its face at noon-day' (19). As the author of *Some Considerations* had done three decades earlier, Welch uses language suggesting infestation and attack, describing prostitutes as 'swarm[ing] the streets of this metropolis,' and as responsible for the 'constant supply of sharpers and robbers [who] infest our streets' (7). Welch further asserts the connection between prostitutes and the infection of public space by arguing that 'the streets receive' prostitutes when the women's bodies are too diseased to continue working in brothels. He describes his plan to found a hospital to reform prostitutes, one where the women can admit themselves on a voluntary basis:

> ...[no] provision [is] made to remove the nuisance of common prostitutes from our streets; except such of them as shall voluntarily offer themselves to the intended hospital: no doubt, many will offer, when their bodies are corrupted by disease...(2)

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[1] *The Midnight Spy; or, A View of the Transactions of London and Westminster* (London, 1766), p. 58.

[2] Saunders Welch, *A Proposal to Render Effectual a Plan, to Remove the Common Nusance of Prostitutes from the Streets of This Metropolis* (London, 1758), p. 2.

He is confident that diseased prostitutes, infecting the streets, would soon decide to cure themselves. Welch proposes that in the future the law should allow 'any person who shall be witness' to prostitutes 'plying in the publick street, or other such publick places' to have the right to apprehend them, and deliver them 'directly into the custody of any constable or other peace officer' (24).

Welch claims that a foreigner might find street-walkers 'in almost every street...exposing themselves for sale...like beasts in a market for publick sale.' Welch also singles out the Strand as an example of the size and nature of the problem: '[foreigners] find themselves tempted (it may be said assaulted) in the streets by a hundred women between Temple-Bar and Charing-Cross, in terms offensive to the ear of modesty' (19). As the Strand was developing into a major shopping street, concerns about the presence of prostitutes along such a busy thoroughfare and their potential to detract from public magnificence in London were articulated.

Prostitutes, whose business depended on movement in the streets both to pick up customers and occasionally to carry out business, depended on their knowledge of parish boundaries and their ability to manipulate them in order to avoid arrest when it might be threatened. The lack of any unified police system meant that each parish patrolled its own area. Lack of motivation on the part of the watch resulted from the fact that the jobs were unpaid; to avoid serving at any time, one had to pay a fine to the parish. Constables were open to receiving bribes, and unlikely to follow a criminal beyond the boundaries of their watch. All that was necessary for a prostitute to avoid arrest was to pay the watch, or to cross parish boundaries. While the inadequacies of the parish

watch system helped to create a system in which prostitutes could avoid arrest, the ambiguity of the laws made walking in London precarious for many women. No clear guidelines or laws against prostitutes existed as such; most women caught by the watch were arrested under 'drunk and disorderly' laws, or charged with theft or assault.[1] It was difficult to determine at what point a prostitute's actions became illegal: laws were unclear as to whether it was the sexual act itself, the acceptance of payment, or merely her appearance in a place known for prostitution that was reason enough for suspicion and arrest.

A pamphlet of 1732 exhibited the opaqueness of the law. *The Tryals of Jeremy Tooley, William Arch, and John Clauson, Three Private Soldiers, for the Murder of Mr. John Dent, Constable* records the proceedings of the trial in which three soldiers killed a constable attempting to arrest a woman for prostitution.[2] The Lord Chief Justice's questions to the other constable on patrol that evening demonstrate not only how uncertain the law appeared to those who were required to enforce it, but also how this uncertainty might affect all women. Ann Dickins had been arrested as a 'disorderly person'; the Constable explains that 'We knew her to be a very common Woman of the Town, and in a common plying Place for such People, therefore we took her up' (6). Reputation, and not any specific criminal activity being performed at the moment, was the reason for her arrest.

The constable's remarks also point to location as cause for suspicion of her activities:

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[1] Henderson, p. 53 and p. 69.

[2] *The Tryals of Jeremy Tooley, William Arch, and John Clauson, Three Private Soldiers, for the Murder of Mr. John Dent, Constable* (London, 1732).

> L[ord] C[hiefl] J[ustice]. ...That which seems remarkable, is this, why does this Man meddle with this Woman, when she was walking about civilly? What! must not a Woman of the Town, tho' she be lewd, have the liberty to walk quietly about the Streets?
> Coun. She was found plying, she was not walking about the Streets.
> L.C.J. to Bray. Why did you meddle with this Woman?
> Bray. Because we took her to be in a common Plying-place, between the Rose Tavern and the Playhouse; we knew her to be a Woman of the Town.
> L.C.J. What! must not a Woman of the Town walk in the Town Streets? These men think they do things meritorious in taking up light Women; why, a light Woman hath a right of Liberty as well as another to walk about the Streets. (18-9)

The Rose Tavern was situated next to the Drury Lane Theatre, where streetwalkers commonly plied for business after performances. Slow movement, or lack of movement, were sufficient grounds for suspicion and arrest. It is no surprise, then, that during her visit to London in 1786, Sophie von la Roche articulates concerns about being seen 'to loiter outside the theatre with the crowd of light women' when the weather makes it difficult to procure a coach.[1] As Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace points out, 'In the case of prostitution...selling occurred in a space that defied boundaries.'[2] The brothel, as she explains, is not characterized by any special mark of its trade: it was simply a house conducting itself as a shop. Likewise, the streets offer no boundary for prostitutes selling. They could be found anywhere: walking the streets, loitering outside of bawdy houses, strolling through London's parks and gardens. If there is no space of prostitution, all women become objects of suspicion, and all women are at risk of being mistaken for or treated as a

[1] Sophie von la Roche, *Sophie in London – 1786, being the Diary of Sophie v. la Roche* trans. Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), p. 122.

[2] Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 136.

prostitute. The dialogue above raises many of the issues that will become part of the discourse of women in public spaces throughout the eighteenth century.

2. MANIPULATING BOUNDARIES

As women were beginning to be represented as threatened by danger in London's streets, a literary tradition of female criminality presented prostitutes, and female criminals more generally, as manipulating legal and social boundaries for their own benefit. The problems of an ineffective, disorganized watch system motivated almost solely by personal profit were often satirized in popular publications that featured triumphant low-life heroines.[1] In a poem entitled *The Lady's Ramble: or, the Female Nightwalker* [1720?], a prostitute explains her methods of finding customers and avoiding the watch: along Fleet Street and the Strand, she claims, 'oft times with Success...*I* pass for a shopkeeper's Wife by my Dress,' a masquerade that fools even an unsuspecting Justice of the Peace. Beadles are just as easily dismissed:

> If I miss at the Play, (as *I* seldom have done)
> *I* make it my Business to ramble the Town;
> But with such Direction, if Beadles oppose
> I give them a Bribe and they're never my Foes.[2]

[1] Helen Berry, 'Rethinking Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Moll King's Coffee House and the Significance of "Flash Talk"' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Sixth Series, Vol. IX (2002), pp. 68-9.

[2] *The Lady's Ramble: or, the Female Nightwalker* (London, [1720?]), p. 2.

The Ramble; or, A View of Several Amorous and Diverting Intrigues [1730?] also satirically describes a meeting between prostitutes and the watch, depicting the women as defiantly making use of London's parish boundaries and legal limits.[1] The tale of two young rakes 'scour[ing] the Town in pursuit of Adventures' (4), the narrative paints a picture of what happens when the watch tracks down prostitutes in the Covent Garden area:

> [W]e returned to *Drury-Lane*, where we were diverted for some Time with what passed between the *Nymphs of the Hundred*, and the other *Informers*: An alarm being given they were coming that Way, the Lasses, to the Number of a Baker's dozen, headed by *Buxom Nan*, drew up in Battle array, near the Castle Tavern; the others hoping to make them Prisoners, came slyly towards them, which the Daughters of *Venus* perceived, and suffering them to approach as near as they thought convenient, stepp'd over the Kennel, and being then in the County of Middlesex, and consequently out of their Liberty, bid them Defiance. (9)

Certain of their safety once within the bounds of Middlesex, the women proceed to jeer at their pursuers, flashing various body parts and cursing them.

Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722) presents a fictional criminal whose freedom and survival depend on her ability to manipulate her appearance and her environment, including London's streets, parks, shops, and fairs, in order to escape detection.[2] As Cynthia Wall has pointed out, Moll offers very little description of the places she lives until she arrives in London, when her knowledge of spatial detail develops as a means to prevent detection,

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[1] *The Ramble, or, A View of Several Amorous and Diverting Intrigues Lately Pass'd between Some Ladies of Drury and Two Certain Rakes Living near St. James's* (London, [1730?]).

[2] Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders* (1722), ed. Juliet Mitchell (Harmondsworth and London: Penguin, 1986).

thus contributing to the pattern of action in the novel.[1] In her first act as a thief, Moll, 'wandering...I know not whither' through Leadenhall Street, grabs a bundle from an apothecary's shop. Not only is the act described as a hasty moment in which she takes advantage of an unexpected situation, but also her escape route is recounted as hasty, vague, and uncertain. Moll flees the scene with little awareness of the direction in which she travels:

> When I went away I had no Heart to run, or scarce to mend my pace; I cross'd the Street indeed, and went down the first turning I came to, and I think it was a Street that went thro' *Fenchurch-street*, from thence I cross'd and turn'd thro' so many ways and turnings that I could never tell which way it was, nor where I went, for I felt not the Ground, I stept on, and the farther I was out of Danger, the faster I went, till tyr'd and out of Breath, I was forc'd to sit down on a little Bench at a Door, and then I began to recover, and found I was got into *Thames-street* near *Billingsgate*: I rested me a little and went on, my Blood was all in a Fire, my Heart beat as if I was in a sudden Fright: In short, I was under such a Surprize that I still knew not whither I was going, or what to do. (255)

Her escape route, like the act itself, is unplanned. Moll recalls the situation with phrases such as 'I think it was,' 'I could never tell which way it was,' until finally she stopped and 'found' herself in Thames Street.

In the next episode of thieving that she recounts, her escape route, though somewhat circuitous, is much more deliberate, demonstrating how she uses the labyrinthine streets of the City to her advantage. After stealing a necklace from a small child in a lane off Aldersgate Street:

> I went thro' into *Bartholomew Close*, and then turn'd round to another Passage that goes into *Long-lane*, so away into *Charterhouse-Yard* and out into *St. John's-street*, then crossing into *Smithfield*, went down *Chick-lane* and into *Field-lane* to *Holborn-bridge*, when mixing with the Crowd of People

[1] Cynthia Wall, 'Details of Space: Narrative Descriptions in Early Eighteenth-Century Novels' *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10:4 (1998), pp. 387-405.

> usually passing there, it was not possible to have been found out...(257-8)

The precision with which she retraces her steps reflects the consciousness and certainty with which she carries out this escape. She heads intentionally to Holborn, where she can disappear into the crowds.

As Moll becomes a more accomplished thief, confident in her knowledge of London's topography, she makes use of various costumes as well. Moll chooses various identities to perform depending on where and when she plans to appear. When out stealing ladies' watches, for example, she and her accomplices 'always went very well Dress'd, and I had very good Cloaths on, and a Gold Watch by my Side, as like a Lady as other Folks.' She offers one example where, in a thwarted attempt to steal a lady's watch, her appearance and quick reactions are what ensure her safety:

> When I touched her Watch, I was close to her, but when I cry'd out, I stop'd as it were short, and the Crowd bearing her forward a little, she made a Noise too, but it was at some Distance from me, so that she did not in the least suspect me; but when she cried out *a Pick-pocket*, some body cried Ay, and here has been another, this Gentlewoman has been attempted too. (277-78)

In passing as a gentlewoman, a disguise she also dons to appear in places like St. James's Park and in luxury shops, Moll manages to avoid suspicion by appearing as someone likely to be the victim of a pick-pocket, rather than as a thief herself. Moll's other costumes include a widow, a servant maid, and even a man. Significantly, the only place where she appears out of costume

while thieving is in Bartholomew Fair, a place known for thieves and carnivalesque subversion.[1]

The knowledge of London's people and places, epitomised in Moll's agency as a thief, is presented in criminal narratives as a result of frequent movement on foot through London: knowing how and where to move was a 'trick' of the trade. In contrast, polite and fashionable women, travelling to London's various entertainments in coaches and chairs, would not need to develop the same detailed sense of London's streets, or to know how to get from one point to another. Writers of the period revelled in the possibilities of what might happen to a polite lady who had taken a wrong turn, and was found in the wrong place and at the wrong time.

3. A LADY'S MIDNIGHT RAMBLE

The 'ramble' through London, we saw in Chapter One, was an explicitly male form of pursuing pleasure in London, and an improper means of movement and entertainment for polite gentlewomen. The ramble normally involved alcohol and sexual pleasure in places like gaming houses, taverns, and brothels; the narratives sometimes related the adventures of men partaking in these pleasures, but, as the tradition developed, was often written ostensibly to 'warn' unsuspecting men of the dangers of the town. The 'dangers' of women rambling were depicted in a 1754 text, *The Midnight Ramble; or, the*

[1] David Marshall, *The Figure of Theatre: Shaftesbury, Defoe, Adam Smith, and George Eliot* (New York: Columbia University Pres, 1986), p. 115.

Adventures of Two Noble Females, recounting the story of two ladies of fashion, Lady Betty and Mrs. Sprightly, who disguise themselves and follow their husbands, Dorimant and Ned Sprightly, on a typical night's ramble to discover where they go and what they do.[1] The narrative focuses on the two women and their milliner, Mrs. Flim, whose name conjures up suspicions of her 'flimsy' reputation. The association of her name with the term 'flim-flam,' referring to both 'a piece of nonsense of idle talk' and 'a paltry attempt at deception' sets the tone for the narrative.[2] The three women represent three different types of women in London. Lady Betty is depicted as a modest, virtuous woman who, having tried to reform her husband, 'at length assumed the Indifference of a Woman of *Quality*' (3). Mrs. Sprightly on the other hand, daughter to a country baronet and unacquainted with London until after her marriage, 'soon entertained too great a relish for the favourite Diversions and Amusements of this Metropolis' (4). Too consumed with her own entertainment and delight, Mrs. Sprightly takes very little notice of her husband's pursuits. Mrs. Flim holds a dubious position: she serves and interacts with ladies superior to herself in status, but the narrative also draws heavily on the association in eighteenth-century literature between millinery and prostitution.

After Lady Betty and Mrs. Sprightly hatch their plan to follow their husbands, they decide to disguise themselves in plain clothes borrowed from Mrs. Flim in order to facilitate their movement through London as well as ensure that they remain undetected. Their appearance as well as their presence

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[1] *The Midnight Ramble: or, the Adventures of Two Noble Females* (London, 1754).

[2] *Oxford English Dictionary*

in the Covent Garden area during the evening's ramble means that the women are in effect masquerading as prostitutes without being aware of doing so. In *Masquerade and Civilization,* Terry Castle discusses the topos of the masquerade and the ambivalent fascination with which it was regarded in the eighteenth century, simultaneously symbolic of 'depravity and freedom, corruption and delight.' Castle situates the masquerade under the rubrics of the carnivalesque, urbanity, and eighteenth-century discourses of the self. The masquerade functioned on polar opposites, in the sense that one would appear in character 'opposite' to one's situation in life, broaching the 'fundamental divisions of sex and class,' thus allowing for 'a meditation on cultural classification and the organizing dialectical schema of eighteenth-century life.'[1] In *The Midnight Ramble,* the women's 'ramble' through the Covent Garden and Strand area late at night is a transgression of distinctions of class and gender.

While Lady Betty and Mrs. Sprightly fret about the potential damage to their reputations should their adventures be revealed, passages in the text, as well as a literary tradition from which the narrative emerges, suggest that the women undertake the ramble with a sense of excitement and intrigue. *The English Women's Chastity; or, the Last SUNDAY Nights Frolick* (1695), for example, presents the story of 'Three Eminent Citizens of London who by a Strange Mistake, unforunatly Pickt up their own WIVES...in St. James's Park.'[2] The wives of the citizens, hearing their husbands' plans to walk in the Park, resolve to 'put on disguises, and go *incognito* in pursuit of their

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[1] Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century Culture and Fiction* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 6.

[2] *The English Women's Chastity: or, the Last Sunday Night's Frolick* ([London, 1695]).

Husbands.' Once there, the women are 'attacked by the Beaux and the Sparks,' to whom they are 'complying enough,' before moving on in pursuit of their husbands, whom they approach 'with all the Tricks and Artifices of Women of the Town.' The narrative, which plays on the idea of the cuckolded husband, presents the women as comfortable with, and even reveling in, being perceived as prostitutes, a role they take delight in performing. Eliza Haywood's *Fantomina: or, Love in a Maze* (1725) also draws on similar themes. In Haywood's narrative, a young heroine, intrigued by the attention prostitutes at the theatre receive and the ease with which they converse with men, disguises herself as a courtesan in order to enjoy those freedoms with Beauplaisir, the object of her affections. In *The Midnight Ramble*, Lady Betty and Mrs. Sprightly take a secret delight in the evening's adventures, as if they were going to an actual masquerade. Despite planning to set out at eight o'clock, the women do not leave until nearly nine, passing their time together 'very merrily...diverting themselves with the Entertainment they should meet with in their *Incognito* Ramble' and '[taking] care to exhilerate [sic] their Spirits with a Bottle of excellent *Champain*' before departure (8).

Because *The Midnight Ramble* is a relatively obscure text, I will here first offer an overview of the narrative before turning to an analysis of the issues it raises. The sequence of events during the ramble is as follows: the women first travel to the theatre in Covent Garden and spy their husbands with two women of pleasure. After the performance, the men take a coach to a tavern at Temple Bar; inclement weather, and perhaps their appearance, make it impossible for the women to procure a coach, and they have to walk. They reach Norfolk-Street, little more than half way between Covent Garden and

Temple Bar, before some prostitutes instigate a fight with them. Some young gallants come to their assistance, at first believing them to be prostitutes and then realising from their faces that the women are indeed ladies of fashion; the men treat the women to some refreshment in a nearby tavern and offer to see them home. To avoid discovery and the shame of being seen dressed in plain clothes, walking through the Covent Garden area at night, the women have the young men order a coach and give directions to be driven towards Fleet Street so as to ensure the young men cannot discover where they live. Certain that they are not being followed, the women head back to Temple Bar and send Mrs. Flim into the tavern to inquire after their husbands. Mrs. Flim spies Ned and Dorimant handing two women into a coach and overhears them direct the driver to Covent Garden. The three women follow in the coach, but when their coach crashes the women are again forced to pursue their husbands on foot, in their confusion following the wrong vehicle to a gaming house. Mrs. Flim offers a chairman waiting outside the establishment for a fare a shilling to see if the men are inside. But still the men are nowhere to be found and the women decide to give up their plan and walk home. Before reaching their habitations, however, they are approached by a man on the street as prostitutes and then picked up by the watch. Once they are set at liberty, they finally find a coach and travel homewards. On the way, they encounter their husbands who break into the coach and travel home with them, believing them to be women of the town. The husbands, expecting to arrive at a brothel with the women, do not realise that they are with their wives until the coach arrives at Lady Betty's and Dorimant's house.

The ladies' lack of any practical knowledge of London, including a lack of any sense of direction, causes a number of problems and leads them into a number of compromising situations. The ladies' lack of any sense of direction is not surprising: in the 1750s, the Strand was still developing as a fashionable shopping street, while their knowledge of Covent Garden would be limited to travelling by coach from the West End to the theatre or opera. Throughout, the three women are placed in a series of scenarios and areas common to prostitutes. While the tale is about the women following their husbands, the husbands are absent throughout much of the narrative. The reader is encouraged to overlook whatever activities the men may be up to, to focus instead on the shocking but humorous spectacle of two polite ladies 'slumming' apparently as prostitutes. The ladies' mixing indiscriminately, however accidentally, with low life might possibly be an attempt to place women in the kind of scenario that rakish young men would seek out at a low-life haunt such as Moll King's coffee-house in Covent Garden, which closed seven years before the printing of *The Midnight Ramble.*[1] At the theatre, the women sit in the two-shilling gallery; with no coach waiting for them they are forced to loiter outside the theatre for about an hour. Next, they mix with a group of prostitutes towards the eastern end of the Strand and share food and refreshment in a private room in a tavern with three Town rakes. They ride up and down Fleet Street in a coach, mirroring the repetitive movements of prostitutes on foot. They loiter outside a gaming house and then seem to follow a man to solicit business, for which they are taken in by a constable. Their husbands, certain that only women of loose reputation could be

[1] For a discussion of Moll King's coffee-house, see Berry, *passim.*

travelling around London at three in the morning, enter their coach delighted with the chance meeting with women they think might be prostitutes. The narrative tells the story of the ramble from the point of view of two gentlewomen, but in doing so actually traces the movements of prostitution through the metropolis.

Not only Mrs. Flim's name, but her occupation as a milliner, signals to the reader her connection with prostitution, a connection which is hinted at throughout the narrative. The association between milliners and prostitution is first amplified in the women's reasons for asking Mrs. Flim to attend them: 'she was perfectly acquainted with the Streets which they might be obliged to trace, and knew the Ways of the Town' (8). At the theatre, she is able to recognise two prostitutes keeping company with Dorimant and Ned, and when they are unable to procure a coach, she aims to dissuade the ladies from 'following their Chace on Foot,' aware of the hazards they might face. In the altercation with prostitutes on the Strand, she is able to respond 'with a pretty loud Vociferation, and nearly in their own Stile of Language' (11). Mrs. Flim is the one to realise that 'slipping a *Crown Piece* in the Constable's Palm' (21) is the way to avoid the roundhouse and further scandal. When Ned and Dorimant join the women in the coach on their way home, Lady Betty and Mrs. Sprightly keep quiet, 'Mrs. Flim finding sufficient discourse to entertain the two Gentlemen' (24).

Despite many mishaps and their concerns about their reputations, the women seem to delight in the evening's adventures: in the coach ride home, just before they meet their husbands, they are described as 'chatting of the Adventures of the Night.' Nevertheless, the author suggests that these

'Adventures' will dissuade the ladies from 'undertaking any more Midnight *Rambles.*' The narrative ends with 'a Warning to the Female Sex, not to trust themselves abroad on any Frolicks in this lewd and wicked Town, at unseasonable Hours,' and especially not dressed 'in Disguises unsuitable to their Stations' (26). The text, like the women depicted in it, performs a masquerade: while the title pages reads *The Midnight Ramble, or the Adventures of Two Noble Females*, the first page of the narrative reads *The Midnight Ramble, or the Adventures of Two Noble Nightwalkers*, suggesting that throughout the narrative the 'noble females' will be mistaken for 'noble nightwalkers.' While rambling and crossing social boundaries was a legitimate pastime for young men, women were warned never to attempt it.

4. LONDON IN THE NOVELS OF FRANCES BURNEY

Nowhere are the dangers of London's pleasure gardens to young gentlewomen, as well as the more obvious hazards to polite women unchaperoned in London's streets, more apparent than in Frances Burney's London novels *Evelina* (1778) and *Cecilia* (1782). Burney lived at several addresses in London; in the 1760s and the early part of the 1770s she lived at fashionable addresses that bordered on open fields, including Poland Street, running south off Oxford Road, and Queen Square, off Great Ormond Street. But in 1774, four years before the publication of *Evelina*, the Burney family moved to St. Martin's Street, Leicester Fields that, while still comfortably located in the West End, is much closer to the Covent Garden area, site of both

fashionable and seedy entertainments. It was also near Hedge Lane, a notorious haunt for prostitutes. While it is extremely important, as with any novel, not to take Burney's descriptions of London at face value and suggest that London actually was as dangerous as her novels represent it to be, her use of London as a setting for much of *Evelina* and *Cecilia* raises two important issues. First, it is perhaps only in London that Burney could believably depict heroines who, in the course of a day, cross paths with high society and vulgar lower middling sorts. The movement between the drawing rooms of high society of the West End, and the shops and homes of the lower middling sorts in the City, is partly what places her orphaned heroines in danger. Secondly, it is precisely this representation of London as dangerous, and of heroines who are never safe out of doors in the metropolis, that excites the reader and propels the narrative forward. While London might not have been exactly as Burney describes it, Burney herself, as well as polite women more generally, may have harbored, to a certain extent, the kinds of fears and concerns that she presents. The fictitious dangers that she writes about may have seemed very real to her contemporary readership, and her use of particular place names throughout suggests that the places she evokes were inscribed with enough meaning to signal to a knowing readership the kinds of experiences and dangers might confront her heroines. I would like now to turn to scenes from *Evelina* and *Cecilia* in detail, to examine the ways in which Burney creates a cityscape in which danger lurks around every corner.

In her first novel, *Evelina*, Burney places her eponymous heroine in scenes of danger that are as much a result of the people who accompany her as

the places that she visits.[1] During her first visit to the metropolis with Mrs. and Miss Mirvan, her problems and concerns amount to little more than minor misunderstandings about form and etiquette in the places of polite entertainment that she visits. Indeed, as Evelina notes early on, 'I am too inexperienced and ignorant to conduct myself with propriety in this town' (37). Nevertheless, Mrs. Mirvan, a polite woman of fashion, and an appropriate chaperone for a young woman of Evelina's rank (which is denied and thus concealed until the end of the novel) guides her through polite society. Under Mrs. Mirvan's protective guidance, Evelina's worst problem is the gallantry of Sir Clement Willoughby, a problem which, Mrs. Mirvan explains, she would address and attempt to rectify if their party were to remain in London any longer (94).

While Evelina's first visit to London is set against the backdrop of fashionable West End entertainments, including the opera, the playhouse, Ranelagh, the Pantheon, and private assemblies, her second visit with Madame Duval and the Branghtons is full of visits to establishments entirely inappropriate to a young woman of Evelina's status and upbringing. Madame Duval and the Branghtons drag Evelina to places where City families and young journeymen congregate for leisure, including the Long Room at Hampstead, an assembly room; White Conduit House, a tea room and gardens in Islington; and Vauxhall and Marylebone Gardens. Madame Duval, critical of what she sees as English prudishness, serves as a chaperone entirely inappropriate to Evelina's needs, while the Branghtons, lacking any sense of propriety or of the distinctions between Evelina's politeness and their own

[1] Frances Burney, *Evelina; or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* (1778), (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1965).

vulgar affectation, are entirely ignorant of any need for a young woman to be chaperoned at all. Madame Duval herself poses a threat to Evelina, letting slip her desire to carry Evelina to France for what she sees as a more polished education. Add to this Evelina's change in circumstances, from visiting London during the season with a fashionable party to spending time in the summer with relations in the City, and it is unsurprising that it is during her second visit to London that danger seems to lurk wherever Evelina appears.

In Vauxhall Gardens and Marylebone, the pleasure gardens take on dangers for Evelina including mistaken identity and abduction, as well as misinterpreted conversations, gestures, and movements. Pleasure gardens offered spectacles to delight the eyes of visitors, and entertainment to excite all the senses. For the cost of entrance, sights, sounds, smells, and even touches – if the garden was crowded enough or if one was so inclined – were available to the visitor, and at an extra cost, food and refreshment could satisfy one's appetite and taste. We have seen, in the previous chapter, how Jonathan Tyers was eager to announce Vauxhall Gardens as a space of polite, genteel entertainment, free from its past associations with debauchery. Nevertheless, literature of the second half of the century represents pleasure gardens as morally dubious at best, and often as potentially dangerous, as evinced in two scenes from *Evelina*. In *Cecilia*, Burney makes the connection between the empty pleasures of Vauxhall and moral degeneration explicit. It becomes a place of false appearances, entirely devoid of politeness, where the debt-ridden Harrels, at their most desperate moment, attempt to present themselves as gay and untroubled, even while being approached by nagging creditors; before the end of the evening, Mr. Harrel commits suicide in the gardens.

In *Evelina*, in scenes at both Marylebone and Vauxhall, Evelina, separated from her company, is assumed to be a woman of light character. During an evening at Vauxhall Gardens, Evelina's cousins suggest that they 'take a turn in the dark walks' (180). Evelina refuses at first, but feels forced to succumb after the suggestion that she wishes to stay behind only to enjoy the company of the men. Near the end of one of the walks, they are surrounded by a group of rakish young men, one of whom grabs hold of Evelina. She breaks free and runs off to return 'to the lights and company I had so foolishly left' (181); before reaching safety, however, several more gentlemen grab and detain her. Terrified, she screams out for the gentlemen to let her pass; Sir Clement Willoughby, who is amongst the group, recognizes her voice and gallantly comes to her rescue, leading her away from the group of gentlemen. But still Evelina does not find safety: she soon realizes that Willoughby is leading her into another dark walk, rather than back to the lights and company. Willoughby ignores all he already knows of Evelina's character and immediately assumes she is alone in the dark alleyways in search of a gallant: her surprise at his explanation that he is taking her 'where we shall be least observed' leads him to mockingly ask her, 'why do I see you here?' (182). Even once she has returned to Madame Duval and the Branghtons, Evelina feels little relief; she is aware of Willoughby's astonishment and impertinent curiosity regarding her company and situation.

In a parallel scene in Marylebone Gardens, Evelina becomes separated from her party during a fireworks display. Again, the horror of the scene begins with a number of gallants approaching Evelina, one of whom even seizes her hand with great violence. She appeals to two women nearby for

assistance, who each grab a hold of her arm and march her through the walkways. Despite her request for help, Evelina realizes that the two women laugh at all she says; she soon realizes that she has 'sought protection from insult, of those who were themselves most likely to offer it!' (219). Eventually Evelina's party finds her, but the two streetwalkers join themselves to the company. Lord Orville sees Evelina with this group but, unlike Willoughby, whose unrestrained curiosity and gallantry lead him to assume that her situation has altered, Orville views her with concern, and visits her the following day to assure himself of her safety and innocence. The scenes reveal to the reader the differences between Orville's true politeness and Willoughby's affected gallantry, as well as how malleable a woman's reputation might be.

In *Cecilia*, London's streets are also the scene of the heroine's dangers. Cecilia lives with the Harrels, in Portman Square, a fashionable new development just north of Oxford Road.[1] Burney often places Cecilia on Oxford Road, where she walks for the air before taking a chair – a sign of her prudence, health, and economy in contrast to the coaches, drawing rooms, and lavish entertainments to which Mrs. Harrel confines herself. In two instances, there is a hint of danger during her walk: in one episode, Cecilia is surrounded by the mob on its way to Tyburn, and is forced to turn down a side street and ask for shelter until the mob passes from a maid servant gaping from the front door of a house. In the another scene, she is approached by Mr. Albany, whose mysterious behavior and lack of polite sociability concern her, despite her wishes to join him on a charitable errand. But in both cases, she calls her

[1] Frances Burney, *Cecilia, or Memoirs of an Heiress* (1782), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

footman, who accompanies her, to her assistance, suggesting that despite her anxieties she is relatively safe.

Later in the novel, however, Cecilia faces real danger when chasing Delvile through London alone. Cecilia and Delvile, secretly married, arrange to meet at Delvile's father's house to announce their marriage. Due to a series of minor events, they miss each other at the meeting place, prompting Cecilia, with the aid of Mr. Simkins, to search after him in a coach. Inquiring after him in a coffee-house, she learns he is 'but this moment gone, and I don't think he can be at the bottom of the street.' The driver of the coach refuses to follow her demands to 'gallop after him,' and she intends instead to 'run down the street' after Delvile (897). However, the coachman, drunk, seizes Cecilia and detains her by the arm, and begins to quarrel over the fare with Mr. Simkins. Cecilia's obvious desperation to break free leads the coachman only to demand more for the fare. The ensuing argument causes some onlookers to group around Cecilia, the coachman, and Simkins. The coachman is only the first impediment to Cecilia's flight after Delvile. A man coming out of the coffee-house, in an act of gallantry, offers to assist Cecilia, as she pleads for them to 'only let me run to the end of the street.' Amidst the drunk and the gallant, Cecilia is surrounded and seized upon by men who detain her for various reasons. Mr. Simkins tries to calm her down, as he is responsible for escorting her; the coachman, realising how desperate she is to go, keeps her in hopes of obtaining more money; a gentleman of the mob seems to assume that Cecilia is a woman of the town, and hopes his act of gallantry might be repaid.

Finally, 'with a strength hitherto unknown to her, she forcibly disengaged herself from her persecutors.' As she runs down the street, Mr.

Simkins reaches a compromise with the coachman and follows after her. However, by the time he begins to pursue her, all trace of her is lost; he asks those he passes on the streets for information, but never finds her and returns home. Meanwhile, Cecilia runs on in a state of panic, hindered from swift movement by others in the street and by her own clothing: 'She was spoken to repeatedly; she was even caught once or twice by her riding habit; but she forced herself along by her own vehement rapidity, not hearing what was said, nor heeding what was thought.' Lost to her own thoughts of Delvile, Cecilia grows more agitated and 'loses' herself: as she loses her way in London's streets, she becomes increasingly agitated and begins to lose her sanity. But still she runs on, 'though unknowing whither.' Hallucinations reign over Cecilia's mind and her awareness of her own movements becomes more vague:

> She scarce touched the ground; she scarce felt her own motion; she seemed as if endued with supernatural speed, gliding from place to place, from street to street; with no consciousness of any plan, and following no other direction that that of darting forward where-ever there was most room, and turning back when she met with any obstruction... (897)

At this point, delirium overtakes her; she enters a pawnshop where a new series of accidents occurs.

In Burney's novels, scenes of dangers are not merely hinted at, they are compounded: in seeking safety in each of these scenes, the heroine subjects herself to more danger. It is important not to treat Burney's representations of the risks involved in walking the streets of London as an indication of how polite women actually felt about London in the period. Nevertheless, the success of her novels, and the details with which she maps out these scenes of

terror and anxiety suggest that polite women may have been able to identify with these concerns. As shopping and visiting became increasingly part of the routine of fashionable ladies time in London, their concerns about the safety of London's public places may well have increased. The scenes Burney presented certainly excited readers who may have harboured already their own fears and concerns about the dangers on the streets and in fashionable scenes of entertainment.

5. CIRCULATION AND COMMERCE

As Richard Sennett remarks, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* imagines 'the free market of labor and goods operating much like freely circulating blood, with similar life-giving consequences.'[1] Economic health required a freedom of movement. Industry would stay healthy through supply and demand, and depended on consumers to keep the market flowing. The act of shopping, a leisure activity centered around looking without necessarily purchasing, could be seen as an illness in the economic system; by looking without purchasing, women interrupt the circulation of goods. Dressed in their hoop-petticoats, women of fashion posed a similar threat of blocking passage in the streets as prostitutes had been described as doing. In the *Tatler*, Isaac Bickerstaff describes a woman whose hoop, due to its enormous width, prohibits her from easily entering through doorways.[2] A letter in the

[1] Sennett, *Flesh and Stone*, p. 256.

[2] *Tatler* no. 116, II:191.

Guardian complains of the 'Many...Inconveniences that accrue to her Majesty's loving Subjects from the said Petticoats, as hurting Mens Shins, sweeping down the Ware of industrious Females in the Street, &c.' (no. 114).[1] *The Enormous Abomination of the Hoop-Petticoat* (1745), written nearly forty years later, complains that 'this *prodigious Garment*' renders women 'a perfect *publick Nuisance*'.[2] The author remarks on the absurdity of a young lady 'taking up the whole side of a Street...*seeming* to labour and sweat' under the weight of the load. When such a woman appears in the streets, 'Every Body must give way,' as she is unlikely to be '*pleas'd*...to *turn side-ways*...[to] give the Crowd leave to pass' (9).

The movements of the female shopping for pleasure in many ways mirror those of the prostitute as represented in the literature of the period. The shopper and the prostitute share a lack of destination in their movements: a shopper will pass through many shops, without heading directly towards one particular shop to make one particular purchase; the prostitute likewise walks without going anywhere in particular. Both women can be distinguished by a certain gaze: the shopper gazing at the objects on display, the prostitute gazing at men, seeking out potential customers. The shopper is open to the possibility of purchasing if something catches her eye; the prostitute is available for purchase for the right price. Both are represented as driven by appetite. The shopper is driven by a desire to delight in the spectacle of goods on display. The prostitute is often depicted as driven by sexual appetite, though in reality the appetite she seeks to satiate is more probably hunger.

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[1] *Guardian* no. 114, p. 389.

[2] *The Enormous Abomination of the Hoop-Petticoat* (London, 1745), p. 6.

Women shopping were described as plaguing shopkeepers. The anxieties about female consumers and about the effeminizing aspects of luxury in the eighteenth century have been well-documented.[1] Complaints about women who shop without buying can be traced back at least as early as 1712; *Spectator* no. 336 features a letter from 'one of the top China-Women about Town.' The woman complains about a 'Club of Female Rakes' who visit her shop under the pretence of 'innocent Rambles'; they 'plague' her several times a day, claiming to actually be interested in purchasing something, but turn out to be 'No-Customers' whose sole interest is in 'tumbling over my Ware.' The 'idle Ladies of Fashion' leave her shop 'cur'd of the Spleen,' while the shopkeeper is 'not a Shilling the better for it.'[2]

Harriet Guest has examined not only the concerns about women who over-consume, but also the concerns that became more frequent from the middle of the century, with the rise of sensibility, about women who do not consume enough.[1] A woman of sensibility would be expected not to trouble tradesmen when she has no intention of buying, or run up accounts that she has no ability to clear. The shopping scene in *Camilla*, when Mrs. Mittin creates a ruse to allow the women to enter each shop and turn over the goods without purchasing anything is a prime example of the suspicion generated by a polite woman who passes from shop to shop without making any purchases. The strange appearance of the two women draws the attention of the 'master or the man' of each of the shops they visit. Mrs. Mittin, eager to see and touch

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[1] See, for example, John Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977).

[2] *Spectator* 336, III: 245.

as much as is possible in each shop, appears recognizable as a pesky shopper who has no intention to buy. Camilla's genteel appearance, on the other hand, suggests to the shopkeepers that she has 'reserves of sentiment or cash' and is unlikely to shop without buying while at the same time her introspection in the scene manifests itself in a complete lack of interest in the goods displayed before her.[2] While window displays were designed to attract the passer by, it was 'illicit voyeurism,' to use Kowaleski-Wallace's term, to enter the shop and turn over and examine the goods with no intention to buy them.

Guest relates the act of shopping without purchasing to the act of 'scopic appropriation' (Guest's term) associated with the man of taste, citing Addison's claim that a man of polite taste and education could achieve 'a greater Satisfaction in the Prospect of Fields and Meadows, than another does in the Possession.'[3] The idea of a greater satisfaction in seeing than in owning occurs again in the *Guardian* number 49 (7 May 1713). In the essay, Berkeley elucidates the enjoyment of the spectacle of people and objects:

> When I walk the Streets, I use the foregoing natural Maxim, (*viz.* That he is the true Possessor of a thing who enjoys it, and not he that owns it without the Enjoyment of it,) to convince my self that I have a Property in the gay Part of all the gilt Chariots that I meet, which I regard as Amusements designed to delight my Eyes, and the Imagination of those kind of People who sit in them gaily attired only to please me. I have a real, and they only an imaginary Pleasure from their exterior Embellishments. Upon the same principle, I have discovered I am the *natural* Proprietor of all the Diamond Necklaces, the Crosses, Stars, Brocades, and embroidered Cloaths, as giving more natural Delight to the Spectator than to those that wear

[1] Harriet Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 70-92.

[2] Guest, p. 79. For the shopping scene, see Frances Burney, *Camilla; or, A Picture of Youth*, ed. Harold A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 607-8.

[3] *Spectator* no. 412, quoted in Guest.

> them. And I look upon the Beaus and Ladies as so many Parraquets in an Aviary, or Tulips in a Garden, designed purely for my Diversion.[1]

The spectator's enjoyment is concrete, because he is able to see the objects in question, while the 'possessors' have 'only an imaginary Pleasure' based, it might be understood, on the value of the objects rather than their appearance. In enjoying the spectacle, the spectator enters into a relationship of ownership, becoming the 'true Possessor,' which perhaps makes the sight more understandable; it may also explain why these periodicals feel responsible for the state of it. A few days later, a letter is published by a woman of fashion who is happy to be now able 'to look upon my Vanities as so many Virtues,' and promises 'in a little time, to treat the Town with a thousand Pounds worth of Jewels' and other extravagances 'for the Benefit of Mankind.'[2] While the man of polite taste and education depends solely on sight for his enjoyment, the woman shopping expects a more sensual experience, touching the goods on display, and, as one shopkeeper complained, the women come into the shops 'only to hear my silks rustle.'[3]

Following in the tradition of Addison and Berkeley, Johnson, in *The Adventurer* number 67 (Tuesday June 26, 1753) appropriates the spectacle of London; meditating on the London's shops and street sellers, he writes an essay on luxury, human nature, and, ultimately, human society.[1] Beginning with a contrast between the Londoner, whose 'familiarity [with the spectacle

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[1] *Guardian* 49, p. 194.

[2] *Guardian* 58, pp. 225-6.

[3] *The Plain Dealer* (London, 1727). Quoted in Claire Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display of Goods in Eighteenth-Century London' *Journal of Design History* 8:3 (1995), p. 172.

of London] produces neglect,' and the 'newcomer' to London 'from the remoter parts of the kingdom,' Johnson reflects on the plenty of the metropolis. A newcomer, he explains, is often identified by, and mocked for, his 'dissipated curiosity, a busy endeavour to divide his attention amongst a thousand objects, and a wild confusion of astonishment and alarm,' often exciting 'unawary bursts of admiration.' Johnson identifies what first strikes the newcomer as 'the multiplicity of cries that stun him in the streets, and the variety of merchandise and manufactures which the shopkeepers expose on every hand.' It is London's shops, and the endless amount and variety of material goods 'exposed' to the passerby to entice purchase, that most distinguish London and overwhelm the spectator (261).

Turning, then, from the first reactions of a newcomer to a more serious, philosophical reflection, Johnson explains two natural, and opposite, reflections. On the one hand, 'the extent of this wonderful city' renders the observer curious about how such 'plenty is maintained in our markets.' On the other, seeing the amount of goods on display and for purchase in London's shops and warehouses, the observer 'will conclude that such quantities cannot easily be exhausted' creating concerns about widespread unemployment as a result of an inexhaustible surplus of goods. Contemplating London's luxury trades, Johnson explains that the observer is inclined to remark 'a thousand shops crowded with goods of which he can scarce tell the use.' But it is exactly this market for superfluous goods that prevents idleness and maintains industry in the metropolis, for 'in the endless variety of tastes and

[1] Samuel Johnson, *The Adventurer* no. 67 in *Samuel Johnson: The Major Works*, ed. Donald Greene (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 261-5.

circumstances that diversify mankind, nothing is so superfluous but that some one desires it; or so common that someone is compelled to buy it' (261-2).

In Johnson's essay, London becomes synonymous with artificial needs and desires created and supported by the commercial class, the profits of which feed and clothe their families. By a 'concurrence of endeavours,' by the variety of trades and the goods they purvey, 'all the wants of man may be immediately supplied; Idleness can scarcely form a wish which she may not gratify by the toil of others, or Curiosity dream of a toy which the shops are not ready to afford her.' It is as if anything that might be imagined, as useful or for pleasure, already exists and is waiting to be purchased. The ability to purchase, at any time, that which one needs or desires becomes one of the great truths, for Johnson, of the metropolitan experience:

> we who have long lived amidst the convenience of a town immensely populous have scarce an idea of a place where desire cannot be gratified by money...he that has once known...how far men may wander with money in their hands [in the remoter parts of the kingdom] before any can sell them what they wish to buy, will know how to rate at its proper value the plenty and ease of a great city. (263)

Commerce in the metropolis creates 'ease.' No longer needing to attend to all his own needs or desires, a man may depend on the industry of others to fulfill them. Johnson ends by explaining that 'to receive and communicate assistance constitutes the happiness of human life...as one of a large community performing only his share of the common business, he gains leisure for his intellectual pleasures, and enjoys the happiness of reason and reflection' (265). A metropolis dependant on commerce to fulfill the needs as well as the desires of its population is not a metropolis threatened by luxury

into decadence and decay, but one which allows for freedom, happiness, and intellectual pursuits; in short, one that improves rather than declines.

Throughout the essay, Johnson describes ways in which the world of goods assaults the passerby, or manipulates him or her into buying. Shopkeepers 'expose' their goods for the potential purchaser, while inside the shops the observer 'sees the immense stores of every kind of merchandise piled up for sale, and runs over the all the manufactures of art and products of nature, which are every where attracting his eye and soliciting his purse' (261). Manufacturers and shopkeepers create needs in the potential consumer where none had previously existed:

> as wants in this place are easily supplied, so new wants likewise are easily created: every man, in surveying the shops of London, sees numberless instruments and conveniences of which, while he did not know them, he never felt the need; and yet, when use has made them familiar, wonders how life could be supported without them. (263-4)

Throughout the essay, the observer is prone to the enticements created to reel in the potential consumer. He speaks throughout of 'our desires, 'our possessions,' and 'our enjoyments,' signaling a retail system that manipulates one's desires and transforms them into one's needs.

That advertising and the creation of temptations on the part of London's shopkeepers was part of the experience of shopping in London is irrefutable, as recent critical work, contesting the notion that advertising and modern consumerism emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, has illustrated.[1] Claire Walsh's work on the design and set-up of shops in eighteenth-century London reveals the extent to which they were organized for the most effective

selling, by shopkeepers arranging and displaying goods with the intent to attract customers and presenting the objects for sale to their best advantage. As luxury shops sought to separate the space of production from the space of selling, shopkeepers invested much money in creating a suitable ambiance for their wares. Walsh's research reveals that goldsmiths, for example, used gilding, glass, arches, pillars, cabinets, and screens to create an interior as luxurious as the wares on offer, while china sellers and drapers aimed to create a relaxed, domestic atmosphere for their customers. The investments in shop fitting and the arrangement of goods specifically aimed at luring customers, arresting their attention if not from the street then once they entered the shop, and created a pleasurable atmosphere in which the customer would wish to remain and to which they might like to return. Johnson's mid-century essay suggests that shops and their displays assaulted the passerby, competing for attention, thus obliging shopkeepers to present their shops and goods to the best advantage.

There is a sense in which the movements and intentions of the shopper are codified before he or she even enters the interior spaces of the shop. Before entering the shop, she is most likely walking, gazing at the objects on display in shop windows, making choices about which shops to enter based on which displays suit her fancy. The time at which she is walking, with whom, and where, create certain expectations or hypotheses as to what type of woman the shopper is, placing the woman, as she appears in the shop, in a broader context. Kowaleski-Wallace describes the manner in which 'reading' customers, being able to figure out how much they have to spend as well as

[1] Walsh, pp. 157-9.

what they need or could be persuaded to want, was an important aspect of a shopkeeper's job. It was in the eighteenth century that the word 'shop' became a verb as well as a noun, a development which signals a variation in the way women use and are figured into London's streets and shops. Frances Burney illustrates the novelty of the concept in *Evelina*, in which her eponymous heroine writes of having to '*Londonize*' (15) herself in order to render herself presentable in the public spaces of the metropolis. In order to do this, they go '*a-shopping* as Mrs. Mirvan calls it' (16), signalling Evelina's own unfamiliarity with the term. Shopping becomes a way to construct and formulate a new identity, one suitable for the company in London that Evelina will now keep.

6. A-SHOPPING

The topography of shopping and the types of shops in London shifts over the course of the eighteenth century. Using European cities as models, developers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries built shopping exchanges. The New Exchange, built 1608-9 in the Strand, was filled with luxury shops. By the early eighteenth century, however, its popularity was in decline. It was destroyed in 1737, and individual shops were built on the site. Exeter Exchange, built in 1676, remained on the Strand until 1829; although intended for shops, many places remained empty and were eventually let as offices. From 1773 it housed a menagerie. In 1736, the author of *A New Critical Review of the Publick Buildings* remarked that he purposely took 'no

notice of the two EXCHANGES in the Strand, one of them has nothing in it to be observ'd, and the other can only be observ'd to be despis'd.'[1] The Royal Exchange, having been rebuilt after the Great Fire, remained partially empty; portions of it were let as offices and storerooms. The shift from exchanges to individual shops reflects a shift in shopping. One no longer went to one shopping space, the exchange, but instead passed along the streets, entering and leaving the interior spaces of individual shops. Newer, clearer plate glass windows developed in the 1770s, which, coupled with displays designed to persuade passers-by into entering the shop, accentuated the visual aspect of shopping as a pastime. Shopping became less about fulfilling basic needs and more about catering to desire and luxury; shopping in London, and having fashions and goods from London, became a sign of cultural status.

Accounts of London by foreign visitors often compare the state of London's streets and its shops with their own capital cities; because their narratives registered more accurately all that was deemed modern and exciting about London, much of the rest of this section will focus on descriptions by foreign visitors. London's glazed shop windows and broad airy streets made shopping for pleasure safe, convenient, and enjoyable, more so than any other European metropolis at the time.[2] The light allowed by the breadth of the streets illuminated window displays during the day, as did internal lighting effects, while at night street lamps served a similar purpose. The construction of raised pavements throughout London, replacing the posts, which if anything, previously separated the space for walking from the space for

[1] *A New Critical Review of the Publick Buildings, Statues, and Ornaments in, and about, London and Westminster* (London, 1736), p. 29.

[2] Girouard, *Cities and People*, pp. 198-201.

wheeled traffic, allowed pedestrians to slow their movements and turn their attention away from traffic to inspect the goods on display. The size and safety of the streets amazed visitors. In 1728, De Saussure describes them as 'long, wide, and straight...On either side of the street the ground is raised and paved with flat stones, so that you can walk in the streets without being knocked down by coaches and horses.'[1] Although he concedes that 'A number of [the streets] are dirty, narrow, and badly built...[and] are unpleasantly full of either dust or mud...Most of the streets are wonderfully well lighted' (67). Writing towards the end of the century, Carl Philip Moritz notes in 1782 that, 'A stranger...appreciates the sidewalks made of broad stones, running down both sides of the streets, whereon he is as safe from the terrifying rush of carts and coaches as if he were in his own room.'[2] Even as late as 1802, London surpassed Paris in this aspect. Frances Burney, arriving in Paris in that year, writes to her father:

> I was forcibly...struck with the immense superiority of London in the appearance of the Streets: their narrowness here, & the surprising height of the Houses, give them the air of what, in England, we should merely denominate lanes: while the breadth of ours, & our noble foot pavement, give a facility of intercourse to the passengers, & a healthy & pleasant airyness to the Inhabitants, as much more agreeable as I suppose it should be salubrious.[3]

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[1] Cesar de Saussure, *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I. and George II.: The Letters of Cesar de Saussure to His Family*, trans. and ed. Madame van Muyden (London: John Murray, 1902), p. 36.

[2] Carl Philip Moritz, *Journeys of a German in England in 1782*, trans. and ed. Reginald Nettel (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965), p. 32.

[3] Frances Burney, *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madam D'Arblay)*, ed. Joyce Hemlow, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), V:242-3.

As well as providing entertainment for British visitors to London, shops and their window displays were particularly noted by visitors from the continent. De Saussure singles out the Strand, Fleet Street, Cornhill, and Cheapside for acclamation, in part due to their shops and shop signs, which serve to make the streets 'interesting and attractive,' commenting that 'A stranger might spend whole days, without ever feeling bored, examining these wonderful goods' (81).

According to the listings in *The Intelligencer: or, Merchant's Assistant*, the Strand and its surrounding area had only a dozen businesses in the year 1738, and those that were established there were far from the luxury trades that would move into the area in the second half of the century. A coal, an oil, and a timber merchant each had a business there, along with a bookseller, two grocers, a Turkey merchant, a doctor, and a woolen draper. Fashionable women (and men) in pursuit of luxury goods would need to visit the luxury shops developed to serve the nobility around Pall Mall and Piccadilly, or else make the journey, by carriage, into the City, to Cheapside or Gracechurch Street, or else send for someone to come and take their orders. In Cheapside and its surrounding area in the same year of 1738, there were three china merchants, three hosiers, four haberdashers, six goldsmiths, and sixteen linen drapers, along with a confectioner, druggists, two grocers, an ironmonger, a jeweler, a mercer, a silk merchant, and four other 'merchants.' Slightly less busy but nevertheless more populated than the Strand was Gracechurch Street, with a china man, a goldsmith, two hardware men, a hatter, a linen draper, a mercer, a silk man, two stationers, and a woolen

draper, along with a corn factor, a cotton man, an ironmonger, a surgeon and five 'merchants.'

In 1754 (the year of *The Midnight Ramble*), *Kent's Directory* lists 33 businesses on the Strand, including a cheesemonger, a hatter and hosier, a lace man, a linen draper, a wine merchant, two Turkey merchants, two hosiers, two haberdashers, two distillers, two tobacconists, three woolen drapers, and as many booksellers, along with an ironmonger, druggist, grocers, and oil, coal, and timber merchants, who presumably depended upon the proximity of the Thames to receive goods. Luxury goods continued to establish themselves, and the 76 shops in the Strand and its surrounding area in 1767, according *Kent's Directory* for that year, included a cabinet and upholstery warehouse, a china merchant, a fan maker, two glovers, a hatter and sword cutler, a glass manufacturer, a jeweler, three lace men, a sugar refiner, two tea dealers, and three watchmakers, as well as booksellers, hosiers, haberdashers, leather sellers, linen drapers, woolen drapers, and mercers.

Already the shops lining London's main artery were becoming spectacular: a decade later, Pierre-John Grosley claimed that 'The shops in the Strand, Fleet Street, and Cheapside, are among the most striking objects that London can offer to the eye of the stranger...they make a splendid show, greatly superior to anything of the kind at Paris.'[1] It is easy to comprehend why the German philosopher Lichtenberg, visiting London in 1770, complained that when walking along the Strand, he had trouble reaching his destination, so captivated was he by 'the mass of new things wherever one looks...silver shops, shops with wares from India, with instruments and the

[1] Quoted in Hugh Phillips, *Mid-Georgian London: A Topographical and Social Survey of Central and Western London about 1750* (London: Collins, 1964), p. 122.

like.'[1] For Lichtenberg as well as Grosley, London's shops are 'festive' in their appearance, dazzling and delighting the passerby. Describing a walk from Cheapside to Fleet Street, Lichtenberg gives 'a hasty sketch of an evening in the streets of London':

> On both sides tall houses with plate-glass windows. The lower floors consist of shops and seem to be made entirely of glass; many thousand candles light up silverware, engravings, books, clocks, glass, pewter, paintings, women's finery, modish and otherwise, gold, precious stones, steel-work, and endless coffee-rooms and lottery offices. The street looks as though it were illuminated for some festivity: the apothecaries and druggist display glasses filled with gay-coloured spirits...the confectioners dazzle you with their candelabra and tickle your nose with their wares, for no more trouble and expense than that of taking both into their establishments...All this appears like an enchantment to the unaccustomed eye; there is therefore all the more need for circumspection in viewing all discreetly...[1]

Sights and smells emanate from London's shops, creating a sense of gaiety and festivity, with lights dancing off of the goods on display. The observer, lulled into a dream like, enchanted state, must maintain some awareness of his or her surroundings in order to avoid the speed and hurry of others passing along the street. Shopping became a feature in London life because it was something one could not help but do. Everywhere goods were available for sales, in luxury shops, market stalls, and from street sellers.

For Sophie von la Roche, visiting the metropolis in 1786, London was a place to be consumed via the eyes, and digested via her pen. To say that she

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[1] Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Lichtenberg: Aphorisms and Letters*, trans. and ed. Franz Mautner and Henry Hatfield (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), p. 72.

made the most of her three months spent in London would be an understatement. Her days in the metropolis were spent visiting friends, sights, exhibitions, and entertainments, and her time in London is calculated to make the most of everything available to her. She records that 'Our hour at breakfast is most pleasant, as we plan out how to make best use of the day; then we read the daily paper, which gives us full information on the events of yesterday, and what may be seen and had to-day' (95). She often walks to and from places making use of routes that incorporate streets she has not yet visited in an effort to see as much as possible. Her remarks about various other travelogues, including those by Archenholz, Moritz, Watzdorf, and Madame du Bocage, suggest that she used them like guidebooks to prepare for her journey; she occasionally compares her own impressions of places with theirs. The sights and places of interest that she visits include the British Museum, Westminster Abbey, Westminster Hall, St. Paul's, the Tower of London, the East India House (where she observes a tea auction take place), Bedlam, the Royal Exchange, the Bank (where she sees gold bars), Kensington Palace, Guildhall, Billingsgate fish market (where she tries oysters for the first time), Covent Garden fruit and vegetable market, Greenwich, and Deptford (where she is disappointed in her hopes to see the shipping wharf). Entertainments she attends, in addition to making various visits, include London's theatres, promenades, and pleasure gardens. In addition to a visit to the Royal Academy exhibition at Somerset House, von la Roche also visits

[1] Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Lichtenberg's Visits to England As Described in His Letters and Diaries*, translated Margaret L. Mare and W. H. Quarrell (Oxford: Clarendon, 1938), pp. 63-4.

print shops, engravers, and painters' and sculptors' studios, including the studios of West, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Nollekens, and Bacon.

But what von la Roche enjoys most about London, like the other foreign visitors mentioned, are its shops. During her stay she visits a number of showrooms and workshops of well-known craftsmen and inventors, treating them with the same amount of enthusiasm as the artists' exhibitions she visits. She visits Wedgwood's, Hatchett's the saddler, Mr. Parker's glass factory, and Mr. Seddons the cabinet-maker. When possible, she takes a tour of the premises, learning how the goods are made, and how many people are employed. Additionally, she takes delight in walking along London's streets, taking in the number of shops and the goods on display. She remarks that in the shops, 'everything is made more attractive to the eye than in Paris...Behind great glass windows absolutely everything one can think of is neatly, attractively displayed, and in such abundance of choice as almost to make one greedy' (87). Of a walk to Leicester-fields, she writes that she was glad to walk there slowly because it 'enabled me to inspect a number of shops and home crafts more closely, for pedestrians need dread neither dirt nor danger here' (111).

Von la Roche's visual pleasure in walking along London's shopping streets and examining goods inside shops renders the act of walking in London into walking through an endless museum, with an opportunity to examine the curiosities on display at every corner. Her descriptions of shopping and of visiting museums and galleries are striking in their similarity: both prompt sentimental feelings and interests in industry, morality, beauty, and taste. When she does not purchase goods (and her diary lacks mentions of purchases

apart from a piece from Wedgwood's and a bonnet so that she can blend with English ladies), she pays craftsmen and shopkeeper in sentimental commerce. At Vuillamy's, the clockmaker, von la Roche comments that it would be unlikely for more than a few of Vuillamy's clocks ever to be sold in or brought back to Germany because of their cost. After inspecting his goods, with no ability to afford them, she comments that 'Mr. Vuillamy did not hear me talking much, but he noticed that my soul was given over to a realisation of the value and a feeling for the beauty of his works. This satisfied him' (101). The 'value' Sophie finds in Vuillamy's commodities is in their 'noble simplicity,' bound up for von la Roche with ideas about morality and beauty. His 'satisfaction,' in her eyes, came not from payment in exchange for the objects on offer, but from her sensibility at recognizing this true value (100-3).

Descriptions of shop window displays and interiors illustrate the way in which goods were consciously set out as an exhibition, and in a way that was designed to tempt the viewer to a purchase. In her general comments on first arriving in London, von la Roche describes how, in London's shops, the goods are well organized, and how 'every article is made more attractive to the eye than in Paris, or in any other town.' She particularly appreciates the 'cunning device' for displaying materials for women's dresses: hanging the materials 'in folds behind the fine high windows so that the effect of this or that material, as it would be in the most ordinary folds of a woman's dress, can be studied.' The act of passing by shop windows creates a dizzying whirl of various goods on display: 'Now large shoe and slipper shops for anything from adults down to dolls can be seen – now fashion articles or silver or brass shops – boots, guns, glasses – the confectioner's goodies, the pewterer's wares

– fans, etc.' The amount of goods on display and the manner in which they are presented are enough to tempt anyone: 'Behind great glass windows absolutely everything one can think of is neatly, attractively displayed, and in such abundance of choice as almost to make one greedy' (87).

Von la Roche's diary of her time in London also shows the extent to which the goods displayed inside shops as well as in their windows were designed to delight the eye in the shopper and create a need or desire. Visiting a pastry-cook's shop one morning, she remarks that the shop had 'attracted our attention for some time,' and describes it as if there were curiosity cabinets lining the room:

> it is surrounded, like a large spacious room, by glass cases, in which all kinds of preserved fruits and jellies are exhibited in handsome glass jars; in the middle of the shop, however, stood a big table with a white cover containing pyramids of small pastries and tartlets and some larger pastries and sweetmeats; wine-glasses of all sizes, with lids to them, and full of liqueurs of every conceivable brand, colour and taste were attractively set out in between, as might be expected, at a large and very elegant table. (112)

The displays are 'handsome,' 'elegant, and 'attractive,' effective enough in their temptation for von la Roche and her companions that they 'promised ourselves a breakfast in this shop' at another time. In a bookseller's shop in the Strand, she writes of how she 'was so seized with the desire to see and read all these fine works, that the thought of the sheer impossibility of such an enterprise made the tears well up and really grieved me' (171).

Interestingly, in contrast to writers like Smollett who see in London nothing but rank luxury, Sophie likens large shop windows to advertisements

for national taste, wherein passersby of all sorts can see and learn about good taste from the objects on display and the manner of their display:

> Today we visited Mr. Boydell's shop, London's most famous print dealer...Here again I was struck by the excellent arrangement and system which the love of gain and the national good taste have combined in producing, particularly in the elegant dressing of the shop-windows, not merely in order to ornament the streets and lure purchasers, but to make known the thousands of inventions and ideas, and spread good taste about, for the excellent pavement for pedestrians enable crowds of people to stop and inspect the new exhibits. (237)

London's shops are thus museum and school in one, where 'national good taste' is 'exhibited'; 'many a genius,' she concludes, 'is assuredly awakened in this way' (237). The 'art' of window dressing stimulates genius and teaches taste as much as a painting, or literature might be deemed to. Indeed, while von la Roche's idea that window displays help to create great artists might seem an idealistic vision, Hannah More's 'A Prefatory Letter to Mrs. Montagu' introducing Ann Yearsley's *Poems on Various Subjects* (1787), explains that the little educated Yearsley's classical allusions were 'taken from little ordinary prints which hung in a shop-window.' More also suggests that this method of 'siez[ing] and appropriat[ing]...whatever is most striking' might also explain Chatterton's genius.[1]

By 1780, there were over 140 businesses in the Strand and its surrounding area, and Oxford Street was beginning to develop as a luxury shopping street as well. Mercers, hatters, haberdashers, hosiers, glovers, lace men, linen and woolen drapers, jewelers, goldsmiths, stationers and

[1] Ann Yearsley, *Poems on Various Subjects*, Revolution and Romanticism, 1789-1834: A Series of Facsimile Reprints Chosen and Introduced by Jonathan Wordsworth (Oxford and New York: Woodstock Books, 1994), p. xii.

booksellers, grocers and tea dealers, clock and watchmakers all began to fill Oxford Street, as well as a manufacturer of ostrich feathers. By 1793, the Strand was home to more the 400 shops. The shifting topography of shopping in the eighteenth century, at first just outside the City boundary at Temple Bar on the Strand, and eventually including Oxford Street as well, would have brought more women on to the streets to shop as an activity for its own sake. The westward movement of London's shopping district meant fashionable ladies no longer needed to travel past the Strand and into the City, with all its associations, real and imaginary, with dirt, smell, noises, narrow streets, and commercial gain (although Cheapside did not lose its connections with shopping).

Strolling down Oxford Street is a delight for von la Roche, especially at night, 'for some goods look more attractive by artificial light' (141). She tells her children, to whom she writes, to 'imagine':

> a street taking half an hour to cover from end to end, with double rows of brightly shining lamps, in the middle of which stands an equally long row of beautifully lacquered coaches, and on either side of these there is room for two coaches to pass one another; and the pavement, inlaid with flag-stones, can stand six people deep and allows one to gaze at the splendidly lit shop fronts in comfort. First one passes a watchmaker's, then a silk or fan store, now a china or glass shop. The spirit booths are particularly tempting...Here crystal flasks of every shape and form are exhibited...
>
> Up to eleven o'clock at night there are as many people along this street as at Frankfurt during the fair, not to mention the eternal stream of coaches. (141-2)

It is not only the goods on display in the windows, it is the entire experience of walking along the street that overwhelms and delights: coaches and people add

movement and variety among the dazzling lights of the street lamps and shop fronts.

7. EXCHANGE

London had become a spectacle of itself. Individual shops, shopping streets, the people inhabiting these spaces, and the goods on display, delighted and dazzled the observer. Innumerable goods featuring sights, scenes, and maps of London were produced and marketed to men and women who wanted to acquire and demonstrate a knowledge of the metropolis. Shopping related to existing ideas about circulation in the metropolis, and commerce and exchange also informed ideas about conversation and visiting. As Guest's work has illustrated, sentiment and sensibility became figured in terms of commerce and exchange, and lack of exchange in the equation, like the lack of exchange in shopping without purchasing, reveals a lack of sentiment and sociability.[1]

At the turn of the century, *The Ladies Complete Visiting Guide* [1800?] was published by Patrick Boyle, 'calculated for the purposes of receiving and delivering visiting cards and answering letters.'[1] The book allowed for women, like merchants, to keep a strict account of visits made and received and to keep track of the correspondence, rendering the act of social interaction into a form of circulation and commerce. The text allows the woman of

[1] Guest, p. 76.

fashion to keep track of visits 'paid and received' as well as ensure that she does not remain too long in any person's debt; Boyle likewise refers to the way in which 'A saving accrues from this plan' of the servant's labour. In his introduction, Boyle explains that his *Court and City Guide* was deemed to be useful to merchants and noblemen newly arrived in London, but that nothing had been contrived for the woman of fashion who must leave to a servant the responsibility of maintaining accounts of visits.

The book is arranged like an account book. At the top of a page is the name of a street; the book is sold in sections covering different areas of London, and a woman may choose to buy only those sections pertaining to where she has friends, or the entirety. The page is divided into columns, in which the woman notes the house number on the street, the name of the person, the number of cards delivered, the number received, the number of letters written, and the number received. The design is arranged so that:

> every visit intended for the morning's excursion regularly meeting the eye, the purchasers of the VISITING GUIDE will no longer have to lament that amid the hurry and confusion of numerous visits, the most intimate friendships of their hearts have frequently escaped them, from the failure of recollection and *the want of such a guide*. (viii)

For the fashionable lady, who daily travels throughout London paying and receiving visits, shopping and attending fashionable entertainments, the guide, like the lady's fan, allows her to map out her movements on paper, and in one glance to determine where to travel that day.

Items for purchase like *The Ladies Complete Visiting Guide* and handkerchiefs and fans illustrated with maps of London allowed women a

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[1] *The Ladies Complete Visiting Guide, Containing Directions for Footmen and Porters, being*

greater control over their movements in the metropolis. The book allowed women to ensure no friendships or errands were overlooked by mapping their acquaintances on the paper, which assisted them in organizing their visits. The maps on fashionable objects pointed women discreetly in the right direction, ensuring wrong turns would not lead to grave danger. Overall, these objects signal the way in which London was changing: the kinds of people and their reasons for moving through the city was changing, as shopping became part of the tourist agenda and a fact of the fashionable lady's life. Shopkeepers responded by offering a range of goods that presented London scenes or made London more organized and comprehensible.

Calculated for the Purpose of Receiving and Delivering Visiting Cards (London, [1800?]).

CONCLUSION

PRESENTING LONDON IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

In his biography of Samuel Johnson, James Boswell recorded one of Johnson's incredibly intuitive remarks about the nature of life in contemporary London: 'if a man walks out in the country, there is nobody to keep him from walking in again; but if a man walks out in London, he is not sure when he shall walk in again.'[1] Johnson summarizes the randomness of the metropolis, and the openness to experience that walking affords. A walk in the country is imagined as a solitary walk – you might bump into neighbours or friends out walking themselves, you might stop to admire a view, but compared with the city, the possibilities are rather limited. In London, on the other hand, with its size and population, its events and entertainments, its busy commerce and its general busy-ness, the pedestrian is presented with a myriad of possibilities: watching people or making new acquaintances, getting caught up at a performance or an exhibition, or being drawn into a shop by an enticing window display, for example.

[1] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman (Oxford: Oxford Univesity Press, 1980), p. 918.

1. LONDON AND ROMANTIC WRITING

For Johnson, and indeed for Boswell in his London journal and Mr. Spectator in Addison and Steele's periodical, on whom Boswell often models his experiences of and responses to London, the endless numbers of people and streets, and the range of possibilities for which the size of London allowed, were among the attractions of London. It was a place where it seemed anything could happen. In the years following the French Revolution, however, Romantic poets presented a different response to the number of people in London's streets, one which betrayed concerns over the nature of life in the modern metropolis, and the potential disorder and unrest which might arise. In his preface to the 1800 edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, William Wordsworth articulated concerns over how 'a multitude of causes, unknown to former times, are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the mind and, unfitting it for all voluntary exertion, to reduce it to a state of almost savage topor.' Among these causes, he includes 'the increasing accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident,' a 'degrading thirst after outrageous stimulation.'[1] A man living in London, accustomed to the noise, sights, and smells of the metropolis, requires ever more extraordinary means of excitement and stimulation to arouse his deadened senses.

The connection between intellect and response to London had been outlined in similar terms by William Godwin in *The Enquirer: Reflections on*

[1] William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, Ed. R. L. Brett and A. R. Jones (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 249.

Education, Manners and Literature in a Series of Essays (1797).[1] Godwin uses the figure of a man walking through London's streets to illustrate the difference between what he terms 'the man of talent,' one whose reading and study have rendered his faculties superior, and the man without talent. The differences between the two types of men are described in a walk from Temple Bar to Hyde Park Corner. 'The dull man,' Godwin explains:

> Goes straight forward; he has so many furlongs to traverse. He observes if he meets any of his acquaintance; he enquires respecting their health and their family. He glances perhaps the shops as he passes; he admires the fashion of a buckle, and the metal of a tea-urn. If he experience any flights of fancy, they are of a short extent...(31)

The dull man's journey is merely physical, a means to travel a certain distance. He can only concentrate on his immediate surroundings, and is too busy looking at the people and the shops he passes for any kind of reflection. The man of talent, on the other hand, makes use of the time spent travelling to Hyde Park Corner for reflection. He does not ignore all that he passes but uses that which he notices as an inspiration for new thoughts, giving 'full scope to his imagination' and remaining 'unindebted to the suggestions of surrounding objects' as a means to pass the time:

> He passes through a thousand imaginary scenes, tries his courage, tasks his ingenuity, and thus becomes gradually prepared to meet almost any of the many-coloured events of human life. He consults by the aid of memory the books he has read, and projects others for the future instruction and delight of mankind. If he observe the passengers, he reads their countenances, conjectures their past history, and forms a superficial notion of their wisdom of folly, their virtue or vice, their satisfaction or misery. If he observes the scenes that occur, it is with the eye of a connoisseur or artist. Every object

[1] William Godwin, *The Enquirer: Reflections on Education, Manners and Literature in a Series of Essays*, Reprints of Economics Classics (New York: Augusts M. Kelley, 1965).

> is capable of suggesting to him a volume of reflections. The time of these two persons in one respect resembles; it has brought them both to Hyde-Park-Corner. In almost every other respect it is dissimilar. (32)

'If,' as Godwin stresses, the man of talent takes note of what is around him, it becomes incorporated into 'a volume of reflections' rather than fleeting 'flights of fancy.' The man of talent's environment does not merely stimulate, but does so in order to give rise to more serious reflection.

It is unsurprising that Godwin uses the figure of a man walking through London as a means to compare the powers of thought and reflection between two different types of men, commenting on the state of modern urban experience. In *The Country and the City*, Raymond Williams notes how the 'perception of the new qualities of the modern city had been associated, from the beginning, with a man walking, as if alone, in its streets.'[1] Williams here speaks of Blake and Wordsworth, but this figure might be traced back to Mr. Spectator, whose anonymity allows him to walk alone as a spectator speculating about contemporary experience. Despite the solitary figure's appearance at the start of the eighteenth century, it is not until the end of the century that the solitary figure roaming London re-emerges as a means to present it, but with a very different agenda from Addison and Steele's imagined narrative persona. We have seen in Chapter One how the literature of urban spectatorship over the course of the eighteenth century is characterized by a roaming pair: a naïve observer and a streetwise guide in the form of a spy and his guide, or a visitor dependent on a trustworthy

[1] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1985), p. 231.

guidebook. While Addison and Steele sought to organize and order public space for polite consumption in their periodicals, the solitary man in Romantic poetry serves to reveal how frantic and fragmentary the experience of walking through London's streets can be. Julian Wolfreys has described the presentation of London in Romantic poetry as a place 'where one may wander endlessly, involved all the while with gazing, touching, coming into contact with and being "contaminated" by, all that is not only the other of the polite face of the city, but the other of one's self and being.'[1] This 'other' to London and to the self comes in the form of the orphan, the prostitute, and the beggar, and in the street markets, popular entertainments, and fairs in the London writings of Blake, Wordsworth, and DeQuincey.

Encounters on the streets with figures that were disengaged with the rest of society featured in the poetry of Blake and Wordsworth. The figure of the orphan appears in Blake's 'Holy Thursday' and 'The Chimney Sweeper' in the *Songs of Innocence* (1789) and the *Songs of Experience* (1793); the prostitute makes an appearance in Blake's 'London' and in Book VII of Wordsworth's *The Prelude* (1805); and the vagrant features in Book VII of *The Prelude*. Blake's London, as depicted in the *Songs of Innocence* and the *Songs of Experience*, feature the harlot's curses, the 'weep weep' of chimney sweepers, and the questions and cries of poor and orphaned children. Many of the poet's encounters with these figures depend on walking: in 'Holy Thursday', the poet encounters the innocent orphans of one of London's charity schools as they walk to St. Paul's, while 'London' is narrated as the speaker 'wander[s] through each chartered street' marking the weakness and

[1] Julian Wolfreys, *Writing London: The Trace of the Urban Text from Blake to Dickens* (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), p. 64.

woe in those he passes by. The solitary wanderer also features in Charles Lloyd's 'London' (1798), a poem that registers, as Wordsworth's *Prelude* would do, an ambivalent response to London.[1] The speaker, moved by the 'first of human feelings, social love' to a residence in London, describes that which he encounters as the city 'detain[s] my restless feet': 'tainted scenes'; the empty show of 'many-coloured equipage,/ and steeds gaily caparisoned'; 'idle forms which play upon the sense.' His feelings of social love are usurped, however, by an overwhelming sense of alienation: not 'catching one known face amid the throng/That answered mine with cordial pleasantness'; a 'crowded desolation' in which 'Not one being/...Dreamt of *my* hopes or fears!' Nevertheless, the poet explains, 'the city must detain *my* feet,' a country life of solitude, though philosophically an ideal life, is unsuitable to his own desires.

London is presented as overwhelming in Book VII of *The Prelude*, a place where one is easily lost amongst the crowds, where neighbours do not even know one another, and where the streets are void of familiar, comforting faces. Yet despite these reactions, even Wordsworth's poetry also reveals moments of beauty and stability in London. In 'Composed upon Westminster Bridge, 3 September 1802' the poet can find nothing 'more fair' than the view from Westminster Bridge in the early hours of morning when the city is 'silent, bare.'[2] The stillness of London, its 'mighty heart...lying still,' evokes an emotional response: the sight is 'touching' and in it the poet sees and feels

[1] Charles Lloyd and Charles Lamb, 'London' (1798) in *Romanticism: An Anthology*, ed. Duncan Wu (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 590-92.

[2] William Wordsworth, 'Composed upon Westminster Bridge, 3 September 1802' (1802) in *Romanticism: An Anthology*, ed. Duncan Wu (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 374.

'a calm so deep.' The 'ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples' fulfill the role of pastoral beauties such as 'valley, rock, or hill.'

Similarly, in an untitled 1808 poem Wordsworth finds 'an anchor of stability' while walking along the Strand, again in the early hours of morning.[1] At the start of the poem, Wordsworth describes passing along the Strand as one accustomed to London's quick moving and seemingly endless crowds might move through its streets:

> I...took my way
> Through the great city, pacing with an eye
> Downcast, ear sleeping, and feet masterless,
> That were sufficient guide unto themselves,
> And step by step went pensively.

As far as possible, the poet attempts to shut off his senses and move quickly through the streets, thinking pensively rather than being attentive to his surroundings. By chance, the poet looks up while walking and sees a 'familiar spot' transformed, with the help of 'imagination's holy power,' into a 'visionary scene':

> a length of street
> Laid open in its morning quietness,
> Deep, hollow, unobstructed, vacant, smooth
> And white with winter's purest white...

Like the view from Westminster Bridge, the scene is comparable in its beauty, purity, and stillness to a winter's morning in the country: London's snow 'as fair,/As fresh and spotless' as any on 'field or mountain.' Wordsworth finds beauty, peace, and stability in that moment of quietness on the 'noiseless and

[1] William Wordsworth, '[St. Paul's]' (1808) in *Romanticism: An Anthology*, ed. Duncan Wu (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 409.

unpeopled avenue,' before the scene is tainted with the hurry and noise of pedestrians and carts. The 'anchor of stability' that inspires the poet is revealed at the end of the poem - the vista at the end of his view, the dome of St. Paul's cathedral:

> The huge majestic temple of St. Paul
> In awful sequestration, through a veil,
> Through its own veil of sacred falling snow.

In a letter to Sir George Beaumont he recounts the scene which the poem describes, emphasizing that 'I cannot say how much I was affected at this unthought-of sight in such a place.' His troubled mind seemed at that moment 'to receive the gift of an anchor of security.'[1]

In *The Prelude* (1805), London receives a mixed response from Wordsworth as he recollects his time spent there.[2] After leaving Cambridge in 1791, he describes having some space of time to spend in London which he could enjoy free from 'ambition personal' (VII: 69) of pursuing a position, fame, or fortune. Indeed, as the remainder of Book VII illustrates, Wordsworth spent his time in London taking in as much as possible.[3] Recounted from memories as he composed the thirteen book version of *The Prelude* in late 1804 and 1805, the act of walking through London, which Wordsworth explains is how he spent much of his time in the city ('...living

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[1] Letter from William Wordsworth to Sir George Beaumont, 3 April 1808. *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Middle Years*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), I: 209. Quoted in Duncan Wu, ed. *Romanticism: An Anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 409, n. 1.

[2] William Wordsworth, *The Prelude* (1805), ed. Jonathan Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams, and Stephen Gill (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1979).

[3] For an account of the places Wordsworth visited while walking through London during his stay, see Kenneth R. Johnston's chapter 'The Mighty City' in *The Hidden Wordsworth: Poet, Lover, Rebel, Spy* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998), pp. 235-263.

chearfully abroad/With fancy on the stir from day to day,/And all my young affections out of doors.' VII: 78-80), serves as one of the main organizing principles of the section. Part of the mixed reception granted to the capital seems to come from Wordworth's attempts to reconcile the city of his imagination, which he believed far exceeded the tales and histories of ancient and far distant cities, and the 'real scene,/familiarly perused...day by day' (VII: 81-91; VII: 139-40). Even where 'disappointment was the strongest,' he admits, he still surveyed and absorbed the scenes around him with 'keen and lively pleasure' (VII: 142-3).

Performers and performances feature throughout the London section, as do endless crowds of people. In this environment where everything is a performance and everyone a performer, it is unsurprising that Wordsworth feels a sense of alienation in London's crowds, unable to 'read' those he passes. There are, however, moments of relief, when the city displays beauty and a sense of calm, reminiscent of those recorded on Westminster Bridge and along Fleet Street facing St. Paul's in the shorter poems mentioned above. Nevertheless, he worries that he has 'falsely catalogued' these scenes, unable to reconcile such peaceful, quiet images of London's streets with the streets when they are crowded with people. The sense of calm in London is rare, and the mass of different people passing through the city threaten at any time to form a single entity, acting in 'vengeance, rage, or fear.'

The mob that threatens chaos, and that is amused by spectacles both trivial and grotesque is epitomized in the 'hell/for eyes and ears,' the 'anarchy and din/Barbarian and infernal' that is Bartholomew Fair. Because much of Book VII is composed through recalling a walk through London and a visit to

its various sights, it is especially significant that Bartholomew Fair is too chaotic and invasive to pass through on foot. Instead, Wordsworth must call on the Muse for assistance to lift him out of the crowd to a distant vantage point from which to view the scene. While the annual entertainments of Bartholomew Fair only took place for a short period, the chaos, dullness, and disorder that the poet sees in the scene form for him a microcosm of London: 'O, blank confusion, and a type not false/ Of what the mighty city is itself' (VII: 696-707).

In London as in the fair, the world is indistinct, full of 'low pursuits' and 'trivial' objects' to appease and entertain the uneducated masses. 'Even the highest minds,' Wordsworth warns, 'must labour' to remain active and not be swallowed up into the mass. The challenge of viewing London is that 'the picture weary out the eye': the sight is 'by nature...unmanageable' (VII: 708-9). The difficulties of viewing London critically, of not being reduced to the state of savage torpor that craves 'outrageous stimulation,' to paraphrase from the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, brings into question Wordsworth's own abilities to present London critically and accurately. In response to these anticipated concerns, Wordsworth explains that one 'who looks/In steadiness,' can see 'the parts/As part, but with a feeling of the whole' (VII: 11-14). The habit of viewing nature assists him in viewing the harmony of the whole, and what might seem like chaos to a stranger is in fact the order of London. Wordsworth returns to the subject in Book VIII, reiterating the sense that despite the 'mantle' of disorder and chaos, there is a harmony that unites people, and moments of humanity that are exemplified. London is now represented described as sublime, the center of a vast network of trade and

empire, a 'vast metropolis,/The fountain of my country's destiny/And of the destiny of the earth itself' (VIII: 746-8).

2. LONDON AS LABYRINTH

Thomas DeQuincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821) offers another vision of London as a city which threatens to swallow up the individual, losing him in a sea of people. DeQuincey's narrative of his own experiences in London are set in and around Oxford Street. Like Blake and Wordsworth's presentations of the city, DeQuincey's London is also peopled with marginalized, wandering figures – the young orphaned child, the prostitute Ann, and the labouring poor. But unlike Wordsworth and Blake's narrators, who are spectators of these dissociated figures, DeQuincey is himself homeless and all but entirely friendless. DeQuincey describes a sense of shared experience with London's orphans turned prostitutes – he is on 'familiar and friendly terms with many women in that unfortunate condition': 'Being at that time of necessity a peripatetic, or walker of the streets, I naturally fell in more frequently with those female peripatetics who are technically called Street-walkers.'[1] As Deborah Epstein Nord has argued, Ann becomes 'the mirror image of his own status' and, as a prostitute, 'epitomizes the fleeting nature of urban relations, the lack of permanent connection'

[1] Thomas DeQuincey, *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 20-1.

presented through Ann's saving of DeQuincey's life and her subsequent and ultimate disappearance into London's crowds.[1]

In the *Confessions*, London is given a dream-like feel; its streets are still capable of haunting DeQuincey years later as he composes his narrative. A sight or sound, such as the now happily occupied house in Greek Street, Soho where he had slept in his deepest poverty, the house in Soho Square where Ann saved his life, or the sound of the barrel-organ in the 'dreamy lamplight' of Oxford Street, take him back to his time in London when he was searching for lost people and for a way to survive (23). More haunting at times are the markers of his experience that seem to have mysteriously disappeared: the druggist who first sold him opium, Ann, and the streets they last walked through together. At times, London becomes a force that acts against DeQuincey, thwarting his attempts to find Ann. At the time of writing, he cannot even wander the streets in which they spent their last moments together: he explains that 'Our course lay through a part of the town which has now all disappeared, so that I can no longer retrace its ancient boundaries: Swallow-Street, I think it was called' (26-7). The setting for his last meeting with Ann no longer exists: Great and Little Swallow Streets were cleared in the second decade of the nineteenth century for the development of Regent Street.

In DeQuincey's accounts of searching for Ann on his return from Eton, London actively serves to separate them: they select a rendezvous on Great Titchfield Street in order to ensure that they do not miss each other in 'the great Mediterranean of Oxford-street' (27). But despite applying 'every

[1] Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 5.

means of tracing her that my knowledge of London suggested,' they never meet, though he senses that 'we must have been sometimes in search of each other, at the very same moment, through the mighty labyrinths of London; perhaps, even within a few feet of each other.' That short distance on a London street, 'often amount[s] to a separation for eternity!' (33-4). His search for her amongst the 'many, many myriads of female faces,' is unsuccessful (34). London becomes complicit in their separation, and Oxford Street is singled out for its unfeeling nature, described as an unnatural mother disinterested in the unwanted children who depend on her: 'So then, Oxford-street, stony-hearted step-mother! thou that listenest to the sighs of orphans, and drinkest the tears of children' (34).

London etches in DeQuincey's mind hopes, horrors, dreams, and phantoms which will continue to haunt him even after he leaves the city:

> the calamities of my noviciate in London had struck root so deeply in my bodily constitution that afterwards they shot up and flourished afresh, and grew into a noxious umbrage that overshadowed and darkened my latter years. (35)

Nevertheless, he explains, the trials of his second visit to London two years later in 1804 'were met with a fortitude more confirmed,' and he walked London's streets 'for the most part in serenity and peace of mind' (35). Now a more regular opium user, his description of London changes. In his section on 'The Pains of Opium,' DeQuincey explains that 'the sense of space, and in the end, the sense of time, were both powerfully affected. Buildings, landscapes, &c. were exhibited in proportions so vast as the bodily eye is not fitted to receive' (68). The alteration in his experience of space renders London into '*terra incognitae*' for him to explore and navigate. In addition to visiting the

opera house after taking opium, one of DeQuincey's chief enjoyments was visiting London's Saturday night street markets to observe the labouring poor out shopping. In a description of his movements, DeQuincey reveals how he experiences London:

> Some of these rambles led me to great distances: for an opium-eater is too happy to observe the motion of time. And sometimes in my attempts to steer homewards, upon nautical principles, by fixing my eye on the pole-star, and seeking ambitiously for a north-west passage, instead of circumnavigating all the capes and head-lands I had doubled in my outward voyage, I came suddenly upon such knotty problems of alleys, such enigmatical entries, and such sphynx's riddles of streets without thoroughfares, as must, I conceive, baffle the audacity of porters, and confound the intellects of hackney-coachmen. (47)

Indeed, the streets of London are so densely labyrinthine that he wonders 'whether they had yet been laid down in the modern charts of London' (48). The excitement of exploration, however, causes the figure of the labyrinth to become deeply embedded in DeQuincey's mind; for whatever sense of control he feels as he tries various routes to find his way home, London ultimately overtakes him. His opium-induced wanderings through London lead to nightmare visions of moral and intellectual labyrinths:

> I paid a heavy price in distant years, when the human face tyrannized over my dreams, and the perplexities of my steps in London came back and haunted my sleep, with the feeling of perplexities moral or intellectual, that brought confusion to the reason, or anguish and remorse to the conscience. (48)

The enigmas and sphinx's riddles, the knotty alleys and the streets without thoroughfares, become in DeQuincey's later dreams a confusing moral terrain for which there is no map or fixed point to help him navigate.

Blake, Wordsworth, and DeQuincey present a London that is divisive, full of figures which have been pushed to the margins and forced to find a way back on their own. Orphans, prostitutes, and beggars inhabit their writings as emblems of metropolitan experience, and, in Wordsworth in particular, the language of spectacle and performance is invoked to illustrate the false appearances of the city and its people. For Wordsworth, London has an order that is most evident in empty streets, but also appears in the horse that turns 'with punctual skill' (VII: 170); nevertheless, that order always threatens to disintegrate into a passionate mob. In DeQuincey's account of his experience in London, the fruitless searchings through its streets became engraved on his mind, and haunt him in his nightmares. But while Romantic writers presented London as fragmentary and superficially spectacular, another thread of presentation, one which reveled in the crowds, the hurry, and the noise of London, was also popular, carrying on an eighteenth-century tradition of representing London.

2. LONDON AS SPECTACLE

Charles Lamb, a Londoner, claimed to find in the city as many local attachments, inspirations, and delights as his friend Wordsworth did in the countryside. The passing sights and sounds which had so disoriented Wordsworth in *The Prelude* were an exciting feature of the urban fabric. In his writings Lamb identifies himself as a true Londoner. Born 'under the shadow of St. Dunstan's steeple' – located in Fleet Street near Temple Bar –

on Lord Mayor's Day, 'The Londoner' is born 'in a crowd' near where 'this twofold city meet and justle in friendly opposition,' and is nowhere happy unless he is in a crowd. The countryside holds no joy for the Londoner: he has 'an almost insurmountable aversion from solitude and rural scenes' for his 'passion for crowds in no where feasted so full as in London,' in Fleet Street and the Strand particularly. While Wordsworth would be emotionally inspired by the emptiness and stillness of London's streets, the Londoner is driven to tears with 'unutterable sympathies with the multitudinous moving picture, which she never fails to present at all hours, like the scenes of a shifting pantomime.'[1] It is the fleeting and the transitory that please and humor the Londoner. In a piece from 'Table-Talk' in *The Examiner*, Lamb describes how he:

> often thought that it would be amusing to register the sentences, and scraps of sentences, which one catches up in a day's walk about the town...From these flying words, with the help of a little imagination, one might often piece out a long conversation foregone.'[2]

Like the ramblers discussed in Chapter One, Lamb connects that act of composing a text with the act of walking through London, but rather than depend on the episodes one sees to form the basis, it is the fragments of conversation that would be imaginatively threaded together to form a narrative.

Lamb's humorously ironic presentation of London even includes enthusiasm for that epitome of the unhealthiness of urban life, London's fog.

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[1] Charles Lamb, 'The Londoner' (1802) in *The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. E. V. Lucas, 8 vols. (London: Metheun and Co., 1903-5), I: 39-40.

[2] Lamb, '[Street Conversation]' (1813), in *The Works*, I:154.

In 'The Londoner' he explains that 'I love the very smoke of London, because it has been the medium most familiar to my vision.'[1] In an essay entitled 'London Fogs' he describes how 'In a well mix'd Metropolitan Fog there is something substantial and satisfying – you can feel what you breathe and see it to.' In addition to being seen, heard, and smelled, London's fog is also described as something that can be tasted. In ironically championing its benefits, Lamb draws on contemporary advertisements to bring home his message, warning his readers to always ask for 'the "true London particular," as manufactured by Thames, Coal Gas, Smoke, Steam, & Co.'[2]

Throughout many of his London writings, Lamb draws on a sense of local attachments, a sentiment usually associated with presentations of the countryside. His correspondence is full of examples of such language, presenting Fleet Street and the Strand as his native environment. In a letter to Wordsworth in 1801, he explains that his 'attachments are all local, purely local' and that he has 'formed as many and intense local attachments, as any of you Mountaineers can have done with dead nature.' For Lamb, life is in the constantly shifting scene along London's main thoroughfare, and in the everyday activities that take place in them:

> The Lighted shops of the Strand and Fleet Street, the innumerable trades, tradesmen and customers, coaches, waggons, play houses, all the bustle and wickedness round about Covent Garden, the very women of the Town, the Watchmen, drunken scenes, rattles; - life awake, if you awake, at all hours of the night, the impossibility of being dull in Fleet Street, the crowds, the very dirt & mud, the Sun shining upon houses and pavements, the print shops, the old Book stalls, parsons cheap'ning books, coffee houses, steams of soups from

[1] Lamb, 'The Londoner', I:40.

[2] Charles Lamb, 'London Fogs' (N.D.), in *The Works*, I:351.

> kitchens, the pantomimes, London itself, a pantomime and a masquerade, all these things work themselves into my mind and feed me without satiating me. The wonder of these sights impells me into night-walks about her crowded streets, and I often shed tears in the motley Strand from the fullness of joy at so much Life.[1]

The pattern of the passage itself attempts to capture the feeling of walking through London, with people, objects, sensations, and places passing by continually, without cessation. His passion for walking through this area is recounted in many of his letters. To Robert Lloyd he scoffs, 'Let them talk of Lakes and mountains and romantic dales...give me a ramble by night, in the winter nights in London...a walk in the bright Piazzas of Covent Garden. – I defy a man to be dull in such places – ...'[2] To Manning, based in Paris, he asks, 'Is any night-walk comparable to a Walk from St. Pauls to Charing Cross, for Lighting, Paving, Crowds going & coming without respite, the rattle of coaches, & the chearfulness of shops?'[3] Throughout Lamb's writings relating to London there is a sense of the figure of the Londoner being described and explained: the man who was born and bred in London, rather than having moved there or visited it occasionally or during the season.

We have seen, in the last chapter, how London's spectacular crowds and street scenes excited foreign and British visitors, while Lamb's descriptions of the joys of walking Fleet Street and the Strand suggest that even native Londoners were not immune to the excitement afforded by

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[1] Charles Lamb to William Wordsworth, [January 30, 1801], *The Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. Edwin M. Marrs, Jr. 3 vols. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976), I: 267.

[2] Lamb to Robert Lloyd, [February 7, 1801], *The Letters*,. I:270-1.

[3] Charles Lamb to Manning, Monday 15th February 1802, in *The Letters*, II: 127.

London. It is not surprising, then, that with the development of new forms of print production that could cut costs, printers and booksellers attempted to unite image and narration in their representations of London. Richard Phillips' *Modern London; Being the History and Present State of the British Metropolis* (1805), for example, included illustrations of London scenes, but the visual presentation of London was perhaps best captured in Rudolph Ackermann's enterprising *The Microcosm of London* (1808-11). The artistic collaboration between Rowlandson and Pugin, in the words of Ann Bermingham, approached London as a subject 'anthropologically rather than topographically,' with a 'focus on the social and cultural institutions of the metropolis.'[1] The reason for the collaboration between the two artists was, as Ackermann explained in his preface to the first volume, to make each plate more accurate and interesting, and to remove the 'glaring incongruities' between the representation of the people and the place that tends to occur when a work is undertaken by a single artist:

> The architectural part of the subjects that are contained in this work, will be delineated, with the utmost precision and care, by Mr. Pugin, whose uncommon accuracy and elegant taste have been displayed in his former productions. With respect to the figures, they are from the pencil of Mr. Rowlandson, with whose professional talents the public are already so well acquainted...[1]

In uniting the talents of Rowlandson and Pugin, Ackermann proposes to present London more accurately than has been done, by ensuring one skilled in architectural draftsmanship realistically represents the buildings and

[1] Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 135.

interiors chosen for the series, while one skilled in drawing people ensures that the scenes are inhabited by realistic crowds.

Like many of the printers and producers of large historical and topographical tours discussed in Chapter One, Ackermann offers his undertaking, 'organized alphabetically' so as to 'form a sort of dictionary' (I: ix) for his readers, be they Londoners, visitors, or those curious about the city:

> Among the numerous inhabitants of this great city, there are some whose particular pursuits have so much engrossed their time and thoughts, that they know little more of the scenery which surrounds them than barely the names. Such a work as this may reasonably be expected to rouse their dormant curiosity, and induce them to notice and contemplate objects so worthy of their attention. Those to whom these scenes are familiar, it will remind them of their various peculiarities, and this publication may possibly point out some which have hitherto escaped their observation. To such occasional visitors of the metropolis as wish to know what is most worthy of their attention and examination in this mighty capital of the British empire, it will afford information which cannot easily be estimated.[2]

The series invites its readers to view London anew, to see scenes with which they are unfamiliar, inviting the reader to examine and reflect on a variety of London scenes and entertainments, including charity schools, prisons, auction rooms, museums, government buildings, and gaming rooms. In other words, in rendering any London scene into an accurate representation of the place and the people in it, Ackermann has made any aspect of London life, from the Royal Academy to Billingsgate, Bartholomew Fair to the House of Commons, the Mint to watch-houses, worthy of observation and contemplation.

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[1] *The Microcosm of London: or London in Miniature*, 3 vols. (London: Methuen and Co., 1904), I: x.
[2] *The Microcosm*, I: ix.

In the introduction to the second volume of *The Microcosm*, Ackermann expresses his desire to 'communicate pleasure and information' and his hopes that the second volume will also be 'distinguished for the elegance of the plates with which it is embellished, the accuracy of the information it conveys, and the variety of entertainment as well as novelty it affords, so far as the subjects which his plan embraces will permit' (II: x). In the introduction to the third and final volume of *The Microcosm*, Ackermann likens the series to a guidebook, which will acquaint visitors to the various scenes in London with what to expect in each place, but also suggests that the images will present the places in a way entirely new:

> A new mode of displaying objects already known, has, in some degree, the merit of discovery; especially when they are not generally accessible. At all events, a precious acquaintance with them by means of the pencil and the pen, will at once direct the attention of the visiter [sic], to their beauties, their defects, and their utilities, and enable them to form an immediate, as well as accurate judgement of them all. He will possess the advantages of the traveller, who is prepared with the language of the country which he is about the visit.[1]

By the introduction to the final volume, the utility and importance of the narrative by William Combe and W. H. Pyne, drawn as many other histories, topographies, and tours were from other source material (though in this case, noted throughout), is overlooked, underscoring the extent to which the point of the series is the images. From the start, what has been perhaps the most unique aspect of Ackermann's presentation of London is the way in which the prints superceded the narrative as the focus and most exciting aspect of the publication. The narrative descriptions of places, rehashing Stowe, Pennant,

[1] *The Microcosm*, III: ix.

and other topographical historians, have none of the color, or the vigor, of the illustrations; the contrast between text and image serves to emphasize the extent to which London was a visual spectacle – to know London was to see it.

3. LIFE IN AND OUT OF LONDON

At the end of Chapter One, I discussed Pierce Egan's *Life in London* (1821) as a new form of ramble narrative symptomatic of changes in London and in forms of masculinity, finally presenting a 'new' version of the genre by means of narrators who immerse themselves in 'life in London,' indulging desire and appetite to their excess (even to the point of illness), with no wish or opportunity to reflect on the scenes they visited on their 'rambles and sprees through the metropolis.' I would like here to return again to Egan's narrative and its conclusion, *The Finish to the Adventures of Tom, Jerry, and Logic: in Their Pursuits through Life in and out of London*, first published in 1828. Egan's two narratives offer a distinct and fascinating turning point in the literature of London, and I want here to explore the ways in which *Life in London* brings to a conclusion the literary representations and cultural practices of walking, rambling, and promenading which I have been tracing in this dissertation, and to look forward, as *The Finish to...Life in and out of London* does, to the development of social realism in Victorian fiction. Egan's first volume of the adventures of Tom, Jerry, and Bob Logic epitomize the way that, as Deborah Epstein Nord has noted, in the literature of the 1820s 'the city was represented as a stage, as a panorama to be viewed and savored

from a distance.' Although not yet a narrative of social investigation which aims to reveal the conditions of London's poor, Egan's second volume certainly suggests some of the issues that would characterize presentations of London from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, when 'the metropolis became the central symbol of social crisis and the frequent object of investigation and acute concern.'[1]

In addition to presenting a 'new' ramble narrative, distinct from those discussed in Chapter One, the format of Egan's *Life in London* is also radically different from the framework of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* as discussed in Chapter Two. While Addison and Steele had designed their periodicals to center on the voices of authoritative narrators distanced from Addison and Steele themselves as authors, Egan places himself in the middle of his narrative, and presents himself as incapable of safely moving through London, and apologizes for 'losing his "Reader"' (217). Egan issues a letter to the subscribers in the text, explaining how one evening he got drunk with Bob Logic and some of his friends, and on his way home was caught in a brawl. Egan wakes the 'late the next day' to find 'my pocket-book was absent – without leave' (219-20). His concern over the loss of his pocket-book is not because of the 'blunt,' or cash, it contains but because in it he had recorded Jerry's introduction to various characters on his first appearance in Rotten Row. The pocket-book is soon after returned to him with the anecdote intact, and Egan ends his digression with an excuse for admitting his own inability to navigate London in a safe, sober, and coherent manner:

[1] Nord, pp. 12-3.

> I therefore trust, under all the circumstances of the case, a liberal allowance will be made, when it is recollected that such RAMBLES and SPREES first gave the author an idea of detailing some of the "*rich scenes*" which are only to be found in
>
> "LIFE IN LONDON." (222)

While Addison and Steele's narrators, and later authorial voices of periodical publications such as Mr. Town Critic, voice of *The Connoisseur*, announced in their very names and in their formats a desire to organize and order London life to render it palatable to a readership that deemed itself 'polite,' Egan places himself in the midst of Tom, Jerry, and Bob Logic's rambles and sprees, risking danger and disorientation with them, and indeed using that excitement as the inspiration for the narrative.

This shift in authorial presentation in the text is undoubtedly the result of the difference in aims and therefore of intended audience. While Addison and Steele had in mind the improvement of the middling sort in their periodical publications, Egan presented London's exciting and dangerous places to his readers, championing the idea of 'seeing life' in all its varieties. Nevertheless, as Gregory Dart has outlined, Egan's narrative would have been exciting to an early nineteenth-century audience in much the same way as Addison and Steele's narratives had been to an early eighteenth-century readership.[1] Just as readers of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* might have imagined that they were exactly the polite audience to which the papers address themselves, so too does *Life in London* situate itself in the 'experience of social indeterminacy' characterized by a presentation of 'class society as a

[1] Gregory Dart, '"Flash Style": Pierce Egan and Literary London 1820-28' *History Workshop Journal* 51 (Spring 2001), pp. 180-205.

repertoire of possibilities.'[1] This 'repertoire of possibilities' is perhaps most evident, Dart points out, in the 'intermittent coyness' surrounding the true status of Tom and Jerry, given that much of their movements throughout London, in high as well as low life, depend on a certain amount of disguise and carefully regulated behavior so as not to reveal themselves amongst their company.[2] The text is thus part of the ongoing democratization of fashion, presenting a 'graphically detailed but essentially uncomplicated version of London high life...suitable for lower-class imitation.'[3]

The frequent slippage of the main characters across a variety of social and geographic boundaries renders each of their appearances in high and low life a kind of performance, one in which the main characters revel. The concerns about the imitation and emulation of certain fashionable lifestyles, and the appearance of the middling sorts in fashionable places like the promenade are absent. In their place is an excitement for mixing with crowds made up of all strata of society. Before their visit to Hyde Park, 'the *Show-Shop* of the Metropolis,' Tom explains to Jerry that 'in this Park...the PRINCE may be seen dressed as plain as the most humble individual in the kingdom; the *Tradesman* more stylish in his apparel than his LORDSHIP; and the *Shopman* with as fine clothes on his person as a DUKE' while the various types of women in the Park reveal a same gap between appearance and circumstances (119). The distinction is made between 'the really "GREAT PEOPLE"' and 'the "*soi-disant* GREAT"' who ape the men and women of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

fashion (122); nevertheless, Tom points out, 'the air of independence which each person seems to breath renders the *tout ensemble* captivating' (119). Rather than complain about the crowds in Hyde Park and the men and women who imitate fashionable society, Egan renders these aspects of the promenade into one of its most exciting features. After explaining that the promenade features 'the numerous characters of both sexes, *ogling* each other, as they frequently come in rude (but fashionable) contact,' Egan explains in a footnote:

> To 'be *comfortable*,' indeed, is altogether an obsolete phrase now-a-days in the WALKS of FASHION. To be invited to a party where plenty of room is allowed to cut the victuals – *stretch* yourselves at your ease – and be attended upon in calling for any thing you might want, would be considered a dull routine sort of entertainment...for LIFE IN LONDON – it must be CROWDED WALKS, positively a well-dressed mob of persons, treading upon each others' heels...Then it is *the thing* – the GO – quite the TON! (122-23)

As part of their plan to 'see life,' the mixed crowds along the promenade allow for much entertainment, while their own confidence in their social positions allows them to enjoy the experience without concern.

Theatricality and performance – in the form of masquerades and disguise – serve as the predominate means for Tom, Jerry, and Bob to explore the highs and lows of life in London. Shopping might be argued to be another. Although there is very little mention in the text of shopping, Tom, Jerry, and Bob's activities and movements, and occasionally descriptions of interiors, often mirror shops and the act of shopping. Bob Logic, for example, in describing a particular high class brothel to Jerry, notes that the:

> '*Show Room*'...is particularly calculated, from its elegant embellishments, to co-operate the setting-off to great advantage the charms of its female visitors...Mother ***** is indefatigable in her selection, and keeping up her stock of beautiful females. (135)

The bawd spares little expense in fitting out the show room of her brothel in order to display her goods to best advantage and catch the eye of anyone interested in making a purchase. Being seen in London's most fashionable streets was part of Tom, Jerry, and Bob's day. They occasionally, 'in their morning's lounge, t[ake] a turn into *Bond-Street*' (170) which, by the end of the eighteenth century, had become one of London's premier shopping streets, and a point of congregation for the 'Bon Ton' who passed the time their viewing luxury goods and, perhaps more importantly, one another. On another occasion, the three men are described lounging in the West End as a means of killing some time, promenading up and down its fashionable streets, 'looking in' here and there when something catches their eyes, but perhaps most importantly, displaying themselves:

> LOGIC proposed a 'bit of a stroll,' in order to get rid of an hour or two, which was immediately accepted by TOM and JERRY. A *turn* or two in Bond-Street – a *stroll* through Piccadilly – a '*look in*' at Tattersall's – a *ramble* through Pall-Mall – and a *strut* on the *Corinthian-Path*, fully occupied the time of our heroes till the hour for dinner arrived...(265)

The Corinthian Path, a reference to prostitution, presumably refers to one of London's areas known for street-walkers, such as Hedge Lane, Covent Garden, or Oxford Street, where the men 'shop' for women..

Life in London's incorporation high and low life, and country and urban characters might be seen to epitomize the range of possibilities for life

in London, from lounging around the luxury shops along Bond Street and strutting along the new Regent Street developments to slumming it in gin houses and other low-life haunts, from masquerading as oneself (which Jerry does when appearing as a huntsman at his first masquerade ball) to using costume to mix undetected with the highest and lowest of London life. The obsession in the text to 'see life' without taking time to contemplate the scenes on display is reflected both in the pace in the narrative and the constant shift between high and low life in order to afford the reader the most striking contrasts. The inclusion of images helps to highlight the presentation of London as spectacle, as ultimately something to be seen. In contrast with many of the narratives discussed throughout this dissertation, Egan's narrative aims to present London by placing the main characters in the thick of the excitement, allowing them to delight in, rather than air concerns about, men and women dressed above and below their stations. But perhaps the most distinguishing feature of *Life in London* in contrast to the ramble and spy narratives is the importance of authorship, a concern which Egan raises in the introduction to *The Finish to the Adventures of Tom, Jerry, and Logic in Their Pursuits through Life in and out of London.*

4. THE FINISH

At the start to *Life in London*, Egan prints 'an invocation' expressing his hopes that his book will be warmly received by booksellers and critics. In his first footnote to the text, he waxes on the state of authorship in 1820:

> But to return to the phrase in question [Grub Street], an *original* AUTHOR might likewise be averred to be as nearly *obsolete*. That *intense* study formerly required to make up the *character* of an AUTHOR at the present period (1820) greatly relieved, as it should seem that LITERATURE has kept pace with the new buildings in the Metropolis; and new streets and new books have been produced, as it were, by magic. This rapid improvement made in the literary world is owing to those extensive manufacturers of new works, Messrs. SCISSORS and PASTE. These heroes of steam-engine velocity have not only produced *huge* quartos without the expense of a pennyworth of ink, but have also had the *knack* of procuring high prices too...(2)

While the kind of hack work that created new narratives out of repeated and recycled old texts had been for the most part unproblematic in the second half of the eighteenth century, Egan's position as a professional author complicated the various reproductions of his narrative. In his reference to '*huge* quartos' with 'high prices,' Egan refers to the production of texts like Ackermann's *Microcosm*; indeed, he suggests, London's new developments have changed the face of the metropolis so swiftly in recent years that the only way to keep pace with that change during the decade of Regency developments was to rehash earlier texts and add what might be new.

From an amusing reference to Messrs. Scissors and Paste, manufacturers of literary representations of the metropolis, in *Life in London*, Egan formulates an angry introduction to his second volume which aims to expose the literary and artistic hacks who have pirated the work that he and the Cruikshanks had put into the first volume.[1] He includes in an extended footnote the various literary, theatrical, and artistic forgeries that have profited from their success, complaining that he and the Cruickshanks have been

[1] Pierce Egan, *The Finish to the Adventures of Tom, Jerry, and Logic, in their Pursuits through Life in and out of London* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1887).

'*pirated*, COPIED, *traduced*; but not, unfortunately, ENRICHED' by their success (7). After detailing his failed attempts to produce his own stage adaptation of his book, Egan asks the '*Pilferers*' to 'give the *Paste* and *Scissors* a long holiday' (35). *The Finish*, it would seem, was Egan's attempt in light of his failure to secure a place for his own version of the material on the stage to profit from the success of his original narrative. To ensure success, a professional author has to be aware of the interests and concerns of his audience; taking into account complaints about the racy nature of the first volume, Egan's second volume reflects the changing moral attitude of the period. As way of introduction, Egan notes that an apology on behalf of the author and artist is necessary:

> To vindicate the character of the author and artists from the unmerited aspersion of having attempted, by the joint efforts of real tales, original anecdotes, and animated sketches, to demoralize the rising generation; and likewise to refute the charge of having turned the heads of older folks towards the commission of acts of folly and intemperance. (2)

While much of the excitement of *Life in London* is missing from the narrative, Egan's second volume can hardly be thought of as moralistic, and instead on occasions presents a scene or event that the reader might take as a warning.

The story picks up exactly where the first volume ends, with Jerry in a coach travelling back to Hawthorn-Hall to recover from the excesses of his town life. It is not long, however, before the trio is back in London and up to their usual adventures. A hint of moralism makes its way into the narrative on occasion. Following a spell in jail, Bob Logic's new London residence is no longer the fashionable Albany in Piccadilly, but a room in a house in the City. During a walk through the dockyards, Tom runs into an old acquaintance,

'Splendid Jem,' who having once been one of the gayest members of fashionable society is now sentenced to hard labour. Throughout, the reader is offered typical stories of the fates of prostitutes, tracing their shift from the position of fashionable courtesans to drunk and homeless streetwalkers. The most powerful of these narratives is the story of Corinthian Kate. While *Life in London* only hinted at Kate's position as Tom's kept mistress, her position in *The Finish* is absolutely clear. Slightly bored with her charms, Tom pays less attention to Kate (though still maintaining her financially) while she, unbeknownst to him, searches for attention elsewhere. Tom learns of her infidelity and cuts her loose, and she is passed from man to man, none of whom treat her with the kindness and respect that Tom had. She ends up in a series of brothels, with bawds who take all the money she earns, and eventually turns to drink for consolation. One evening, while walking through Covent Garden, Tom, Jerry, and Bob stumble across the drunken, bloated, and diseased Kate being dragged away by the watch. Despite Tom's attempts to help, Corinthian Kate disappears again, ends up on the streets, and, ultimately, commits suicide.

Kate's progress, 'headlong into destruction,' signals a shift in tone that only appears at the end of the book. After being taken advantage of by East End prostitutes on two occasions – one in which he finds himself fleeced of all his money and possessions in a cheap brothel, and another in which he finds himself in a brothel on fire – Jerry vows to 'give up LIFE IN LONDON; to retire from the Day and Night Scenes altogether' (283). The prostitute who brought him back to the brothel in the second episode, Ellen Prettyflower, also has a change of heart, and Jerry plans to help her recover a more respectable

life. Shortly thereafter, Bob Logic dies as a result of disease related to a lifetime of dissipation and debauchery. Tom returns to Hawthorn-Hall with Jerry, where he is given the news of Corinthian Kate's end. Tom dies of a broken neck from a fall from his horse, leaving only Jerry to recover a respectable life. He marries Mary Rosebud, and, with the exception of his sorrow over the loss of his two friends, becomes:

> ...a picture of concealment; determined to profit by his experience, and to turn to good account, for the benefit of himself and his family, the many hair-breadth escapes and dangerous adventures he had met with in his DAY and NIGHT SCENES in LIFE IN LONDON... (312)

His adventures and misadventures are experiences from which others may benefit, and the narrative ends with Jerry, '"all happiness,"...to promote LIFE IN THE COUNTRY' (312).

Admittedly remote in its aims from the social realism that would prevail in Victorian fiction, *The Finish* moves away from the uncomplicated presentation of London that characterized Egan's first volume. With its hints at the ways in which London could be an unforgiving and corrupting influence, in particular in its representations of the fate that befalls certain women, *The Finish* signals newer responses to a changing metropolis, especially when considered as the 'finish' to the exciting adventures of the first volume, which lacked any moral or emotional repercussions. The interest in the fate of the individual in the metropolis would become amplified in works by Charles Dickens, paving the way for a literature that documents the pedestrian accounts of social investigators like Henry Mayhew and Flora

Tristan, and aims to improve the lives of those that literature has traditionally overlooked or presented only as a form of entertainment.

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