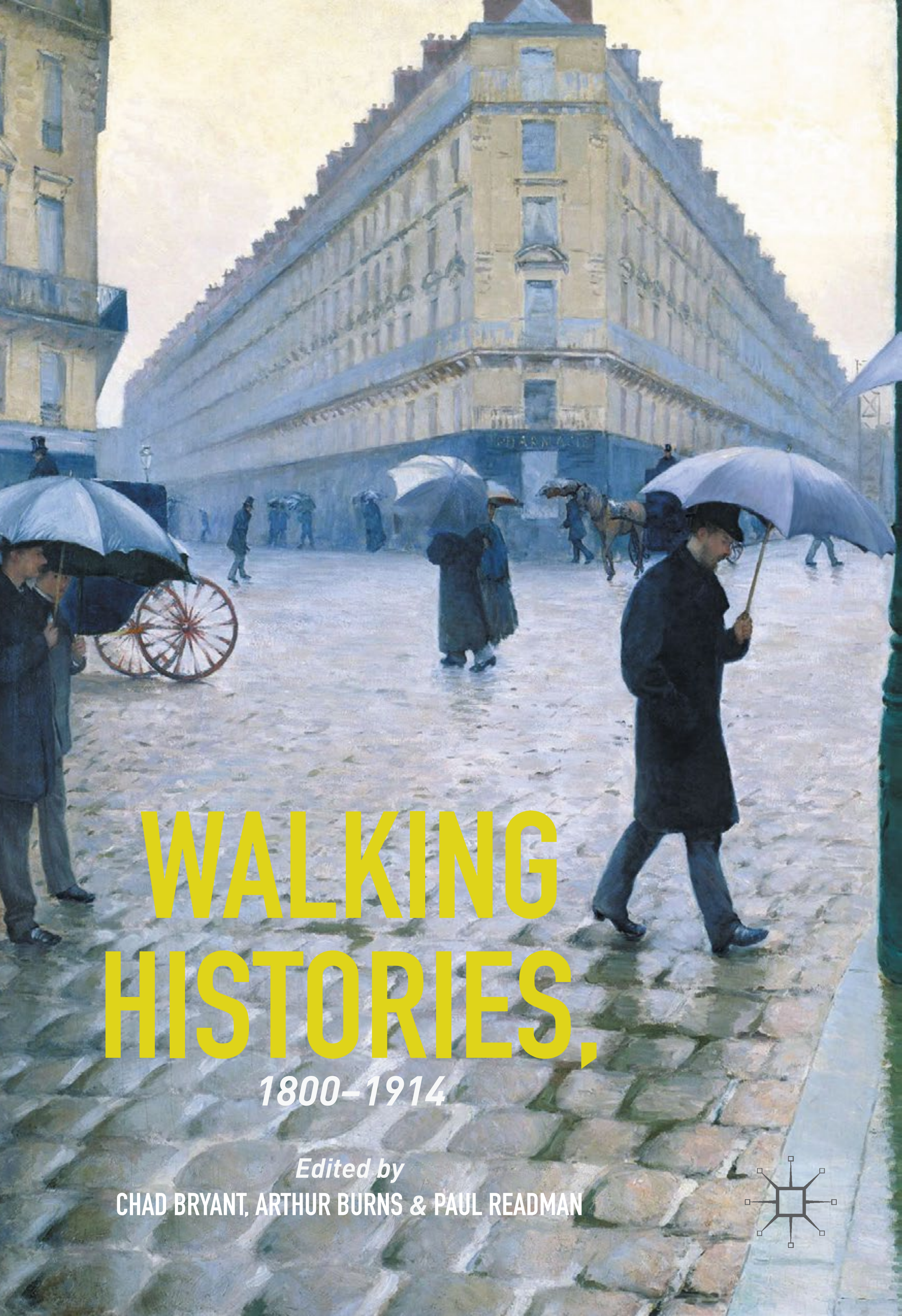

WALKING HISTORIES,

1800–1914

Edited by

CHAD BRYANT, ARTHUR BURNS & PAUL READMAN

Walking Histories, 1800–1914

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Walking Histories, 1800–1914

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It may sound too good to be true, but the idea for this book emerged while on a walk. Following a jumbled day full of teaching, emails, letters of recommendation, meetings and, finally, a public talk, we ambled onto Franklin Street, in Chapel Hill, toward a pub in nearby Carrboro. Our conversation turned to a number of ideas for future conferences—all unconvincing—before easing into our common love of walking, whether along the gentle mountain trails of North Carolina or across the ever-surprising cityscape of London. Somewhere between Crook's Corner and the Station Bar, our final destination, we struck upon the idea of holding a conference about the history of walking, remarking that the simple act of putting one foot in front of the other, while so central to human existence, has received scant attention from historians.

A year later, together with Cynthia Radding, we organized a conference entitled 'Modern Walks: Human Locomotion during the Long Nineteenth Century, 1800–1914', which took place at Chapel Hill in September 2013. The success of this conference owed much to the contributions of Arthur Burns, another avid walker, and it was at this point that the idea for the book began to take shape. Chad and Paul were determined that Arthur be brought in as a co-editor (Cynthia, owing to other commitments, was unable to participate further in the project). Given the subject of the volume, the email inviting Arthur on board arrived in his inbox at a fortuitous time. He was then in China, his own email in reply reporting that he had just enjoyed 'A FANTASTIC day's walking in the Wudang mountains' outpacing the locals 'in the best mad dogs and Englishmen manner', and so did not need much persuading.

From our original stroll to the final proofs, various forms of collaboration have defined this project, and it is our pleasure to thank everyone who contributed to this volume. Most broadly, we have benefitted from the King's–UNC strategic partnership, which began in 2005 and has grown to include student exchanges, joint PhD committees, student-led workshops, common research projects, conferences, joint publications, and other combined efforts among members of our respective intellectual communities. The UNC–King's Collaboration Fund and the King's College London Partnership Fund generously supported the conference, as did the History departments at King's and Chapel Hill. At UNC–Chapel Hill, the Institute for the Arts and Humanities, the Center for European Studies, and the Center for Slavic, Eurasian, and East European Studies also provided generous support. Kirsten Cooper and Allison Somogyi did a wonderful job in helping to organize the conference.

Colleagues on both sides of the Atlantic offered thoughtful, thought-provoking comments as the book came together. Brian Hurwitz generously offered his time to read and comment upon conference papers. Cynthia Radding, in addition to serving as panel discussant at the conference, provided valuable input as we began to draw up the idea for the book proposal. Karen Auerbach, Jim Bjork, Louise McReynolds, and Daniel J. Sherman provided insights that greatly improved the introduction. The anonymous reader provided thoughtful comments and suggestions at a crucial, early stage of writing the book. Jenny McCall, Clare Mence, Peter Cary and Angharad Bishop at Palgrave Macmillan have been extraordinarily supportive. Philip Schwartzberg artfully constructed the maps that can be found in two of the chapters, and Kirsten Cooper provided invaluable assistance with compiling the index.

Finally, we would like to thank the authors who contributed to this collected work. They eagerly took up our challenge to write about a subject that often took them into unknown territory, and they gracefully accepted our editorial interventions and deadline demands. It has been a genuine pleasure learning from these creative scholars, and we trust that you will feel the same.

Chapel Hill and London
January 2016 C.B., P.R.

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Elizabeth Coggin Womack is Assistant Professor of English at Penn State Brandywine. Her research interests include Victorian literature and culture with a particular focus on urban poverty and gendered violence in the writings of Charles Dickens, George Augustus Sala, Henry Mayhew, Robert Browning, and George Eliot. Her work has appeared in *Victorian Literature and Culture*, *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, and *Victorians.* Her current book project examines patterns of second-hand exchange in the Victorian novel as a counterpoint to existing literary scholarship on mass production and material culture.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Modern Walks

Chad Bryant, Arthur Burns and Paul Readman

Millamant: *'I nauseate walking, 'tis a country diversion. I loathe the country and everything that relates to it.'*
William Congreve, *The Way of the World* (1700), Act 4, scene 1

And now Joseph putting his head out of the coach, cried out, 'Never believe me if yonder be not our Parson Adams walking along without his horse!'
'On my word, and so he is', says Slipslop, 'and as sure as twopence he hath left him behind at the inn.'
Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews* (1742), book 2, chapter 7

I went to a house and asked the man standing at the door if I was on the right road for Oxford.
'Yes', he said, 'but you'll want a carriage to get you there.'
I answered him that I intended to go on foot, whereupon he gave me a look full of meaning, shook his head and went in the house …
Karl Phillipp Moritz, *Journeys of a German in England* (1783)

Bob. *Why, they're crack'd. What then, if you had money, you wouldn't walk?*
2d Ped. *Not altogether, Sir. We might perhaps afford what others might esteem accommodations, but which would be none to us.*
Bob. *I wouldn't give a penny to travel without horses and servants!*
James Plumptre, *The Lakers: A Comic Opera, in Three Acts* (1798)

I feel like a pioneer in the field, as so few have written about walking.
A. N. Cooper, *Quaint Talks about Long Walks* (1907)

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Throughout much of the eighteenth century, respectable English society thought little of walking for pleasure. Only 'footpads'—paupers, beggars, vagabonds, and the poor more generally—went by foot. Anyone who could afford to do so rode, whether by carriage or simply on horseback. From the later eighteenth century, however, this attitude began to change, especially after improvements to the road system and the decline of highway robbery. The new middle class brought into being by the urban–economic transformations of these years came to connect walking with recreational activity. Walking became a sporting spectacle. In late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Britain, and indeed in other countries at this time, athletic pedestrianism was enormously popular. Competitions were organized, challenges were made and a great deal of money was gambled; successful exponents of the sport became celebrities on the basis of their ability to cover vast distances with remarkable speed and energy. In 1815, for example, John Stokes of Bristol walked 1,000 miles in just 20 days at Saltford in Somerset.[1]

Yet this new association between walking and recreation was not confined to competitive pedestrianism: more important than this was the broadening and deepening of its relationship with more sedate pleasures. The aristocratic practice of strolling through parks and gardens while enjoying the landscape, the benefits of exercise and the sensual pleasures of (a carefully-managed) nature had long been an established feature of elite culture. Over the course of the eighteenth century members of the nobility began to allow middle-class elites access to their private gardens, many of which, such as Phoenix Park in Dublin, Retiro Park in Madrid, Lazienski Park in Warsaw, the Tiergarten in Berlin and Gorky Park in Moscow, became public parks later in the century. The first publicly funded parks, the Derby Arboretum in London and People's Park (now Chotek Gardens) in Prague, opened in 1839 and 1841 respectively. By the end of the century a Sunday stroll through the park had become a standard middle-class, urban leisure activity across the continent.[2] The emergence of the public museum followed a similar trajectory. What began as galleries owned by royalty and members of the nobility, at times visited by select middle-class elites, eventually became public institutions, the most noteworthy instance being the opening of the royal gallery within the Louvre to the public during the revolutionary year of 1793. Indeed, a new and particular walking practice that combined observation with ambulation extended to fairs, exhibitions and amusement parks, practice that often mixed leisure with pedagogy, science, order and socialization.[3]

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[1] Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Basingstoke, 1997), 1. See also Walter Thom, *Pedestrianism; or, An Account of the Performances of Celebrated Pedestrians during the Last and Present Century* (Aberdeen, 1813); Peter Swain, 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire', *Sport in History*, 32(3) (2012), 382–404; Matthew Algeo, *Pedestrianism: When Watching People Walk Was America's Favorite Sport* (Chicago, 2014).

While the new middle classes strolled for enjoyment in ways that echoed the practices inherited from their social betters, they also walked far beyond the garden and the museum, in more rural and even wilderness contexts.[4] In Britain their doing so was bound up with other preoccupations and activities. For some, walking was inseparable from a painterly or poetic appreciation of the sublime and the picturesque. Inspired by publications such as Thomas West's *Guide to the Lakes* and William Gilpin's enormously influential series of 'Observations on Picturesque Beauty', middle-class tourists of taste ventured forth to places that afforded visually rewarding viewpoints, or 'stations', from which the charms of the Lake District, the Wye Valley or Dovedale could be discovered and admired.[5]

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[2] P. D. Smith, *City: A Guidebook for the Urban Age* (London, Berlin, New York and Sydney, 2012), 280–9; Olga Bašeová, *Pražské zahrady* (Prague, 1991), 93.

[3] James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (New York, 2000); Daniel J. Sherman, *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge, MA, 1989); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York, 1995); Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London, 1995); Andrew McClellan, *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao* (Berkeley, 2008).

[4] Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York, 2000), 81–103.

[5] Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire* (London, 1778); William Gilpin, *Observations, on Several Parts of England, Particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772*, 2 vols. (London, 1786); William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, &c. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (London, 1782). West's and Gilpin's books were republished many times, doing much to establish the aesthetics of the picturesque: for a general discussion, see Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Aldershot, 1989).

For others, such as the indefatigable clergyman–scholar Richard Warner, who made a 469-mile 'pedestrian tour' of Wales in August 1797, walking was a counterpart to their scholarly investigation of antiquities.[6] Antiquarian preoccupations were often closely associated with an interest in the natural world, and this too involved pedestrian activity.

Indeed, by the beginning of the Victorian period, a veritable army of both amateur and professional naturalists was trudging across the British countryside admiring, collecting and cataloguing nature's bounty, many covering 30 or more miles a day, with some even going to such lengths as sleeping out on remote Scottish hillsides in order to search for specimens.[7] Informed by publications such as Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830–3), others embraced a new-found interest in geological formations, often exposed thanks to railway construction—and this too meant a great deal of walking (as a young geologist, John Stevens Henslow (1796–1861) was capable of walking 40 miles in a single day, carrying his hammer and specimens wherever he went).[8] And still more simply wandered less purposively, seeking repose and solace among moors, mountains, beaches, ruins and villages, and other places that breathed of an older, less urbanized way of life. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, on-foot appreciation of landscape and the natural world had become an established element of middle-class cultural experience—it had entered the mainstream.

The number of middle-class walking practices—each freighted with their own purposes and meanings—only multiplied as the nineteenth century unfolded in Britain, Europe and regions under Europe's influence. The emergence of workday schedules gave rise to leisure activities aimed at enhancing the time free of labour. Respectable members of society strolled through gardens and parks, just as the nobility had done, but this time in public gardens and public parks. The Royal Blackheath Golf Club, the first of its kind established outside Scotland, was evidently fully functional by 1766, if not some time before; by the end of the nineteenth century there were 49 golf clubs in London alone (89 by 1909).[9] Michel-Gabriel Paccard and Jacques Balmat managed to reach the Alps' highest peak, Mont Blanc, in 1786, which in turn spurred others to scramble up the mountains of that great chain, and indeed mountains throughout Europe.[10] The first modern guidebooks, published by John Murray and Karl Baedeker in the 1830s, took their middle-class readers on planned walks at prescribed sites, such as the 'very interesting excursion' to be had up a hill near Mürren, which was recommended in the ninth edition of Murray's handbook to Switzerland as quite manageable, having 'been frequently accomplished by ladies'.[11]

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[6] Richard Warner, *A Walk through Wales in August 1797* (Bath and London, 1798). See also Richard Warner, *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Bath and London, 1802). Warner's approach influenced other early nineteenth-century antiquarians such as John Britton, who with Edward Brayley conceived the enormously successful 'Beauties of Britain' series: see Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2004), 325–6.

[7] D. E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History* (2nd edn, Princeton, 1994 [London, 1976]), 67–70.

[8] Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, ed. James A. Secord (Harmondsworth, 1997); Michael Freeman, 'The Railway as Cultural Metaphor: "What Kind of Railway History?" Revisited', *Journal of Transport History*, 20(2) (1999), 160–7 at 161; Allen, *Naturalist in Britain*, 67. For the intellectual influence and public reception of Lyell's *Principles*, helping make geology an acceptable pursuit for the respectable, see James A. Secord, *Visions of Science: Books and Readers at the Dawn of the Victorian Age* (Oxford, 2014), 138–72.

The burgeoning city opened up even more possibilities for walking. Pavements raised above street level began to appear in Europe's metropolises from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[12] Improved street lighting allowed for relatively safe walks at night.[13] By the late nineteenth century the taboo on women walking the streets had been broken, as witnessed most prominently in the appearance of female shoppers on their way to newly built department stores.[14] More than ever before, city-dwellers walked the streets for pleasure—to socialize, seek out sex, and visually consume urban scenes and spectacles described in sensationalist, often lurid, tones by a new popular press. One newspaper, for example, estimated that 10,000 people visited the Paris mortuary in April 1895 to view two young girls who had drowned in the Seine, symptomatic of a larger practice of walking to view dead bodies on public display.[15]

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[9] Geoffrey Cousins, *Golf in Britain: A Social History from the Beginnings to the Present Day* (London, 1975), 53.

[10] Peter H. Hansen, *The Summits of Modern Man: Mountaineering after the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), 61–90.

[11] Jan Palmowski, 'Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian England', in Rudy Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford, 2002), 105–30, at 111. See also Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford, 2000), esp. 1, 23; Rudy Koshar, '"What Ought to Be Seen": Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33(3) (1998), 323–40; James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford, 1993), 18–79.

[12] Linda Clarke, *Building Capitalism: Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment* (London, 2002), 114–17. In London, paving commissions began to lay down quite precise requirements from the later eighteenth century on. The first contract issued by the Somers Town Paving Commission, for example, specified the types of stones required for both street and pavement (Purbeck stone in the streets, Yorkshire stone on the footway and curbs): ibid., 116–17.

[13] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1988); Brian Bowers, *Lengthening the Day: A History of Lighting Technology* (Oxford and New York, 1998).

Such public spectacles often brought together a diverse array of urban inhabitants. Commuting often did the same. Many city dwellers, whether out of necessity or choice, continued the long-standing practice of walking to work, despite the rise of the omnibus, tram and underground railway. As a young lawyer in London in the 1860s, James Bryce's daily routine involved a two-mile walk from his apartment in the West End, 'streaming down Oxford Street' to his Chambers at Lincoln's Inn, and—at the end of the day—the same walk in reverse back home again.[16] Throngs of moving crowds, denser during peak commuting times, became a defining aspect of the urban landscape, as well as of the urban experience. As evening descended, Edgar Allen Poe wrote from a London café in 1845, 'a tumultuous sea of human heads' filled the pavements as 'tides of human population rushed past the door'. Soon, however, his eyes 'descended to details, and regarded with minute interest the innumerable varieties of figure, dress, air, gait, visage, and expression of countenance' that revealed noblemen, merchants, attorneys, tradesmen, stock-jobbers, 'a tribe of clerks', pick-pockets, gamblers, and 'Jew-pedlers'.[17] 'Berlin was storming homeward from its work', one commentator noted in 1914. 'Solid masses crowded the pavements, a stream of trams and crowded motor-buses clamoured along the street. The *Stadtbahn*, or city railway, thundered across its arches overhead. The *Untergrund* [Underground] engulfed rivers of humanity in the side streets. Shop-girls, clerks, petty bureau-officials, tradespeople, typists—fresh eager faces, restless and nervous bodies.'[18]

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[14] Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992), esp. 15–80.

[15] Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley, 1998), esp. 45. See also Mark Steinberg, *Petersburg Fin de Siècle* (New Haven, 2011), esp. 47–83.

[16] Letter of James Bryce, 1864, cited in H. A. L. Fisher, *James Bryce*, 2 vols. (London, 1927), I, 63. For more on Bryce's walking avocations, see the chapter by Paul Readman in this volume.

[17] Edgar Allen Poe, *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* (London, 1912), 102.

[18] Herman Scheffauer, 'The City without Night: Berlin 'twixt Dusk and Dawn', *Pall Mall Magazine*, 53 (1913–14), 284.

Conversely, walking and practices of exclusion often went hand in hand. In times of political upheaval—1848, 1866, 1899 and 1918—rioters marched throughout Bohemia and Moravia destroying Jewish-owned taverns, restaurants and homes, exclusionary violence that, among other things, kept fearful Jewish residents off the streets. In London, 'male pests' harassed female shoppers throughout the West End, suggestive of a larger, male-dominated discomfort with the appearance of women in public spaces. Throughout Europe local police used ordinances prohibiting alcohol and unruly behaviour to exclude the working classes from public parks; often, however, subtle gazes and other social pressures sufficed to exclude the 'lesser classes'.[19]

Work itself could generate new forms of pedestrianism. For example, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the rise of evangelical religious cultures with a missionary imperative directed at the growing and unchurched communities produced by urbanization. New evangelistic strategies emerged, prioritizing social knowledge of and regular engagement with sometimes resistant communities in their domestic and work settings, rather than in a church building to which social pressures directed the target audience. This helped breed an army of zealous religious professionals—both clerical and in many instances lay missionaries (male as well as female)—who undertook demanding, well-organized and well-documented programmes of domestic and district visiting on foot in the urban streetscape. Their approach provided a model for later investigations of a more secular kind, such as that famously undertaken in the 1880s by Charles Booth and his team of investigators into the *Life and Labour of the People in London*.[20] Similar organizations, such as the Russian Orthodox Society for the Spread of Moral and Religious Enlightenment, deployed missionaries to streets across Europe. Charity workers, many of them women, walked Europe's city streets as well, asking for donations and visiting the sick and poor, often while dispensing moral advice.[21] The unsympathetic, however, might perceive the pedestrian missionary and charity worker as merely one aspect of a new surveillance society (with much of that surveillance also carried out on foot), as well as an affirmation of class difference.

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[19] Michal Frankl, 'From Boycott to Riot: The Moravian Anti-Jewish Violence of 1899 and Its Background', in Robert Nemes and Daniel Unowsky (eds), *Sites of European Antisemitism in the Age of Mass Politics, 1880–1918* (Hanover and London, 2014), 94–114; Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 15–80; Gabor Gyáni, *Identity and the Urban Experience: Fin-de-Siècle Budapest* (Boulder, 2004), 83–96.

[20] Donald M. Lewis, *Lighten Their Darkness: The Evangelical Mission to Working-Class London, 1828–1860* (London, 1985); Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 17 vols. (London, 1902–3).

[21] Louise McReynolds, 'Urban Russia at the *Fin-de-Siècle*', in Simon Dixon (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Russian History* (forthcoming); Andrew Lees and Lynn Hollen Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), 104–11, 170–9.

Others beside the middle classes, of course, engaged in walking practices new and old. Those connected with natural history provide a case in point. In Britain, artisan involvement in entomology, zoology and especially botany was very well developed by the mid-nineteenth century. The movement was particularly strong in and around major urban centres such as London and Manchester, where every weekend numerous groups of working men took themselves off into the fields of Lancashire or the woods of Epping Forest to pursue their studies on foot.[22] By 1871, there were eight working-class societies dedicated to the study of butterflies in Epping Forest alone; by 1883, the radical politician James Thorold Rodgers told parliament, there were at least 10,000 proletarian botanists active in London.[23] But the recreational walking of working men and women did not just occur as part of self-improvement activities such as botany or geology. As with the middle classes, a more widespread—if less scientific—pedestrian enjoyment of the rural and the 'natural' also established deep roots. The growth of this artisanal 'love of rural rambles' is clear not just from middle-class observation (as in Isabella Banks' fictional account of such walking in Manchester at the dawn of the nineteenth century in her *The Manchester Man*), but is also evident from the testimonies of working people themselves, for whom the pleasures of walking in the countryside offered something, at least, to offset the drudgery of work on the factory floor or down the mine. As Thomas Oliver (born 1830) recalled at the end of a long life, 'Often when taking my walks abroad with no other company than my little dog, I have been so much delighted with the beauties around me, had it not been that I should be afraid to be heard, I should jump aloud for joy.'[24]

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[22] Penelope Anne Secord, 'Artisan Naturalists: Science as Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century England' (PhD thesis, University of London, 2002); Anne Secord, 'Artisan Botany', in Nicholas Jardine, James A. Secord and Emma C. Spary (eds), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge, 1996), 378–93; James Cash, *Where There's a Will, There's a Way! Or, Science in the Cottage: An Account of the Labours of Naturalists in Humble Life* (London, 1873); Anne Secord, 'Science in the Pub: Artisan Botanists in Early Nineteenth-Century Lancashire', *History of Science*, 32(3) (1994), 269–315; Anne Secord, 'Elizabeth Gaskell and the Artisan Naturalists of Manchester', *Gaskell Society Journal*, 19 (2005), 34–51; John Percy, 'Scientists in Humble Life: The Artisan Naturalists of South Lancashire', *Manchester Region History Review*, 5(1) (1991), 3–10.

[23] B. A. K. McGaffey, 'Three Founders of the British Conservation Movement, 1865–1895: Sir Robert Hunter, Octavia Hill, and Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley' (PhD thesis, Texas Christian University, 1978), 7; Tom Stephenson, 'Footpath Stoppers and Early Ramblers', *Rucksack*, 9 (1977), 8; *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, 277, cols. 166–8 (12 March 1883).

Moreover, for the nineteenth-century working class, traditional practices of walking took on new meanings. Much to the consternation of liberal reformers, 'vagrants' and 'tramps' moved about both in city streets and rural lanes. 'Vagabonds' in the English countryside, as one Poor Law official wrote in 1848, 'often travel in parties of two or three, having frequently a young woman or two, as abandoned as themselves, in company; begging, or extorting money during the day; but making no provision for the night or the morrow.'[25] Throughout Europe and North America, journeymen labourers continued to walk across and between cities and towns in search of work.[26] And such migrant labour was also a feature of the rural world of the time. 'Box carriers' and 'travelling traders', despite their status as serfs, trudged across Russia to sell their wares at fairs and markets all over the empire.[27] In agricultural parts of Britain, such as the border counties of Scotland and England, annual 'hiring fairs' encouraged the custom of 'flitting' from farm to farm, and similar practices prevailed elsewhere in Europe.[28]

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[24] Isabella Banks [Mrs Linnaeus Banks], *The Manchester Man* (London, 1876), 77–80; T. Oliver, *Autobiography of a Cornish Miner* (Camborne, 1914). For other accounts attesting to mid-nineteenth-century artisanal enjoyment of walking in nature see, for example, N. Cooke [b. 1831], *Wild Warblings* (Kidderminster, 1876), 4; K. Wilson, *My Days are Swifter than a Weaver's Shuttle: Richard Ryley's* [b. 1821] *Diary, 1862* (Barnoldswick, 1980), 77, 87; Joseph Gutteridge [b. 1816], *Lights and Shadows in the Life of an Artisan* [1891] (Coventry, 1893), 6, 8–9, 18–21, 54–6.

[25] Charles James Ribton-Turner, *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy, or Beggars and Begging* (London, 1887), 262. See also Carsten Küther, *Menschen auf der Straße: Vagierende Unterschichten in Bayern, Franken und Schwaben in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1983). Decades later more sympathetic portrayals of the tramp's life would appear. See, for example, Josiah Flynt, *Tramping with Tramps: Studies and Sketches of Vagabond Life* (New York, 1899); W. H. Davies, *The Autobiography of a Super-Tramp* [1908] (Brooklyn, 2011); Stephen Graham, *A Tramp's Sketches* (London, 1912); Maxim Gorky, 'Chelkash' [1908], in *The Collected Short Stories of Maxim Gorky*, eds Avram Yarmolinsky and Moura Budberg (Secaucas, 1988), 1–43.

[26] See, for example, Klaus J. Bade, 'Altes Handwerk, Wanderzwang und gute Policey: Gesellenwanderung zwischen Zunftökonomie und Gewerbereform', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 69(1) (1982), 1–37; Eric H. Monkkonen (ed.), *Walking to Work: Tramps in America, 1790–1935* (Lincoln, NE, 1984). Later in the century, trade unions in Britain often funded journeys in search of work for members who, after presenting a travelling card, were offered a fellow union member's bed at their destination: Ribton-Turner, *Vagrants and Vagrancy*, 315.

[27] Boris G. Gorshkov, 'Serfs on the Move: Peasant Seasonal Migration in Pre-Reform Russia, 1800–1861', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 1(4) (2000), 627–56.

Another form of 'traditional' walk, religious pilgrimage, experienced a revival in the late nineteenth century even though, in rapidly industrializing Europe at any rate, many modern-day pilgrims no longer went on foot all the way to the holy sites.[29] Yet another, the coronation procession, continued, and took increasingly elaborate forms. Royal houses and monarchies organized jubilees and official visits that often included ceremonial walks in public.[30] But these were now joined by newer, unofficial, forms of pedestrian ceremonial. Walking came to provide a means of expressing political dissent, with parades and protests serving as agents of mass mobilization. As never before, walking took on political meaning. In the Middlesex election of April 1769, the radical politician John Wilkes —who had previously been expelled from parliament for sedition—was triumphantly returned at the head of the poll; following the result 'a great body of freeholders... preceded by a band of music, with colours flying, marched along Pall-Mall, and stopped fronting the Palace, where they gave three loud huzzas, and the music began to play'. Ten years later, in Paris, the news of Jacques Necker's dismissal provoked parades replete with busts of the deposed finance minister, setting in motion a course of events that led to the storming of the Bastille.[31]

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[28] Paul Readman, 'Living a British Borderland: Northumberland and the Scottish Borders in the Long Nineteenth Century', in Paul Readman, Cynthia Radding and Chad Bryant (eds), *Borderlands in World History, 1700–1914* (Basingstoke, 2014), 176–8.

[29] See, for example, Suzanne K. Kaufman, *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine* (Ithaca and London, 2005); Alison Frank, 'The Pleasant and the Useful: Pilgrimage and Tourism in Habsburg Mariazell', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 40 (2009), 157–82; Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 1984), 63–73; David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York, 1994), esp. 131–72; Saurabh Mishra, *Pilgrimage, Politics, and Pestilence: The Haj from the Indian Subcontinent, 1860–1920* (New Delhi, 2011). One notable British proponent of long-distance pedestrianism, the Reverend A. N. Cooper, observed in 1910 that 'Pilgrimages are now arranged for by Messrs. Cook, and are made in trains *de luxe*, or at any rate third-class carriages, the only actual walking done being the distance to the shrine of the saint from the nearest railway station': A. N. Cooper, *Walking as Education* (London, 1910), 12–13.

[30] See, for example, Daniel Unowsky, 'Reasserting Empire: Habsburg Imperial Celebrations after the Revolutions of 1848–1849', in Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield (eds), *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present* (West Lafayette, 2001), 13–45; James Shedel, 'Emperor, Church, and People: Religion and Dynastic Loyalty during the Golden Jubilee of Franz Joseph', *Catholic Historical Review*, 76 (1990), 71–92.

[31] George Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848* (London, 1981), 241, 243; *The Oxford Magazine* (London, 1769), II, 156.

These and other early examples were followed, in the early to middle decades of the nineteenth century, by a slew of protest movements which embraced the march as a means of collective mobilization. Reformers walked. The 60,000-strong crowd that assembled at St Peter's Field in Manchester on 16 August 1819 to call for an extension of the franchise, only to be charged by mounted troops, had marched there in organized groups, and these festive processions had been as much a part of the protest as the culminating demonstration in the city.[32] Later, in the 1830s and 1840s, Chartists used walking as a political weapon; and it is significant that an important—perhaps crucial—defeat for the movement came on Monday 10 April 1848, when Feargus O'Connor called off a planned march to parliament from Kennington Common, a climb-down that did much to encourage the government in its resolution to crush the forces of radicalism then much in evidence in Britain, as elsewhere in that great year of European revolutions. (As Queen Victoria's consort Prince Albert wrote on 11 April, 'We had our revolution yesterday, and it ended in smoke.'[33]) Torchlight processions wound through the streets of Prague in March 1848 following the announcement of Klemens von Metternich's fall from power and the ending of censorship in the Habsburg monarchy. In June, following the celebration of mass in front of the statue of St Václav, radical reformers marched to the nearby military headquarters. A clash ensued, and church bells called upon citizens to man the barricades; but six days later the forces of counter-reaction, as they would throughout the continent, prevailed.[34]

Walking, however, remained central to the emergence of mass mobilization and mass politics. By the end of the century, Socialist and Social Democratic parties across Europe encouraged their members to forego work on May Day and engage in public marches.[35] More than 20,000 people marched through the streets of Vienna on Women's Suffrage Day in 1911.[36] Throughout Eastern Europe in particular, patriotic organizations encouraged co-nationals to explore the countryside, march the streets, and take part in mass commemorations, all on foot.[37] In the summer of 1914 German protesters in Opava, a Moravian industrial town near the border with Galicia, cried 'down with the Czechs' as they pummelled a rival nationalist demonstration, as well as Habsburg gendarmes and local police, with stones. A reduction in real wages prompted walkouts in mines throughout the region. Public protests dissipated immediately after the Habsburg regime declared war on Serbia on 28 July, and soon young men across Europe would be parading through the towns and cities towards railway stations that would take them to the front lines.[38] On the morning of 23 February 1917, International Women's Day, female textile workers in St Petersburg marched from their factories chanting 'Bread!' Moving demonstrations spread throughout the city over the next few days, and on 26 February government forces fired on protesters gathered at Nevsky Prospect, a popular site for strolling since the eighteenth century, and elsewhere throughout the city. The tsarist government fell days later, and on 15 March Tsar Nicholas II abdicated the throne.[39]

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[32] Robert Poole, 'The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England', *Past & Present*, 192 (2006), 109–53. See also on such themes the work of Katrina Navickas: for example, 'Moors, Fields and Popular Protest in South Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1800–1848', *Northern History*, 46 (2009), esp. 93–111, and a variety of postings on her blog, 'History and Today', http://www.historytoday.navickas.blogspot.co.uk (accessed 30 July 2015), using digital mapping and GIS to explore protest marches and meetings.

[33] Prime Minister Lord John Russell concurred, writing on 12 April that 'The first result of the peaceful issue of Monday's proceedings has been to give increased confidence to all peaceable men and increased stability to our institutions': John Saville, *1848: The British State and the Chartist Movement* (Cambridge, 1987), 126.

[34] Stanley Z. Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848* (Chapel Hill, 1969), 65–6, 137–47.

[35] Dieter Fricke, *Kleine Geschichte des ersten Mai* (Frankfurt, 1980), 5–149.

Thus walking—and the myriad of walking practices that emerged over the decades—was absolutely central to the modern experience in nineteenth-century Europe. It was also during the long nineteenth century that walking found its muses, most notably among the English. Perhaps the best-known were the Romantics, who, as Solnit argues, took the sensibilities found in the garden and extended them into the larger world while crafting a 'Romantic taste for landscape, for wild places, for simplicity, for nature as an ideal, for walking in the landscape as the consummation of a relationship with such places and an expression of the desire for simplicity, purity, solitude'.[40] Or, as the most famous Romantic walker of his time, William Wordsworth, wrote:

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[36] Lees and Lees, *Cities*, 165.

[37] Nancy M. Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge, MA, 2007); Claire Nolte, 'Celebrating Slavic Prague: Festivals and the Urban Environment', *Bohemia: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder*, 52(1) (2012), 37–54; Patrice M. Dabrowski, *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland* (Bloomington, 2004).

[38] John Robertson, 'Calamitous Methods of Compulsion: Labor, War, and Revolution in a Habsburg Industrial District, 1906–1919' (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2014), 125–70.

[39] Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *The February Revolution: Petrograd, 1917* (Seattle and London, 1981).

> Therefore let the moon
> Shine on thee in thy solitary walk;
> And let the misty mountain-winds be free
> To blow against thee: and, in after years,
> When these wild ecstasies shall be matured
> Into a sober pleasure; when thy mind
> Shall be a mansion for lovely forms,
> Thy memory be as a dwelling-place
> For all sweet sounds and harmonies.[41]

As Jeffrey Robinson writes, Romantic writers and painters also challenged capitalism's premise that happiness is best obtained through commerce and the accumulation of wealth. Instead, they sought 'to relocate [happiness] in the will of the walker'. Furthermore, the Romantics were 'fundamentally sensitive to the encroachments of an insensitive industrial society upon the lives of individuals', and thus responded by positing 'an ahistorical self, a life (buried or at least masked by social rituals) that needs to be recovered'.[42] What often emerged was a beauteous state of contemplation provoked by the walk and engagement with nature, far from what Wordsworth called, in the same poem quoted above, the 'dreary intercourse of everyday life'. As Rousseau put it in his *Confessions* (1782): 'Never did I think so much, exist so vividly, and experience so much, never have I been so much myself—if I may use that expression—as in the journeys I have taken alone and on foot.'[43] 'Give me the clear blue sky over my head, and the green turf beneath my feet, a winding road behind me, and a three hours' march to dinner—and then to thinking!' William Hazlitt wrote in 1822, adding that only then 'I plunge into my past being, and revel there, as the sun-burnt Indian plunges headlong into the wave that wafts him to his native shore … and I begin to feel, think, and be myself again.'[44] 'Some of my townsmen … can remember and have described to me some walks which they took 10 years ago, in which they were so blessed as to lose themselves for a half an hour in the woods', observed Henry David Thoreau: 'No doubt they were elevated for a moment as by the reminiscence of a previous state of existence, when even they were foresters and outlaws.'[45]

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[40] Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 85.

[41] 'Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour. July 13, 1798', in William Wordsworth, *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. John Morley (London, 1888), 95.

[42] Jeffrey C. Robinson, *The Walk: Notes on a Romantic Image* [1989] (Normal, 2006), 6.

[43] Quoted in ibid., 70.

As the century progressed, what Robinson calls the 'Romantic Walk' retained these qualities while offering an escape from the increasing speed, rationalization and alienation of modern life. One spectacular exponent of walking as an antidote to some of the ills of modernity was the Reverend A. N. Cooper, the 'walking parson'. An Anglican priest based in Filey, a small town in North Yorkshire, Cooper acquired his moniker on account of his extravagantly long-distance solitary tramps, which formed the basis for numerous books and essays.[46] By 1907, his major feats of pedestrianism included walks from Hamburg to Budapest, Dieppe to Monte Carlo, and Bordeaux to Barcelona.[47] He promoted such excursions as an aid to bodily and mental health, and also as educational experiences—as a means of 'learning without books'. Such learning, of course, was enabled by the slow speed of travel on foot, and the opportunities it afforded for careful and deliberate observation—opportunities that were of course denied the railway traveller who 'must content himself with such a glimpse as he can get from the carriage window, for he must hasten on'. But perhaps most importantly, it also offered a sense of freedom and personal independence that was increasingly difficult to obtain, and with it a means of rejecting the idea that life was 'so short that rushing and jarring has become indispensable of existence'.[48] At the beginning of his book-length account of his walk from Filey to Rome in 1886, Cooper described how he had tested his pedestrian mettle with a preliminary walk of 200 miles to London, ending his first chapter with a heartfelt reimagining of how the experience had caused the scales to fall from his eyes:

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[44] William Hazlitt, 'On Going on a Journey', in Hazlitt, *Metropolitan Writings*, ed. Gregory Dart (Manchester, 2005), 29, 87.

[45] Henry David Thoreau, 'Walking', in Edwin Valentine Mitchell (ed.), *The Pleasures of Walking* (New York, 1979), 131.

[46] See A. N. Cooper, *A Walk to Rome: Being a Five Weeks' Tramp from Yorkshire to Rome* (London, 1887); A. N. Cooper, *The Tramps of 'The Walking Parson'* (London, 1902); A. N. Cooper, *With Knapsack and Note-book* (London, 1906); A. N. Cooper, *A Tramp's Schooling* (London, 1909); A. N. Cooper, *Tales of My Tramps* (London, 1913).

[47] A. N. Cooper, *Quaint Talks about Long Walks* (London, 1907), vii.

[48] Cooper, *Walking as Education*, 9 ff; Cooper, *Walk to Rome*, 10–11, 11–12.

> If I could walk one week, why not six? If I could walk to London, why not to Paris, to the Alps, to Jerusalem … I would show with money and a pair of strong boots you can get to Rome. Good-bye, all ye vampires of modern travel. Good-bye, insistent cab-men, and tip-loving porters. Good-bye, misdirected luggage and dusty railway carriages … Good-bye, trains—punctual and unpunctual, I am your slave no longer. I am free. I am FREE.[49]

Cooper's words illustrate how, by the later nineteenth century, a large swathe of opinion had come to see what Anne D. Wallace has described as 'the natural, primitive quality of the physical act of walking' as a means of restoring 'human life before mechanization'.[50] Adventurous pedestrian excursions offered the possibility of seeing something new, as opposed to the mind-numbing routine of everyday life.[51] 'Free from all bothers of railway time-tables and extraneous machinery', Leslie Stephen wrote in 1901 of a walking tour he had taken in Germany, 'you trust to your legs, stop when you please, diverge into any track that takes your fancy, and drop in upon some quaint variety of human life at every inn where you put up for the night. … You have no dignity to support, and the dress-coat of conventional life has dropped into oblivion.'[52] Contemplation remained an essential component. 'You may remember how Burns, numbering past pleasures, dwells upon the hours when he has been "happy thinking"', Robert Louis Stevenson wrote in 1876 of his own walking tour.

> It is a phrase that may well perplex a poor modern, girt about on every side by clocks and chimes … For we are all so busy, and have so many far-off projects to realise, and castles in the fire to turn into solid habitable mansions on a gravel soil, that we can find no time for pleasure trips into the Land of Thought and among the Hills of Vanity.[53]

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[49] Cooper, *Walk to Rome*, 16–17.

[50] Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1993), 13.

[51] Wolfgang Albrecht, 'Kultur und Physiologie des Wanderns: Einleitende Vorüberlegungen eines Germanisten zur interdisziplinären Erforschung der deutschsprachigen Wanderliteratur', in Wolfgang Albrecht and Hans-Joachim Kertscher (eds), *Wanderzwang – Wanderlust. Formen der Raum- und Sozialerfahrung zwischen Aufklärung und Frühindustrialisierung* (Tübingen, 1999), 3.

[52] Leslie Stephen, 'In Praise of Walking', in Stephen, *Studies of a Biographer* (London, 1902), III, 259.

[53] Robert Louis Stephenson, 'Walking Tours', in Stephenson, *Virginibus Puerisque and other Papers* (London, 1912), 258–9.

George Macaulay Trevelyan in an essay published in 1913 confessed that ‘it is only at the end of a long and solitary day’s walk that I have had strange casual moments of mere sight and feeling more vivid and less forgotten than the human events of life’.[54]

Throughout, the ‘Romantic Walk’ promised an escape from the modern world, a repose in which lingering in the past replaced daily schedules, simple pleasures replaced mind-numbing routines. These dichotomies have proven remarkably enduring, particularly in England and the United States, thanks in part to the walking clubs, preservationist organizations and national parks that first emerged in the nineteenth century. One need think not only of literature but of the promises of escape and repose found throughout popular culture as the press of capitalism and technology appeared all the more overwhelming.[55] The tourist industry became increasingly attuned to the needs of the walker with a desire to get away from it all. Specialized equipment, from hiking boots to waterproof tents, were manufactured for a growing mass market; walking hostels and hotels were established in out-of-the-way places; and cheap maps and handbooks proliferated. Tourist publications such as E. S. Taylor’s phenomenally popular ‘Field Path Rambles’ series of guides gave detailed descriptions of walks designed to enable the walker ‘to get off and away from the beaten track … to find out the wood glens, the ancient villages’, and other ‘lovely “nooks and corners”’ of the countryside.[56]

As advocated by Taylor and others, walking offered liberation from the quotidian—a means of making oneself ‘acquainted with old world spots, with the simple delights of country life, with natural scenes and objects, with old world manners and customs, and with the storied records of the past’.[57] But of course such liberation, for the modern city-dweller, could only ever be temporary. As Frédéric Gros tells us, the weekend hike is ‘a blessing in parentheses, freedom in an escape lasting a couple of days or less. Nothing has really changed when you return. All the old inertias are back at once: speed, neglect of self, of others, excitement, and fatigue ... A blink of liberation, and straight back to the grindstone.'[58] If this seems a pessimistic statement, it is one in line with those offered by the two overarching histories of walking that inspired this volume: Joseph Amato's *On Foot: A History of Walking* and Rebecca Solnit's *Wanderlust*. Both these works end on a downbeat note, seemingly fearful that technology and capitalism have undone a golden age of walking as well as the many benefits first celebrated by the Romantics.[59] The final chapter of Amato's book is entitled 'The Eclipse of the Walker by the American Motorist', while Solnit ends her own history of walking with an agitated stroll through Las Vegas, an experience that prompts her to comment on the encroaching, noisy privatization of public spaces at the beginning of the twenty-first century.[60] In *Wanderlust* and also in her more recent writing, Solnit has done much to add strength to a growing chorus of scholars and cultural commentators praising slowness: similar to her nineteenth-century predecessors, she sees walking as an antidote to the speed and the ruthless (capitalist) efficiency of our time.[61]

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[54] George Macaulay Trevelyan, ‘Walking’, in Trevelyan, *Clio, a Muse, and other Essays Literary and Pedestrian* (London, 1913), 66.

[55] For late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century perceptions of increasingly rapid change, see Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880–1918*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA, 2003).

[56] E. S. Taylor (pseudonym Walker Miles), *Field-path Rambles* (Eastbourne Series) (London, 1904), 2. See also, for example, E. S. Taylor, *Field-path Rambles* (Canterbury and Kent Coast Series) (London, 1904); E. S. Taylor, *Field-path Rambles amongst the Surrey Hills: A Practical Handbook for Pedestrians* (London, 1895). For an admiring contemporary assessment of Taylor’s guidebooks, see A. H. Sidgwick, *Walking Essays* (London, 1912), 43–62.

[57] W. H. Burnett, *Holiday Rambles by Road and Field Path* (Blackburn, 1889), 7.

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[58] Frédéric Gros, *A Philosophy of Walking*, trans. John Howe (London and New York, 2014), 4–5.

[59] In this, both authors appear to be following in a tradition of urban historians who criticized the modernist planning and suburbanization of the 1950s as antithetical to healthy, vibrant communities. Jane Jacobs, for example, pointed to the central importance of pavements and public parks in supporting the human interaction, diversity, and vibrancy necessary for any healthy city: Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of the Great American Cities* (New York, 1961). Suburbanization and the decline of walking are also prominent features in Kenneth T. Jackson's much praised *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford, 1985).

[60] Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 10–11.

[61] As Solnit writes, the 'multiplication of technologies in the name of efficiency is actually eradicating free time by making it possible to maximize the time and place for production and minimize the unstructured travel time in between… Too, the rhetoric of efficiency around these technologies suggests that what cannot be quantified cannot be valued—that the vast array of pleasures which fall into the category of doing nothing in particular, of woolgathering, cloud-gazing, wandering, window-shopping, are nothing but voids to be filled by something more definite, more productive, or faster paced.': ibid., 10. See also, for example, Fritz Reheis, *Die Kreativität der Langsamkeit. Neuer Wohlstand durch Entschleunigung* (Darmstadt, 1996); Will Self, 'Walking is Political', *Guardian*, 30 March 2012; Jarret Kobek, *Walking is a Radical Act: An Interview with Iain Sinclair* (Solar Luxuriance 21, n.p., 2013), esp. 16–20, 35: 'The last freedom left is the walker. You can't do much with a walk. You can't get money out of pedestrians. There is no political currency in watching walkers. Walking is the last radical act. A way of putting yourself into places where people don't want you to be; walking is not "pedestrian permeability", is not about going obediently along the enclosed path between station and super-mall. You are going to take off in some impulsive direction, I think walking is a vital aspect of keeping the city alive.'

The 'Romantic Walk' and its variants, then, enjoy a dominant position within the literature on walking as it exists today. Impressive as this literature is, however, it does have its limitations. In particular, its focus has primarily been on Great Britain and also, to an extent, the United States, thus leaving largely underexplored the ways in which Romanticism and walking might have intermingled in other contexts.[62] Yet, intermingle they did. 'Our travels were pleasant; and I felt the advantages of travelling by foot', Slovak romantic Miloslav Hurban reflected as he wandered the Moravian countryside on his way to Prague. 'The humming of the mountains distracted us from the enticements of nature's beauty and the delights of Slavic visions, until we took comfort along a valley leading to the sad Svitava river.'[63] Fellow pan-Slavs throughout the region ambled across Eastern Europe before 1848, engaging in ethnographic work and aesthetic celebrations of the countryside and its people that, as Wendy Bracewell writes, often implied a peculiarly Romantic criticism of the 'modern, bourgeois, secular, and industrialized civilization' emerging in the West.[64]

Inspired by the works of Johann Gottfried Herder, early nationalists across Central and Eastern Europe walked village and countryside in search of music, words, and stories that could be formed into a coherent national lexicon.[65] Karel Hynek Mácha, later renowned as the greatest Czech romantic poet of his age, not only traipsed across much of Bohemia in search of inspirational landscapes and historical ruins, but walked almost the entire distance to Venice and back. The archivist Karel Jaromír Erben spent his free time walking the countryside collecting folk songs, music, fairy tales, and poetry that he later published for an emerging, middle-class Czech audience. Echoing Herder's sense that the national soul rested in the countryside and its simple inhabitants, Erben laid the foundations for an array of myths and legends that became central to the Czech national tradition.[66] Perhaps the most influential romantic walker in the German lands was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, whose poetry and prose, as Wolfgang Kaschuba argues, imagined nature to be an 'object as well as a medium of human knowledge' and self-discovery, suggestive of an aesthetic education embraced by a rising middle class that distinguished it from both labourers and privileged nobles.[67] Later in the century, hiking groups and other nature enthusiasts throughout Germany promised *Lebensreform* ('life reform') for a society overwhelmed and corrupted by the modern world. *Wandervögel* associations drew on intellectual traditions of the Romantic era to lead young people on hikes that constituted an effort to escape the rational, stilted, bourgeois society that their parents had created.[68]

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[62] See, for example, the thought-provoking essays in Albrecht and Kertscher (eds), *Wanderzwang*.

[63] Miloslav Josef Hurban, *Cesta Slováka ku bratrům slavenským na Moravě a v Čechách* [1841] (Žilina-Košice, 1929), 65.

[64] Wendy Bracewell, 'Travels through the Slav World', in Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (eds), *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe* (Budapest, 2008), 172.

[65] Holm Sundhaussen, *Der Einfluss der Herderschen Ideen auf die Nationsbildung bei den Völkern der Habsburger Monarchie* (Munich, 1973); Lonnie Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends* (New York, 2011), 124–35.

Perhaps more importantly, while scholarly works on walking successfully unravel the modern origins of the 'Romantic Walk', they do little to point to other practices of walking that emerged in the long nineteenth century. (Even Solnit and Amato, who do touch on other practices in the modern era, embed the values of the 'Romantic Walk' into the structures of their works.) Moreover, we know more about emergence of the trope of the 'Romantic Walk' than its execution and actual practice. How many people actually took to the woods and hillsides each weekend on the types of walks described by Hazlitt, Stephen and Trevelyan? To what extent could and did women participate in these activities?[69] In this respect the

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[66] Albert Pražak, *Karel Hynek Mácha* (Prague, 1936); Jiří Padevět, *Cesty s Karlem Hynkem Máchou* (Prague, 2010); Milada Součková, *The Czech Romantics* (The Hague, 1958).

[67] Wolfgang Kaschuba, 'Die Fußreise – Von Arbeitswanderung zur bürgerlichen Bildungsbewegung', in Hermann Bausinger, Klaus Beyrer and Gottfried Korff (eds), *Reisekultur. Von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus* (Munich, 1991), 165–73. See also Astrida Orle Tantillo, *The Will to Create: Goethe's Philosophy of Nature* (Pittsburgh, 2002); Nicholas Boyle, *Goethe: The Poet and the Age* (Oxford, 1991).

[68] John A. Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany: Hiking, Nudism, and Conservation, 1900–1940* (Stanford, 2007).

[69] In this regard, we know most about Dorothy Wordsworth, William's sister. See Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Grasmere and Alfoxden Journals*, ed. and introd. Pamela Woof (Oxford, 2002); Lucy Newlyn, *William and Dorothy Wordsworth: 'All in each Other'* (Oxford, 2013). See also Heidi Ritter, 'Über Gehen, Spazieren und Wandern von Frauen in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Albrecht and Kertscher (eds), *Wanderzwang*, 91–104; Annegret Pelz, 'Reisen Frauen anders? Von Entdeckerinnen und reisenden Frauenzummern', in Bausinger, Beyrer and Korff (eds), *Reisekultur*, 174–8. Later in the century, the first female mountaineers began to make their mark: for their activities see, for example, Ronald Clark, *The Victorian Mountaineers* (London, 1953), ch. 8; Cicely Williams, *Women on the Rope: The Feminine Share in Mountain Adventure* (London, 1973); D. Mazel (ed.), *Mountaineering Women: Stories by Early Climbers* (College Station, 1994).

'Romantic' walker shares much in common with the flâneur, even if the latter is commonly understood as a figure who embraces the urban and the modern. Both existed primarily within the literary imagination. Their purpose, once put to paper, was less to describe process and material reality than to express a truth about the nineteenth-century condition. Both, perhaps mistakenly, have become outsized bundles of thoughts that unduly colour our understanding of nineteenth-century experience.[70]

At the same time, the 'Romantic Walk' is often understood as a practice that, in ways similar to those imagined by the Romantics, steps out of the flow of events.[71] As we have seen, the 'Romantic Walk', as expressed by nineteenth-century writers and their interpreters, also suggests that putting one foot in front of the other was fundamentally outside or opposed to capitalism, technology and the welter of processes that transformed nineteenth-century Europe. This simply was not true. Wordsworth's encounters with vagrants while strolling the countryside, for example, revealed an intimate knowledge—and engagement—with contemporary debates about crime, criminality and the lower classes.[72] Moreover, as Jonathan Bate has shown, the several editions of Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* (1810–59) did not offer a narrowly aesthetic, 'pictorialist' appreciation of the Lakeland landscape in an inventory of picturesque views, as in earlier accounts; neither did he present this landscape as a valuable last vestige of a time now sadly passed. Instead he provided a holistic account appreciative of both the beauty of landscape and of the value of contemporary human society—not least his 'perfect republic of Shepherds'—in harmonious interrelationship with nature.[73] This perspective proved influential. The *Guide* inspired a whole swathe of guidebooks that popularized the poet's associations with the Lakes—the term 'Wordsworthshire' was coined—and these texts followed Wordsworth in his insistence that walking excursions were the best means of appreciating the unique attractions of the area as a living, cultural landscape.[74] In doing so, the guidebooks helped promote an emerging and thoroughly modern environmentalist sensibility that inspired the activities of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century preservationists such as H. D. Rawnsley, whose defence of the Lakeland landscape was combined with a vigorous championing of pedestrian rights of access—as in the case of the Latrigg footpath dispute of 1887.[75] This was a position predicated on the idea that on-foot access to landscapes like the Lake District was of vital importance to the well-being of ordinary people, most of whom now lived in towns and cities. As such it formed one of the building blocks of the modern idea of public amenity as pioneered by the Commons Preservation Society and the National Trust (and, in the American context, the National Parks movement).[76]

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[70] As Margaret A. Rose convincingly writes, Walter Benjamin's interpretations of Charles Baudelaire's flâneur ignore the satire, humour and parody found in earlier nineteenth-century writings on this urban character. Benjamin also projected late nineteenth-century scholarship about alienation on to the flâneur while making the 'largely fictionalized figure of the flâneur' into 'an actual historical type': Margaret A. Rose, 'Flâneurs & Idlers: A "Panoramic" Overview', in Rose (ed.), *Flâneurs & Idlers* (Bielefeld, 2007), 1–74, at 20. Similarly, as Esther Leslie recently wrote, 'The flâneur is a figure of rumor, perhaps larger in fiction that in life, more often described and defined than glimpsed walking on city streets': Esther Leslie, 'Flâneurs in Paris and Berlin', in Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure*, 61. Yet, as Gregory Shaya has pointed out, 'The last twenty years have seen a flood of scholarship centered on the *flâneur*. Drawing on Benjamin, historians, urban sociologists, and literary critics have used the *flâneur* to explain the tumult of metropolitan life, to trace the class tensions and gender divisions of the nineteenth-century city, to represent alienation and the detached relationship between individuals characteristic of modernity. The *flâneur* has served as "the emblematic figure of modernity" and as the symbol of the *postmodern* spectatorial gaze. The *flâneur*, it should be clear, does a lot of explanatory work.' Gregory Shaya, 'The Flâneur, the Badaud, and the Making of a Mass Public in France, circa 1860–1910', *American Historical Review*, 109(1) (2004), 41–77, at 47.

[71] Jacques Barzun, for one, believed that Romanticism was 'far from being an escape from reality on the part of feeble spirits who could not stand it. The truth is that these spirits wanted to change the portions of reality that they did not like, and at least record their ideals when the particular piece of reality would not yield—both these being indestructible steps toward reconstruction' following the decimation of the older world by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution: Jacques Barzun, *Classic, Romantic, and Modern* (Chicago, 1975), 15.

[72] Quentin Bailey, *Wordsworth's Vagrants: Police, Prisons, and Poetry in the 1790s* (Farnham, 2011). See also Celeste Langan, *Romantic Vagrancy: Wordsworth and the Simulation of Freedom* (Cambridge, 1995).

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[73] William Wordsworth, *A Description of the Scenery of the Lakes in the North of England*, 3rd edn (London, 1822), 63–4; Jonathan Bate, *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition* (London, 1991), esp. 41–52.

[74] See, for example, *Black's Picturesque Guide to the English Lakes* (London, 1841 [many later editions]); *Jenkinson's Practical Guide to the English Lake District* (1st edn, London, 1872; 8th edn, 1885); *Jenkinson's Eighteenpenny Guide to the English Lake District* (London, 1873); Henry I. Jenkinson, *Tourists' Guide to the English Lake District* (1st edn, London, 1879; 7th edn, 1892); M. J. B. Baddeley, *The Thorough Guide to the English Lake District* (London, 1880); M. J. B. Baddeley, *Black's Shilling Guide to the English Lakes*, 21st edn (London, 1897); W. G. Collingwood, *The Lake Counties* (London, 1902). 'Wordsworthshire' was a term seemingly introduced by the American scholar James Russell Lowell in 1876. It spread quickly thereafter on both sides of the Atlantic, appearing widely from the 1880s on, including, for example, in the 1887 edition of Baedeker's *Great Britain*: Saeko Yoshikawa, *William Wordsworth and the Invention of Tourism, 1820–1900* (Farnham, 2014), 95; see also Melanie Hall, 'American Tourists in Wordsworthshire: From "National Property" to "National Park"', in John K. Walton and Jason Wood (eds), *The Making of a Cultural Landscape: The English Lake District as Tourist Destination 1750–2010* (Farnham, 2013), 87–109.

[75] For this dispute, see *English Lakes Visitor and Keswick Gazette*, 8 October 1887. For the importance of public access to the early preservationist movement in general, see Paul Readman, 'Preserving the English Landscape, *c*.1870–1914', *Cultural and Social History*, 5(2) (2008), 197–218, esp. 208–14; Paul Readman, 'Octavia Hill and the English Landscape', in Elizabeth Baigent and Ben Cowell (eds), *'Nobler Imaginings and Mightier Struggles': Octavia Hill, Social Activism and the Remaking of British Society* (forthcoming, London, 2016).

Contrary to what might be gleaned from much of the literature, the 'Romantic Walk' and its cultural appurtenances went with the grain of modernity in other ways too. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century exponents of walking in nature certainly valued the sense of (temporary) escape such excursions afforded from the pace of life in crowded urban environments. Yet, although Leslie Stephen celebrated his liberation from railways and timetables, without the train and related tourist infrastructure his walking tour in Germany (and the thoughts that it provoked) would in all probability have been impossible. In this way, contemplative walking was enabled by technology. Indeed, one might suggest that the 'Romantic Walk', by the late nineteenth century, had become just another commodified experience sold by an emergent tourist industry.[77] Railways and travel agencies enthusiastically promoted it, urging the harassed city-worker to make a swift getaway to areas of 'unspoilt' nature around which to ramble. In Australia, to take one example, the expanding rail network was an important vector of the growing fashion for recreational 'bushwalking'; not only did it make trips to the wilderness more practicable, the companies involved also did much to popularize the activity through advertising and special excursion fares.[78] It was a similar story elsewhere. Thus, as with the wider phenomenon of tourism, Romantic walkers in all probability embodied the contradictory impulses to escape society and the everyday while affirming many of the same cultural values and cultures of consumption inherent to modern, bourgeois existence.[79]

This might suggest that nineteenth-century walkers expressed an essentially conservative modernity. Yet it is worth noting that in England especially, walking was closely associated with a radical politics. Indeed, as John Walton has shown, recreational walking was often bound up with a more-or-less explicitly expressed protest against the enclosure of commons and a land system which served to concentrate real property in progressively fewer hands (by the 1880s it was clear that about three-quarters of the land area of Britain belonged to approximately 5,000 people).[80] From the time of John Clare's eloquent mid-1820s condemnation of 'each little tyrant with his little sign',[81] an increasingly urbanized population found it increasingly difficult to gain access to the countryside without recourse to trespass. What Clare had called the 'paths to freedom and to childhood dear' were being closed off: 'Enclosure came and trampled on the grave/ Of labour's rights and left the poor a slave'.[82] For some, particularly intellectuals of higher social status, trespass offered the frisson of individual transgression; for others—like Clare—to roam over another man's land came at the cost of fear and guilt: to be caught could spell ruin. For others still, trespass offered an opportunity to strike a blow at injustice, to send a message to squires and industrialists that the land belonged to the people. This form of pedestrian activism, which could involve organized demonstrations, was increasingly common from the 1880s on, especially in the hinterlands of northern industrial towns.[83] As Walton shows, it owed little to elite direction, being expressive of an independently formulated and deep-seated working-class engagement with the countryside and nature. Ultimately, it would reach its highpoint with the 1932 Mass Trespass at Kinder Scout in the English Peak District, but its roots lay in the nineteenth century.[84]

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[76] Readman, 'English Landscape'; Readman, 'Octavia Hill'. For the early history of the American National Parks movement, see Alfred Runte, *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* (Lincoln, NE, 1990); Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 4th edn (Lanham, 2010).

[77] On the tourist industry's commodification of experience, see John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd edn (London, 2002).

[78] Melissa Harper, *The Ways of the Bushwalker: On Foot in Australia* (Sydney, 2007), 22–57, esp. 31–3.

[79] Koshar, *German Travel Cultures.*

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[80] John K. Walton, 'The Northern Rambler: Recreational Walking and the Popular Politics of Industrial England, from Peterloo to the 1930s', *Labour History Review*, 78(3) (2013), 243–68; David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, rev. edn (London, 1992); David Spring, 'Introduction', in John Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, 5th edn (Leicester, 1971).

[81] In his poem 'The Mores', judged by Jonathan Bate to be 'one of the great poems of the nineteenth century': Jonathan Bate, *John Clare: A Biography* (London, 2003), 315–17. See also John Goodridge and Kelsey Thornton, 'John Clare: The Trespasser', in Hugh Haughton, Adam Phillips and Geoffrey Summerfield (eds), *John Clare in Context* (Cambridge, 1994), 87–129.

[82] Bate, *Clare*, 316–17.

[83] One example was the Winter Hill access dispute near Bolton in 1896, where the numbers of protestors may have exceeded 10,000 on one occasion alone: P. Salveson, *Will Yo' Come O' Sunday Mornin'?: The 1896 Battle for Winter Hill* (Bolton, 1996), esp. 13–14, 21, 26.

[84] Walton, 'Northern Rambler'; Benny Rothman, *The 1932 Kinder Trespass* (London, 1982).

Most people, of course, did not go so far as this: for all the overlooked significance of radical pedestrianism, deliberate trespass was a minority pursuit throughout the period. But a more general sense of a popular stake in the land—a kind of moral co-ownership—was quite widespread, and informed a milder sort of activism. Throughout Europe and North America, this fed into the developing preservationist and conservationist movement, from the establishment of the Yellowstone National Park in 1872 to the *Naturschutz* associations of Wilhelmine Germany.[85] In England, it was perhaps most apparent in the campaign for the protection of rights of way. Footpaths and bridleways, in rural areas in particular, were seen as living embodiments of the people's stake in the landscape, and their immemorial rights of on-foot access to it. And so it was that many walking clubs in Britain were actually formed with the purpose of protecting these rights of way, their members combining enjoyment of the countryside with a vigorous defence of access rights to it. Indeed, as the work of Harvey Taylor suggests, the footpath preservation societies set up in northern England in the 1820s were in a sense the *fons et origo* of the modern-day organized outdoor movement—a movement that would later find nationwide institutional expression in the Co-operative Holidays, Ramblers and Youth Hostels Associations.[86] One also wonders if later in the century, as groups across the political spectrum imagined a pre-enclosure, rural past as part of their respective English nationalisms, sauntering across the countryside became a way of expressing various forms of Englishness, from the subversively radical to the staunchly conservative.[87]

One purpose of this volume, then, is to challenge the predominance of the 'Romantic Walk' and the explanatory power attributed to it in much of the current literature. Our authors explore a wide variety of walking practices while questioning the very idea that walking represented an escape from the modern condition. In doing so, we have attempted to break free of the dichotomies described above: slow/rapid; country/city; modern/primitive; individual/mass; past/future; contemplation/rationalization and mindless routine. Indeed, as the chapters that follow demonstrate, walking was intimately bound up with the rapid, confusing and transformative changes typically associated with urban life, the transport revolution and the rise of bourgeois cultures in the nineteenth century. At times, walking practices consciously pushed back against the immense changes wrought throughout society in the nineteenth century, leading in turn, to further changes and transformations. At other times, walking explicitly advanced aims that were unambiguous in their self-consciously 'modern' self-description. Yet, whatever its form, or the form of its surrounding discourses, walking remained a central aspect of the modern condition, despite literary attempts to see it as an escape. Indeed, even the idea of walking as an escape was itself predicated on there being something to escape from, and conceived in this way, walking could not exist without urban modernity; it was both a product and a component part of this modernity.

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[85] Alfred Runte, *National Parks*; Thomas M. Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885–1945* (Cambridge, MA, 2004); Astrid Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789–1914* (Cambridge, 2013).

[86] Harvey Taylor, 'Footpath Preservation Societies in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Textile Lancashire', *Manchester Region History Review*, 9 (1995), 25–31; see also Harvey Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside: A History of the British Outdoor Movement* (Edinburgh, 1997), esp. 19–53.

[87] On the land question and English nationalism, see Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity, and the Politics of Land, 1880–1914* (Woodbridge, 2008). One must be wary, however, of attributing the popularity of walking more generally to this one particular cultural dynamic, as Simon Thompson argues in his ongoing research into interwar walking culture in Britain.

As will be apparent from our discussion thus far, much of the writing on walking has focused on the British experience. This is perhaps a function of the contemporary cultural valency of walking—or rambling—in that country: witness the success of recent books on the subject, such as Robert Macfarlane's acclaimed bestseller *The Old Ways*.[88] Yet, as Macfarlane's own intensely personal reflections make evident, it is also a function of the continuing strength of the 'Romantic Walk' in the British context, which was after all (thanks to Wordsworth) the context in which it achieved the fullest historical expression. With this in mind, the chapters in this volume not only address the history of walking in Great Britain from a variety of contrasting perspectives and in a range of different settings, moving beyond the hitherto dominant Romantic paradigm, but extend the canvas to encompass other parts of the globe.

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[88] Robert Macfarlane, *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot* (London, 2012). See also, for example, Robert Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind: A History of a Fascination* (London, 2003); Robert Macfarlane, *The Wild Places* (London, 2007); Iain Sinclair, *London Orbital: A Walk around the M25* (London, 2002); Sinclair McKay, *Ramble On: The Story of Our Love for Walking Britain* (Leicester, 2013); Hugh Thomson, *The Green Road into the Trees: A Walk through England* (London, 2012); Simon Armitage, *Walking Home: Travels with a Troubadour on the Pennine Way* (London, 2012); Simon Armitage, *Walking Away: Further Travels with a Troubadour on the South West Coast Path* (London, 2015); Chris Yates, *Nightwalk: A Journey to the Heart of Nature* (London, 2014); Clare Balding, *Walking Home: My Family and other Rambles* (London, 2014).

Through wide-ranging examinations of various walking practices, we seek to explore the historical significance of walking in Eastern Europe and Russia, where the forces of modernity came later (and then with greater intensity) than in Great Britain, as well as in non-European lands—Australia and the Indian subcontinent—where British cultures of walking left an imprint on territory undergoing its own peculiar transformations in the modern world. We hope in this way not only to challenge the premises of much literature on walking in Great Britain, but also to provoke discussions of walking in history among scholars of these other territories as well. We make no pretence to offer a comprehensive or unitary history of walking in the nineteenth century, even assuming that such an account would be the best way to make sense of our theme—hence our title of *Walking Histories*. What we do claim as uniting the diverse contributions to the volume is that in very different ways they all explore what happens when we put walking—as a practice endowed with various meanings—at the centre of our analysis, and what this analysis, in turn, might suggest about important themes in the wider history of the nineteenth century. Our goal is to demonstrate that walking was not only inherently bound up with the emergence of the modern world, but that a focus on a particular practice—as well as its attendant meanings and ability to forge relationships—can be a fruitful approach to understanding complex themes.

We have arranged the chapters that follow in four parts, each of which seeks to provide a creative perspective on a theme related to modern processes and the long nineteenth century's encounter with modernity. We begin with three themes familiar to scholars of the nineteenth century—boundaries, labour and the emergence of new social identities—and ask how a close examination of related walking practices might shed new light on these subjects.

Part I looks at walking and boundaries. Much recent scholarship has correctly maintained that an emergent set of nineteenth-century authorities constructed and reconstructed innumerable boundaries using maps, language and visual regimes.[89] Less attention has been paid, however, to the central role that walking played in challenging these processes—

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[89] See for this Readman, Radding and Bryant (eds), *Borderlands*.

processes that the authors in this section seek to elucidate. As Robert Gray demonstrates in his chapter on early nineteenth-century Hungary, peasants remembered and encoded village boundaries by walking and 'beating the bounds'. These traditional methods, which asserted local autonomy and took into account shifting uses of the land, continued to challenge the surveyor and modern attempts to rationalize village boundaries well into the nineteenth century.[90] In early nineteenth-century Prague, Chad Bryant writes, the city's rising elites created and claimed parks, paths and vistas for themselves through the practice of promenading, thus contributing to what Lyn Lofland has called the 'spatial ordering' of the city.[91] These same elites also challenged traditional boundaries—and traditional, early modern notions of the city—by strolling atop and beyond the city's walls, thus imagining a liberal city open to the world and in harmony with nature. On the other side of the world, late nineteenth-century urban youth in Melbourne, Simon Sleight demonstrates, not only challenged the spatial ordering of public parks, but also roamed the city on foot, thus transgressing a number of urban boundaries. Their range changed over time, revealing much about the city's developing topography and accepted behaviour patterns, including where and how far youth could walk.

Part II interrogates the relationship between walking and labour. Whether in regard to the urban commuter or the itinerant peddler, this is an important relationship: indeed, many occupations were and remain simply impossible without the worker putting one foot in front of the other. But for all its logical ineluctability, the labour–walking nexus is not one that has attracted the scholarly attention it deserves. This is doubtless on account of the dominance of the 'Romantic Walk' paradigm, which has privileged literary and intellectual reflection—sometimes at least forms of work, to be sure—over other more prosaic types of walking-enabled labour. The chapters in this section offer a corrective to this. Elizabeth Coggin Womack shows how Henry Mayhew's seminal *London Labour*

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[90] Beating the bounds was also a feature of English parish life in this period: see, for example, Frances Billinge, 'Beating the Bounds of the Borough of Bovey Tracey', *Devon Historian*, 82 (2013), 69–79. For some suggestive reflections on the place of beating in defining parish boundaries in a slightly earlier period, see W. R. Ward (ed.), 'Introduction' in *Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Hampshire: Replies to Bishops' Visitations* (Winchester, 1995), xiii–xiv.

[91] Lyn H. Lofland, 'The Modern City: Spatial Ordering', in H. M. Prochansky, W. H. Ittelson and L. G. Rivlin (eds), *Environmental Psychology: People and their Physical Settings* (New York, 1976).

and the London Poor (first published in 1851), like many later nineteenth-century social surveys, depended upon observations gained while on foot—observations filled with sympathy for the immense distances covered by labourers who had to walk to work, as part of their employment, and indeed to live. These same observations, however, also led Mayhew to elaborate a revealing distinction between productive (and admirable) and unproductive (and thus deplorable) practices of walking among the city's poor. In the rather different context of the English country estate, Julie Hipperson writes, the walking of land agents, valuers and overseers played a crucial role in ensuring the efficiency of agricultural production in the modern age. Both the close surveillance of labour, as well as technical agricultural calculations, she argues, were best done on foot.

The emergence of new social identities, each born of a conscious association with a group or community, is the subject of Part III. Scholars have long recognized the connections between walking and assertions of identity. Yet much of the work on this subject has focused on the experiences of well-known literary figures: Wordsworth, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Rousseau, Thoreau and their ilk. Moreover, this work has generally had relatively little to say about the actual *mechanics* of walking, and varieties of walking practice. Strolling in a contemplative Wordsworthian manner was only one means by which walking could help shape identities. Others included more or less strenuous sporting activities such as mountain walking and climbing, or golf; as well as those walking practices associated with religious identities. In the mid-nineteenth century, Arthur Burns argues, few of those seeking recreation in the hills drew sharp distinctions between walking and climbing, both of which combined physical activity with the exploration of landscapes and botany. The Matterhorn tragedy of 1865, which left four men dead, forced the English Alpine Club, however, to draw greater distinctions between mere 'walking' and 'climbing', the latter of which required prudence, expertise and teamwork in order to avoid the dangers now acknowledged as inherent to the activity. Once the pursuit was defined, it opened up a new potential identity to a social constituency who lacked the wherewithal to meet the time and incidental costs associated with the best of mountain pedestrianism as understood by an earlier generation. As they worked through this process, mountaineers struggled to maintain and define a sense of community created by the practice and rhetoric of their activity.

Golf as a peculiar type of walking experience is the subject of Clare Griffiths' chapter. Golfers experienced their surroundings differently than those who enjoyed picturesque views of nature on foot. They followed paths set out by the course and their shots, and they socialized in ways peculiar to the golf course, thus constituting a unique, shared experience that has yet to be properly explored. Barry L. Stiefel's chapter shows how both the transportation and construction revolutions of the nineteenth century forced Jewish leaders in the US and Europe to confront a series of questions with implications for the place of walking within the Jewish economy of travel. Could practising Jews ride trams, underground trains, bicycles, lifts and cars on the Sabbath, a day when aided travel had been traditionally prohibited? The debates, he reveals, not only helped articulate an emerging rift between Reform and Orthodox Judaism, but also transformed the ways in which the Jewish versions of spaces were imagined and traversed.

Part IV returns to the Romantic Walk's emphasis on contemplation, this time asking how walking could embody a determination to actively engage with—and shape—the modern world. As Iqbal Sevea writes, a new concern with walking, and its relationship to the senses, self-control and spirituality, emerged in late nineteenth-century India amid the transportation revolution. Walking, he argues, became a way of attaining 'happiness, purity and wisdom' that drew upon discourses emanating from both India and the West. In her close reading of Andrei Bely's *Petersburg* (1905), Angeliki Sioli shows how the city's built environment triggered thoughts and decisions among the novel's pedestrians. Unlike Benjamin's flâneur or Engels' monad,[92] Bely's characters demonstrate that walking the city streets had become a crucial aspect of human consciousness. James Bryce (1838–1922), as Paul Readman demonstrates, considered walking in 'unspoiled' landscapes crucial to the physical and mental health of urbanites. It was while walking that Bryce developed his passion for preservation and environmentalism while, perhaps most importantly, honing many of the ideas that informed his work as a leading British politician, diplomat, jurist, political scientist and historian.

We hope that readers will find both food for thought and inspiration for further investigations in the course of their engagement with this volume. If nothing else, they will, we believe, recognize that the subject it addresses is one worth pursuing further, and in which there are vast tracts of unexplored territory, even within those contexts in which the history of walking has already attracted attention, such as the British Isles. One obvious line of inquiry would be to follow the contributors here in considering the intersection between walking and other striking cultural phenomena of the period. How did walking practices respond to developments in cartography, for example? And how did the simultaneously increasing significance of both exploration on foot in the colonial context and the transport revolution in the metropole (with the death of the 'walking city' as defined by Sam Bass Warner[93]) change walkers' self-understanding, not least in terms of what scale of walk could be said to constitute a physical or psychological challenge, and the cultural meanings attached to the practice?

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[92] See F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, ed. D. McLellan (Oxford 2009), 29.

A different version of this book might have contained a section concerned with the theme of 'class', or some less loaded term for social stratification or constituencies. It is readily traceable in a number of the contributions here, such as those by Womack, Burns, Sleight, Hipperson and Bryant. Accounts of the 'Romantic Walk' often stress the middle-class constituency that was its prime exponent, but it should already be apparent that this emphasis may be overdone. More generally the chapters here suggest that the social history of the full range of walking practices is a complex one which deserves further careful exploration. It is clear that developments in the nineteenth century could have contradictory ramifications for the understanding of walking. For example, concurrently as the availability of new but sometimes expensive means of transport emphasized the time costs of the practice in ways that reinforced pre-existing perceptions of walking as a poor man's or woman's option, the sense of some leisure-walking practices as a luxury which only the wealthy and privileged could afford was also emphasized by the same developments—a point that emerges in Burns' account of debates in the mountaineering community in the late nineteenth century.

A number of the chapters also point to two approaches in which future investigations could find new purchase on the subject of modern walking. One is the spatial turn in historiography, which is reflected for example in Robert Gray's and Simon Sleight's contributions.[94] The possibilities offered by new digital mapping technologies for the recreation of the routing of modern walks and linking this to images of the land- or townscape through which the walker proceeded for either work or pleasure provide new opportunities for recovering some of the richness of walking experiences, including the quotidian walks which can leave a frustratingly thin archival trace beyond a knowledge of their start and endpoints. This is an approach where there is much fascinating work in progress (for example that of Katrina Navickas on protest marches, or the *Mapping the Lakes* project based on nineteenth-century literary sources at Lancaster University[95]) which provides a model for future emulation; and there is no reason why the history of walking might not expand the range of pedestrian activity to be considered in this way through the same kind of crowd-sourced data gathering as is now helping us assess both commonplace and archivally ephemeral reading practices beyond those of the cultural elite.[96] Any approach emphasizing spatiality must nonetheless be sensitive to the cultural specificities which could render the physical context of walks in very different ways for different walkers, a point which emerges clearly in the essays by Gray, Sleight and Griffiths, among others.

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[93] Sam Bass Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston (1870–1900)* (Cambridge, MA, 1978).

[94] See, for example, Charles W. J. Withers, 'Place and the "Spatial Turn" in Geography and History', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 70(4) (2009), 637–58; Ralph Kingston, 'Mind over Matter? History and the Spatial Turn', *Cultural and Social History*, 7(1) (2010), 111–21.

Another more venerable historiographical juncture, the linguistic turn, may also still have something to offer. The rich variety of walking practices enacted in the nineteenth century was captured in an equally rich vocabulary. Quite how the discursive domain associated with pedestrianism developed over the nineteenth century would surely repay further investigation. In the English context, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, for example, ‘pedestrian’ is first recorded as meaning a walker in 1791, although its pejorative use as a description for dull or prosaic writing had been available since 1716; ‘hiking’ was an early nineteenth-century dialectical coinage (though ‘rambling’ was of Middle English derivation, while the use of ‘street-walker’ to designate a prostitute can be traced back to the 1590s). One might envisage that as prosperity and transport opened up new opportunities for leisure walking in particular, the vocabulary associated with it diversified in order to demarcate ever finer discriminations between forms of pedestrianism (of the kind Burns discusses with reference to the boundary between hill walking and mountain climbing in his chapter). There would surely be scope here for instructive cross-cultural comparisons of how these boundaries were established and policed in linguistic terms, and the cultural variations that they might embody (Stiefel's chapter, for example, shows how the interpretation within Judaism of what constituted 'work' might have implications for what could in other cultures have been perceived as purely recreational versions of the walk, in terms of what could be carried by the walker). And here, as with the spatial turn, new digital technologies open up the possibility of mapping linguistic fields in a much more comprehensive manner than has hitherto been possible.[97]

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[95] For Navickas’ work, see footnote 32 above. For *Mapping the Lakes*, see www.lancaster.ac.uk/mappingthelakes (accessed 3 August 2015); Christopher Donaldson, Ian Gregory and Patricia Murrieta-Flores, ‘Mapping “Wordsworthshire”: A GIS Study of Literary Tourism in Victorian Lakeland’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 20(3) (2015), 287–307.

[96] See *UK RED: The Reading Experience Database, 1450–1945*, at www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK (accessed 3 August 2015).

Readers will have no doubt their own responses to the contributions in this volume—responses that doubtless will take them in quite different directions. We certainly hope so, for if they do, then *Walking Histories* will have achieved one of its main purposes.

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[97] See Joanna Guldi, 'The History of Walking and the Digital Turn: Stride and Lounge in London, 1808–1851', *Journal of Modern History*, 84(1) (2012), 116–44, for both a model of how this kind of investigation might be pursued, and a careful consideration of some potential pitfalls.

PART I

Walking, Space, and Boundaries

CHAPTER 2

Walking the Boundaries between Modernity and Tradition: Perambulation and 'Beating the Bounds' in Nineteenth-Century Hungary

Robert W. Gray

On 22 August 1820 a small crowd gathered a few miles outside the village of Szirma, in Borsod county in north-eastern Hungary. They had been brought to this spot by a petition, filed with the local county administration a few months earlier by the inhabitants of the village. The agreement that detailed the terms of the peasants' land use, their rents and their other obligations to their lords, most recently recorded in 1807, was coming to an end. Prior to negotiating any new agreement, the peasants wished to confirm how far their rights to the land extended across the landscape around the village. In particular, the petition referred to two areas of 'untended plots and commonly-used lands' that bordered the village's fields where rights and access were uncertain.[1]

To the north and east of Szirma lay a portion of land known as the Jenke *puszta*.[2] The peasants had been using this land as pasture to supple-

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[1] Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén Megyei Levéltár (Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén County Archives, Miskolc, Hungary, hereafter BAZCA), IV.501/e, Borsodi vármegye nemési közgyűlési iratai, közgyűlési és törvényiszéki iratok, 1820 évi 494 sz.

[2] A *puszta*, which literally translates as 'devastated, deserted or abandoned', was an area of open, uncultivated land often used as pasture or meadow. Such land was once the site of a village but had since been abandoned, most commonly during the frequent wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Hungary was fought over by the Habsburg and

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ment their regular holdings. For this right the Szirma peasants paid a token sum of a few forints per head per year to their lord, Gróf János Támas Szirmay. In addition, the peasants were responsible for tending the manorial livestock that was also pastured on the land. Peasants from neighbouring villages also claimed rights of access to the *puszta*, however, since they too had been using part of the land as meadow and pasture. To the west of the village, where the Szirma fields met those of the neighbouring village of Csaba, lay an area of wetlands and marsh known as the 'Csabai Flats'. For a long time unsuitable for permanent cultivation, this land had been used as water meadow by peasants from both villages but, around the turn of the nineteenth century, the land had gradually been drained and put to more regular use. The inhabitants of both villages claimed the area as forming part of their respective village lands: their *határs.*[3] A map produced from an earlier survey appeared to demarcate the land as being used by the Csaba peasants, and thus belonging to the estate of the Barczay family. Since the map was contradicted both by the subsequent agreement between the Szirma peasants and Szirmay and, more significantly, failed to reflect existing and past use of the land, the peasants had appealed for a new survey of their lands to be taken. Thus, on this August day in 1820, the county sheriff, a county judge and their notary led a procession across the fields that included representatives of the Szirmay and Barczay estates, members from both village councils, the village priests, an assortment of lesser nobles from three other local villages and what were described by the notary as 'numerous other local inhabitants who might help us better resolve this matter'.[4]

Ottoman empires. Rather than being permanently resettled, these *pusztas* were utilized by peasants from neighbouring villages. Additionally, the 'Puszta' refers to the flat, steppe-like landscape of the Great Hungarian Plain, which itself had been largely abandoned as a consequence of the struggle between Habsburgs and Ottomans.

[3] The *határ* refers to lands attached to a particular village, formed from the individual peasant plots whether these were held and farmed as distinct, separate units or collectively in open fields, together with any communal buildings such as a church, inn, mill or school. The *határ* formed the basic unit of rural administration, governed by a village council which oversaw the farming of the land and ensured all taxes and dues owed by the villages were paid. As will become apparent, however, exactly where one *határ* ended and another began, or what was and was not to be included within the borders of a *határ*, was far from certain.

[4] BAZCA, IV.501/e, Borsodi vármegye nemési közgyűlési iratai, közgyűlési és törvényiszéki iratok, 1820 évi 504 sz.

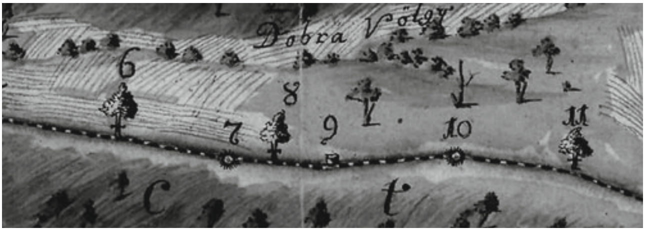


Fig. 2.1 Examples of boundary markers (*határjelek*) from eighteenth-century Hungary. Nails in trees (6, 8 and 11), tree stumps (9) and boundary stones (7 and 10) [Magyar Országos Leveltár (Hungarian National Archives), S.11 No. 0696:2, Mappa Haec Designant Faciem Plagae per Gödrienses in Controversiam … Gödri és Szentmárton közötti vitás határ térképe, 1763 (detail)]

Making use of the map provided by the Csaba peasants and referring to the local knowledge of the many witnesses that had been gathered, the crowd proceeded in a clockwise direction around the edge of the land claimed by the peasants of Szirma. At regular intervals, ranging from every ten to two hundred metres, the procession stopped to note the location where a new boundary marker, formed from a raised mound of earth a few metres high, should be constructed (see Fig. 2.1 for examples of other boundary markers from the period). As they went, the notary recorded the distance from the previous marker, and the direction one should turn in to proceed to the next. On three occasions, the county officials ordered new markers to be constructed, marking the division between the Szirma *határ* and the surrounding villages where the borders where unclear. The crowd continued in such a manner until they reached the 117th marker, on the land that was claimed by the inhabitants of both Szirma and Csaba, and was now to be divided between the two villages. The county officials called upon representatives from the Szirmay and Barczay estates, the local nobility, the village councils and the various other witnesses there assembled to establish where the precise boundary between the two villages should lie. The bailiff of a nearby estate, Gábor Vadnay, a petty nobleman, asserted that neither the map nor the current boundary reflected the present use of the land, since the majority of it now formed part of Szirma's communal pasture. Vadnay then pointed to a local landmark, suggesting that this indicated where the boundary should lie, recalling that the eastern limit of the Csaba *határ* was, and always had been, 'twenty-five *öl* [50 metres] from the house of the grandmother of János Szalai's wife'. Happy that

Vadnay's local knowledge seemed to reflect more accurately the customary use of the land, and noting no protest from the representatives of either the Barczay estate or Csaba, the county officials ordered a new boundary marker to be constructed some five hundred metres further west.[5]

Focusing on the case at Szirma (see Map 1), this chapter will explore walking as a source of authority—notably, authority 'from below'—in rural Hungary in the nineteenth century. In this, it will consider the practice of walking as a means of resistance, one that was able to assert a localized conception of rights and space in the face of reforms that challenged the established, customary order of rural Hungarian society. In particular, it will assert how walking, in the form of 'beating the bounds' (*határjárás*), acted as a repository of local knowledge, a way of knowing the environment, its use and the associated customary rights that emerged from the interaction between rural communities and their surroundings.

The Landscape of Rural Hungary

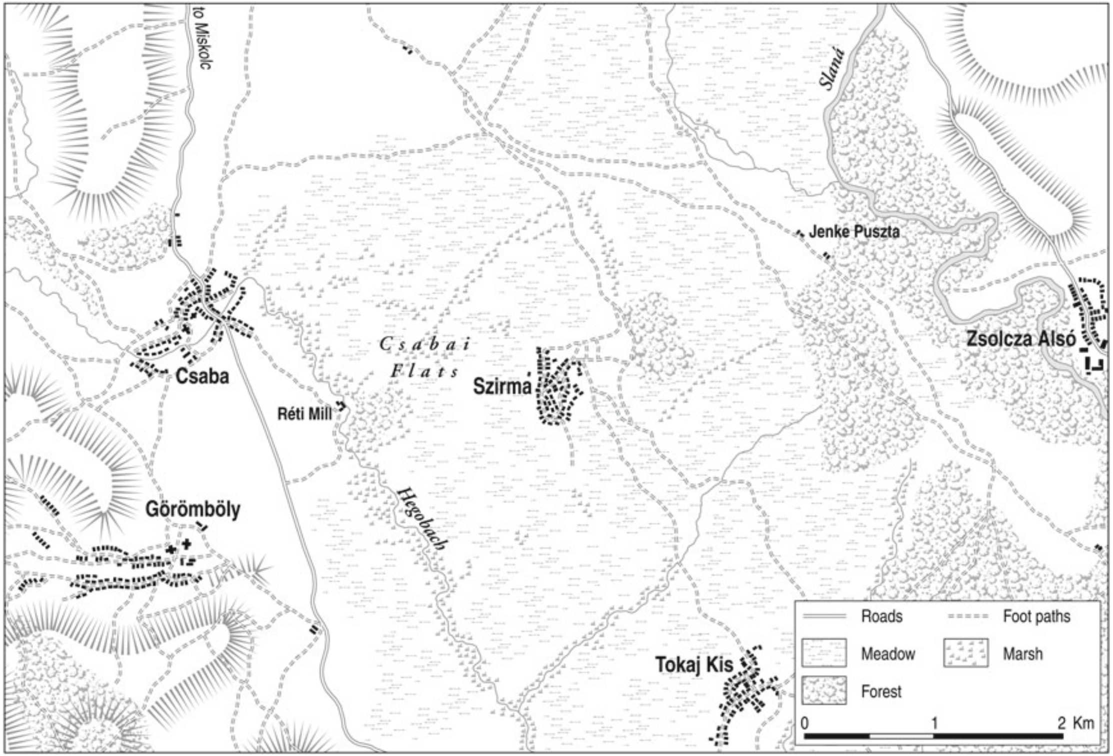
Broadly speaking, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hungary can be divided into two: in the east and south, the part that had fallen under Ottoman rule following the Hungarian defeat at Mohács in 1526; and, in the west and north, the crescent-shaped strip of Royal Hungary which had become part of the Habsburg lands. This division roughly equates to the topographical demarcation between Transdanubia in the west, the Felvidék (Uplands) in the north and the Great Plain in the south.[6] Both the particularities of the landscape and the experience of occupation in the last region created distinctive patterns of settlement, land use and the associated rights that were to have a profound effect on the peasants' construction of village space.[7]

As the rural population in Ottoman-ruled Hungary abandoned their villages the landscape reverted to uncultivated scrub, steppe and marsh, used only as pasture by those peasants who periodically returned from Royal Hungary at times of relative peace. What little population that remained clustered around the growing market towns of the Great Plain, seeking safety in numbers, creating a second distinct feature of the region: dispersed,

[5] Ibid.

[6] Lajos Rácz, *Magyarország környezettörténete az újkorig* (Budapest, 2008), 39–45; Lajos Rácz, 'The Price of Survival: Transformations in Environmental Conditions and Subsistence in Hungary in the Age of Ottoman Occupation', *Hungarian Studies*, 24(1) (2010), 21–39.

[7] See, for example, the similar case of Atány, Heves county, detailed so evocatively in Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer, *Proper Peasants: Traditional Life in a Hungarian Village* (Chicago, 1969).


to Miskolc
Slaná
Jenke Puszta
Zsolcza Alsó
Csaba
Csabai Flats
Szirma
Réti Mill
Hegobach
Görömböly
Tokaj Kis
Roads
Foot paths
Meadow
Marsh
Forest
0
1
2 Km

Map 1 Szirma (Borsod County) and its surrounds. Note the Jenke *puszta* to the north-east and the Csabai flats to the west (map produced by Philip Schwartzberg) large settlements around which might be found a scattering of isolated farmsteads (*tanyas*), stables and stalls. Removed from the centres of both seigneurial and royal authority, the market towns developed a large degree of autonomy that proved significant for their relations with their lords and their claims to the surrounding lands.[8]

In contrast to the Great Plain, the greater part of Transdanubia and the Felvidék remained largely unaffected by the Ottoman presence, and settlement patterns, land use and rural relations were largely unchanged. In the former region, characterized by gently rolling, wooded hills dotted with vineyards, more tightly-packed, linear villages predominated, which took the form of a strip or ribbon running along a single (or at most two) street(s). Likewise, in the Felvidék the population was concentrated in the valleys and on the lower slopes of the hills, and the villages again had the appearance of strips or ribbons. Peasant plots were concentrated around the core of the village, often running in a single stretch from the back of the house, and the potential to extend use on to land beyond the boundary of the *határ* was limited.[9] This distinction, and the patterns of land use associated with them, was to be reinforced following the expulsion of the Ottomans in the late seventeenth century, when all of Hungary was integrated into the Habsburg Monarchy.

Following this integration, Hungary's new rulers found a landscape devastated by 150 years of war and largely devoid of population. From the early eighteenth century Viennese officials, through the *Neoaquistica Commissio*, led a concerted effort to repopulate the former Ottoman-ruled lands. Both the Crown and the landlords of newly acquired estates encouraged peasants to resettle in eastern Transdanubia and across the Great Plain by offering generous terms of rent, often including seven to ten years free from taxation and dues, and the potential to develop over extensive, uncultivated lands. In many cases, land was offered to any with the means to farm it (a plough and a team of oxen or horses), rent was set according to the possession of a plough-team, and a peasant could farm as much land as was practicable. The deserted lands of the *Puszta* were resettled, whilst those settlements that had endured Ottoman rule grew in size.[10] With the resettlement, abandoned fields were once again put under the plough, and woods, marsh and plain, otherwise unsuitable or not needed for cultivation, were dedicated to expansive pasturing. For example, in Békés county on the southern edge of the Great Plain, a census of 1711 recorded only nine inhabited settlements, with a population of 2,520 households in an area of 3,600 km^2. The population then increased to 10,155 households by 1790, most of whom were concentrated around the market towns of Szarvas, Gyula and Orosháza. The repopulation also saw a concurrent increase in the land farmed by the peasants. Around Gyula the area farmed by the peasants increased from 57,529 *holds* (80,000 acres) in 1773 to 238,964 *holds* (300,000 acres) on the eve of emancipation in 1848.[11] Across Hungary as a whole, the area of land farmed by peasants roughly doubled in the course of the eighteenth century.[12]

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[8] István Orosz, 'Az alföldi mezővárosi parasztság termelési eljárásai a XVIII. században és a XIX. század első felében', *Arany János Múzeum Közleményei*, 4 (1984), 403–28; Lájos Rácz, 'A tanyarendszer kialakulása', in Ferenc Pölöskei and György Szabad (eds), *A magyar tanyarendszer múltja* (Budapest, 1980), 97–148.

[9] There are many variations of these two basic forms, and a vast literature has been produced by Hungarian historians and ethnographers in the search for a distinct, 'Magyar-type' settlement. See, for example, István Györffy, *Magyar falu, magyar ház* (Budapest, 1943); István Szabó, *A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon (X–XV. század)* (Budapest, 1966); Kálmán Eperjessy, *A magyar falu története* (Budapest, 1966); Tamás Hofer, 'Déldunántúl településformáinak történetéhez', *Ethnographia*, 66 (1955), 125–86; Tamás Hofer, 'Agro-Town Regions of Peripheral Europe: The Case of the Great Hungarian Plain', *Ethnologia Europaea*, 17(1) (1987), 69–95.

Szirma lay at the meeting point between Habsburg and Ottoman-ruled Hungary, on the northern edge of the Great Plain and just a few miles from the foothills of the Bükk mountains. Unlike many villages further south, Szirma maintained a small population of around a dozen tax-paying households throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[13] The population of Szirma then seems to have suffered during the two rebellions against the Habsburgs in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[14] During the surveys of the Habsburgs' new possessions conducted by the *Neoacquistica Commissio* in 1690, Szirma is recorded as being formed of seven inhabited plots farmed by fourteen households, lacking a church, but including some vineyards.[15] The census of 1715 found only five households and noted that the village included no established plough-land. The peasants possessed no draught animals, farmed the land by hand, and primarily lived off the produce from their small household plots.[16]

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[10] John Komlos, 'The Emancipation of the Hungarian Peasantry and Agricultural Development', in Ivan Volgyes (ed.), *The Peasantry of Eastern Europe, Volume 1: Roots and Rural Transitions* (New York and Oxford, 1979), 11–13; Klara T. Merey, *A somogyi parasztság útja a feudalizmusból a kapitalizmusba* (Budapest, 1965), 7–21; Imre Wellmann, *A magyar mezőgazdaság a XVIII. században* (Budapest, 1979), 11–20.

[11] István Balogh, *Tanyák és majorok Békés megyében a XVIII–XIX. században* (Gyula, 1961), 5–7. This region of Békés county, like much of the Great Plain and, to a lesser extent, the area around Szirma, was subject to frequent inundations, with as much as three-quarters of the land lying under water for part of the year. See Rácz, *Magyarország környezettörténete*, 199–205, 233–6.

[12] János Varga, *A jobbágyi földbirtoklás típusai és problémái, 1767–1849* (Budapest, 1967), 115–16, 128; Gyula Benda, *Statistikai adatok a magyar mezőgazdaság történetéhez, 1767–1848* (Budapest, 1973), 99–103, 173. This calculation includes plough-land, meadow, gardens, vineyards and some pasture, but excludes the great extent of open pastures formed from the *pusztas.*

A more complete picture of Szirma is provided by the Lutheran pastor, historian, geographer and linguist, Mátyás Bél, who visited the region sometime in the 1720s.[17] For Bél, the land of Szirma, lying between the rivers Hejő and Sajó, bore great resemblance to the landscape found between the Tisza and Körös rivers on the eastern Great Plain. It was characterized by reed beds and water meadows, with little dry land suitable for regular ploughing. Much of the land, including the best plough-land and a significant portion of the available pasture, could be underwater for the greater part of winter and spring. Furthermore, the rivers produced severe floods every 10 years or so, undoing any work completed by the peasants in their attempts to tame the fields. At Szirma, Bél noted these conditions had contributed to the fact that the village was much smaller than the neighbouring villages of Csaba and Görömböly, which were more favourably located on higher ground a few miles to the west. Even in dry years, little could be produced on the Szirma fields but a few cuttings of hay. Nevertheless, the Szirma peasants had made the best of their location, relying on the rivers and meadows to supplement the produce of their smallholdings. They bred geese in the reed beds around the village, grazed large numbers of horses and cattle at Jenke and other pastures, and fished in the rivers, ditches and ponds that interspersed their fields.[18]

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[13] Magyar Országos Leveltár (Hungarian National Archives, Budapest, hereafter MOL), D.1, Közepkóri oklevelek gyűjteménye. 6390 sz.

[14] As the Ottomans were pushed out of Hungary the largely protestant nobility of eastern Hungary and Transylvania rose up against the Catholic Habsburgs in two wars during 1678–81 and 1703–11. Led by two Transylvanian Princes, Imre Thököly and then Ferenc Rákóczki II, these rebellions sought to reestablish the independent medieval kingdom of Hungary as it had existed before the Hungarian defeat at Mohács in 1526. Rákóczi's eventual defeat and the subsequent Peace of Szatmár (1711) led to Hungary being integrated into the Habsburg Monarchy as a semi-autonomous kingdom. See, for example, László Kontler, *A History of Hungary: Millennium in Central Europe* (Basingstoke, 2002), 181–90; Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815* (Cambridge, 1994), 73–81, 111–20.

[15] MOL, E. 156, A Magyar Kamara archivuma: urbaria et conscriptiones, fasc. 54, nr. 15.

[16] BAZCA, IV.501/b, Borsodi vármegye nemési közgyűlési iratai, Acta politica, mat III, fasc. I, nr. 128.

[17] For the completion of Bél's *Notitia*, see Gyula Tóth, 'Introduction', in Matyás Bél, *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica, Volume 1: Comitatus Arvensis et Comitatus Trentsiniensis*, ed., trans. and annotated Gyula Tóth et al. (Budapest, 2011), 23–9.

As Bél's description reveals, the inhabitants of Szirma—and the population across much of lowland Hungary—had adapted to their sparsely populated, wetland environment, developing an agro-ecosystem based around extensive pasturing, communal landholding and the controlled use of the regular, seasonal floodwaters that dominated the landscape.[19] This was an environment that permitted the local inhabitants to define for themselves the space of their village, together with the associated rights and institutions, through their use of the landscape, limited only by their means and will, the demands of their neighbours and the character of the floodplain. The result was a transient space, characterized by extensive pasture, wetlands, swamp and morass with little dry land used for permanent cultivation, and an equally transient construction of rights and institutions to govern its use. In the environment created by successive warfare, depopulation and resettlement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, walking provided a means to account for, adapt and police rights and access to the landscape, cementing these rights within local memory and, by extension, local custom, whether in the form of beating the bounds or in the daily routines of the peasants.

Walking as a Source of Customary Rights

In his study on the historical development of the Hungarian village, the ethnographer Kálmán Eperjessy argued that a village should be understood as all that was necessary to guarantee the needs of rural life: water, food, fuel and pasture. Eperjessy continued that the *határ*—meaning both the 'boundary' and 'land of a village'—could be seen as stretching as far as the limits of a peasant's regular interaction with his surroundings took him in fulfilling these needs. In this, walking played a crucial role in defining the limits of the peasant's world. Whether to travel to and from his fields, to collect wood for fuel or housing, or to pasture his animals, the peasant was restricted to what was easily accessible by foot.[20] As an integral part of the daily routine, walking acted as a community-defining and reinforcing act. Each day began with the village crier beating a drum along a set route through the village to call the animals to pasture, followed by the procession to the fields; then followed the regular trawl up and down the narrow strips of the open fields; the day ended with the return home.[21]

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[18] Matyás Bél, 'Leirása Szirmáról és környékéről', in Matyás Bél, *Notitia Hungariae*, 110–13.

[19] Lajos Rácz, *The Steppe to Europe: An Environmental History of Hungary in the Traditional Age* (Cambridge, 2013), 182–6, 192–200.

More specifically, through the process of beating the bounds, walking provided a means for communities to define, enforce and protect rights attached to the land. In a similar case to that at Szirma described at the beginning of this chapter, in 1802 an unnamed witness was called to testify at a county court in a dispute between two villages and their lord. He recalled a journey that he had taken as a boy of thirteen with his father; one that, he claimed, had been completed by his forebears since the 1690s. The witness had repeated this journey from the centre of Csép (a village about 20 km south of the Danube) to the edge of its pasture on an annual basis as he took his village's flock out to the surrounding *puszta* (deserted, untended lands of a former village). Now, as their lord sought to separate these communal lands, enclosing a portion of the pasture for his own use, the witness was asked to specify where he believed the new boundary of his village should be set. His statement reads:

> Rise early on a winter's day and walk from the west for one day along the Vasdinnye road besides the Réti forest. In the east, at the end of the road, you find the old boundaries of three *határs* [village lands] where the borders of upper Csép and lower Ete used to meet. From there, on the second day walk east, to where once Lővesnyi Pisztoly [a horse dealer] was known to live; and on the third day walk east to where it is known there is a hill with a copse; and on the fourth day continue east where Csépi marsh stands above a lake; and from there one further day east; it is there that the true border of Csép lies, where we can send our sheep, and where those of the lord cannot go.[22]

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[20] Eperjessy, *A magyar falu története*, 7–11.

[21] Fél and Hofer, *Proper Peasants*, 56–8, 86–93, 170–2, 336–8.

[22] MOL, C. 59 III/b, Az úrbéri ügyosztály iratai 1783–1848, fasc. 181, Egyedi ügyek: az allodialissá nyilvanított paraszti telek 1803, nr. 164.

This testimony emphasizes the scale of peasant land-use outlined above, necessitating a five-day journey from the village to the edge of a pasture, and further reinforces the image of the landscape of lowland Hungary as open and unenclosed, with few distinguishing landmarks. In these conditions, beating the bounds allowed communities to see where current use diverged from collective memory, providing opportunities for any discrepancies to be accounted for and added to the customary record, either through the act of remembering or the use of physical markers on the landscape.

In some places, it was common for a *határjárás* to occur on a regular, often annual basis; elsewhere, a beating of the bounds featured as part of the coming of age rituals of the rural population, thus allowing village boundaries to be passed down from generation to generation.[23] Alternatively, as at Csép, the *határjárás* and associated boundaries emerged from the seasonal journeys made by the peasants across the landscape. As part of the *határjárás*, reference would be made to landscape features, especially trees and rivers, remembered according to distance and time from one another. These natural reference points could be reinforced further by constructing a marker (*határjelek*) on the landscape, varying in permanence and, one might assume, effectiveness. The markers might include hills or mounds (*határdomb*); stones or poles inserted in the ground; steps, terracing or ditches (most common in woodland and vineyards); pollarding, coppicing or marking trees; or knots tied in grass or reeds. To further reinforce the process in the collective memory, the *hatarjárás* would be marked by some additional ritual, including the blessing of the boundary markers by the village priest, drinking at each point of reference, or tweaking the ear of a young boy. As each marker was passed, it was announced to the witnesses gathered, creating the collective memory of the process that served as a repository of customary rights.[24]

In cases of dispute, where boundary markers had been lost and thus borders were uncertain, it was common for courts of various levels, whether village, town, seigneurial or county, to reflect communal understandings of the law.[25] In this, officials frequently relied on witness testimony or customary procedures such as *határjárás* to test the authenticity of competing claims to the land. Commonly, they would turn to the oldest members of a community: as they had the longest memory, it was assumed they would be able to establish who had the oldest (and therefore most valid) claim to a given area of land. Two such examples emerged on the Zichy estate in Pest county in the 1720s. At the village of Acsa, the 95-year-old György Gados was called upon to help establish where the boundary of the village should lie. As at Szirma, the land under dispute formed a *puszta*, having once been attached to the abandoned village of Alsó-Sáp, and was to be divided as ploughland, meadow and woodland rights between the inhabitants of Acsa and its neighbour, Szomszéd. Since Gados claimed that, for as long as he could remember, the land had been used by the peasants of Acsa, the greater part of the *puszta* was attached to that village's *határ*.[26] Likewise, in an attempt to establish the boundary between the nearby villages of Szolgaegyháza and Újfalu, the oldest local inhabitant N. Tarbaly—who claimed to be 115 years old—was called upon. Unfortunately, in this instance Tarbaly proved of little use: he knew nothing of the boundary beyond that 'for all my life they had lived under one and the same lord' and any division of the land had seemed unimportant.[27]

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[23] Lajos Takács, *Határjelek, határjárás a feudális kor végén Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1987), 165–6.

[24] Ibid., 28–95.

[25] Martyn Rady, 'Judicial Organization and Decision Making in Old Hungary', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 90(3) (2012), 450–81, at 454–60.

As these examples show, beating the bounds allowed communities to reaffirm the extent of competing rights attached to lands on either side of the boundary in local custom; the 'place' (location) of the village became a defined, delineated and demarcated 'space' through the walking of its borders.[28] It was only through the act of walking, the customary performance of beating the bounds, that the construction of village space became possible.[29] The production and maintenance of village space through the interaction between the peasants and the landscape in which they lived shaped their conception of custom and customary rights to the land: what

[26] Takács, *Határjelek*, 119–20.

[27] Ibid., 151–2. For similar cases, see Lajos Takács, *Egy irtásfalu földművelése* (Budapest, 1976), 41–6.

[28] For this distinction between 'place' and 'space', see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. S. Rendall (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1984), 117–29; Allan Pred, *Place, Practice and Structure: Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden: 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1986), 5–31.

[29] Nicholas Blomley, 'Law, Property and the Geography of Violence: The Frontier, the Survey, and the Grid', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93(1) (2003), 121–41, at 122–3; Nicky Gregson and Gillian Rose, 'Taking Butler Elsewhere: Performativities, Spatialities and Subjectivities', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18(4) (2000), 433–52.

they used was theirs, or at least partially theirs, whatever rents were paid or services owed. In this way, the manner in which the peasants used the landscape, and the practices and customs associated with the peasants' use, constructed a spatial order in its own image.[30]

Reform, Surveying and the Challenge to the Customary Order

The peasants' customary construction of the landscape and their associated rights, as were embodied in beating the bounds, could always prove to be a contentious matter, being reliant on both present and past use. Memory is an unreliable legal source, and boundary markers in particular had a habit of moving or being lost. This was particularly the case during the period of resettlement that followed the end of Ottoman rule at the turn of the eighteenth century. As a part of resettlement in the early eighteenth century, the many *pusztas* that had emerged during the warfare and depopulation of the preceding centuries were returned to regular use, either as pasture or as the basis for a new village. But returning to a landscape long abandoned, few people remained who could locate old boundaries and borders; artificial and natural markers had been either destroyed or simply forgotten.[31]

At Szirma and elsewhere it was the expansion onto these open lands that contributed to the uncertainties of boundaries and rights. Conversely, the process of resettlement in the first part of the eighteenth century reinforced the need for such customary practices as beating the bounds, particularly in a landscape that seemed, to the outside eye, but little influenced by the hands of man. The expansion across under-utilized lands, where no one was able to recall who could claim rights to the land or whose rights might supersede another's, created the conditions that permitted the peasants to determine for themselves their use, their rights and their space within the landscape.

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[30] The idea of a 'spatial order', now increasingly adopted amongst historians, has here been adapted from Elizabeth Grosz and, in turn, from Foucault. See Elizabeth A. Grosz, *Space, Time and Perversion: Essays on the Politics of Bodies* (New York and London, 1995), 103–4; Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16(1) (1986), 22–7. See also Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift, *Thinking Space* (New York and London, 2000), 7–13; Alan R. H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge, 2003), 45–71.

[31] Jozsef Laszlovszky, 'Space and Place: Text and Object. Human Interaction and Topographical Studies', in Jozsef Laszlovszky and Peter Szabó (eds), *People and Nature in Historical Perspective* (Budapest, 2003), 86–90.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, however, there was an alternative means to ascribe rights to the landscape and, by extension, delineate the space of a given village. This had emerged from reforms and legislation passed from the mid-eighteenth century onwards as landholders and the state sought to regulate and record land use through land registers, surveys and maps.[32] In 1836 the Diet[33] issued a series of reforms that, together, were to transform land use, property rights and rural relations, and eventually, during the revolution of 1848, bring to an end the system of seigneurialism. In the first instance, the Diet confirmed the terms of Maria Theresa's urbarial patent: an earlier attempt by the state to protect the integrity of the peasants' holdings from encroachment by their lords and, since peasant land formed the basis of taxation, also to protect the Crown's income. Issued in 1767 but without the force of statute law since it had not been ratified by the Diet, the urbarial patent represented the first stage in a concerted attempt by the state to record and regulate land use, supplanting prevalent and ambiguous customary rights with rights rooted in written law. Secondly, new laws were passed between 1836 and 1848 that sought to address rights to communally used lands—woodland, pasture and clearings—enabling the division of these lands between villages and their lords. Together the urbarial patent and reforms intended to ascribe rights to various forms of landed property: the peasants' private (urbarial) plots; the lords' demesnes (dominical land); and the numerous types of land that sat somewhere between the two (commons and/or off-holdings).[34] But, whatever their intentions, the reforms challenged the established rural order of the localized, customary arrangements by providing an alternative record of the landscape to that which had been constructed through beating the bounds, and thus posed a threat to the peasants' rights to the land.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the prescripts of enlightened absolutism taking hold in Vienna required that the customary practices that governed rural life be made to conform to a more universal standard, with rights and obligations recorded and regulated in written law. Concurrently with this, many landlords sought to benefit from the increased demand for grain, livestock and other agrarian produce brought about by the Seven Years War (1756–63). Estate owners expanded the farming of their private demesnes, resulting in attempts to reserve greater parts of the land farmed by peasants for the landowner's use, particularly where any rights were uncertain. In reaction to the threat posed by the changing conditions to the peasants' holdings, rural uprisings broke out in the southern Transdanubian counties in the summer of 1766, spreading across much of western Hungary. At the same time, the Habsburgs faced financial crisis as the cost of the Seven Years War spiralled, necessitating a more complete evaluation of the resources of state and a more efficient means of taxation. Concern over the cause of rural unrest and financial need had been the occasion of the urbarial patent of 1767.

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[32] Árpád Papp-Váry and Pál Hrenkó, *Magyarország régi térképen* (Budapest, 1989), 92–119; Robert J. W. Evans, 'Essay and Reflection: Frontiers and National Identities in Central Europe', *International History Review*, 14(3) (1992), 480–502, at 486–94.

[33] A legislative institution in the (medieval) Hungarian kingdom.

[34] Varga, *A jobbágyi földbirtoklás*, 11–32; Robert W. Gray, 'Bringing the Law Back In: Land, Law and the Hungarian Peasantry before 1848', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 91(3) (2013), 511–34.

Once issued, in the spring of 1767, the urbarial patent required that a questionnaire be sent to all villages. Peasants were asked about the terms of their agreement with their lord (cash rents; labour service and kind; or a combination of the two?), and how these were established (through periodic negotiation or fixed according to their holdings?). The answers to these questions established the status of the peasants and the land they farmed. Those who paid in cash and negotiated their rents (as was the case for those living in most villages re-established in the first half of the eighteenth century) were *contractualis*; those whose dues were fixed were classified as perpetual *jobbágy* (bondsmen).[35] Many peasants realized that, if they declared themselves to be in the latter category, their dues would probably increase and they would be subject to state taxation; unsurprisingly, very few did.[36] However, the status of the land farmed by the *contractualis* peasants was not secured by the Urbarium; their tenure became uncertain, and a large part of the land they farmed (particularly any 'commons') governed only by customary arrangements.

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[35] Zita Horváth, *Paraszti vallomások Zalában: A Mária Terézia-kori úrbérrendezés kilenc kérdőpontos vizsgálata Zala megye három járásában* (Zalaegerszeg, 2001), 12–29; Zita Horváth, 'Örökös és szabadmenetelű jobbágyok a 18. századi Magyarországon', *Századok*, 143 (2000), 1063–71.

[36] Robert J. W. Evans, 'Maria Theresa and Hungary', in Robert J. W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c.1683–1867* (Oxford, 2006), 20–2; Franz A. J. Szabo, *Kaunitz and Enlightened Absolutism 1753–1780* (Cambridge, 1974), 320–8; Dezső Szabó, 'A megyék ellenállása Mária Terézia úrbéri rendeletével szemben', *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből*, 25 (1934), 20–35.

Accompanying the questionnaires, both land surveys and land registers sought to record, and thus secure in the written record, the extent of peasant-farmed land. The urbarial patent established a set size of plot (*sessio*) according to the fertility of the soil (more commonly, the average of local conditions), consisting of a house plot and garden, plough-land and meadow. Collectively, the plots were to form the village *határ*. However, only those lands attached to the plot of a *jobbágy* (a bondsman) were classified as urbarial within the surveys, and thus only the urbarial lands were protected from the threat of future seizure by the peasants' landlords. Large areas of peasant-farmed land, including most plots attached to *contractualis* peasants and the majority of any commons or off-holdings—pasture, woodland, marsh and vineyards—were not covered within the urbarial surveys, and the peasants' rights of use were protected only by precarious customary arrangements.

However, the attempts by state and local officials to regulate land use often fell short of adequately reflecting the way it was used. By defining what did and did not constitute a village plot and, therefore, the *határ*, the registers and maps produced as part of the urbarial surveys created an alternative, representational account of the space of the Hungarian village that differed from and restricted customary spatial practices. In particular, the surveys reinforced the distinction, or created one where none had previously existed, between the lands of an individual peasant plot, the lands held and used in common that lay within the village, and other lands used by the peasants that lay outside any boundary of the *határ*. This modern, 'rationalized' and rigid conception of the landscape captured within the surveys and maps challenged the peasants' construction of the landscape that had emerged through the everyday interaction between the peasants and the land they farmed, expressed through such practices as beating the bounds.[37] In the physical and legal space where the written record of surveys and local customary practice diverged, matters were left to be resolved between the peasants and their lords, with frequent recourse to the local courts in the case of any dispute.[38] In this context where rights, knowledge and authority were uncertain, walking emerged as a valuable means for peasants to assert and protect their conception of rural space.

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[37] For the emergence of surveys and maps as a challenge to the customary construction of landscapes, see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, 1998), esp. 22–47.

Returning to the village of Szirma where we began, the uncertain status of the lands abutting the village stemmed from the period of resettlement following the end of Ottoman occupation in the early eighteenth century, and the status granted to the peasants and their land following the urbarial patent. In response to the urbarial survey completed in 1770, the Szirma peasants rejected the new law. Their status was confirmed as '*contractualis/jobbágy szabad menetelű*' ('bondsmen who move freely'), reflecting the fact that much of the population had returned to the village during the early eighteenth century, and the transient features of the landscape and land-use described by Mátyás Bél. According to the contract concluded between the inhabitants of Szirma and their lord, the terms of their land-use and level of rents would be renegotiated every 20 years. The accompanying land survey noted that all plots were held and farmed individually, and that no communal land existed within the *határ*. Rather, some 200 *hold* (300 acres) of land lying outside the *határ* (the Jenke *puszta*) was allocated to the peasants to meet their need for pasture.[39] There was no manorial land in the vicinity of the village, and most labour service had been redeemed through the cash rents paid for each plot, with the exception that each peasant was required to fulfil two days' annual labour service to collect 1,200 bundles of reed and 50 bundles of 'sedge' (taken from offcuts of vines). The surveyors also noted problems in their attempts to accurately record all land use, particularly the full extent of ploughland and meadow, because so much of the surrounding land was regularly under water. Thus the area and location of any cultivated fields varied from year to year according to seasonal floods. To address this problem, the peasants had petitioned the Szirmays for permission to construct a mill to drain an area of the marshland on the river Hejő at the border with Csaba (the 'Csabai Flats'), on the grounds that this would extend the ploughland of both villages and improve the 'general conditions' of the villages.[40]

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[38] See Gray, 'Bringing the Law Back In'; Robert W. Gray, 'Land Reform and the Hungarian Peasantry, *c.*1700–1848' (PhD thesis, University College London, 2009).

[39] BAZCA, IV.501/b, mat XXII fasc. I, nr. 148.

[40] BAZCA, IV.501/c, Bejegyzett törvényszéki iratok, Acta judicialia protocollata, XI, fasc. IV, nr. 415.

The emergence of the Jenke *puszta* and the 'Csabai Flats' as extra-urbarial land, used and managed by the community collectively and shared with their lord or the neighbouring villages, is clear from the details of the urbarial survey. As a result of their rejection of the terms of the urbarial patent, the peasants' status and that of their land remained uncertain, denying the peasants the secure tenure normally extended to urbarial plots. However, rejecting the terms of the patent also provided room for greater flexibility for both peasants and lords, in terms of adapting their use to a changing landscape and their rents to changing economic conditions. Most importantly, the peasants' refusal to accept the provisions of the urbarial patent reinforced the need for customary practices such as the *határjárás*, since the community had rejected the authority of the written record provided by the urbarial surveys.[41]

Little was resolved as a direct result of the *határjárás* of 1820. Like many similar cases, officials limited themselves to re-establishing the status quo as best they could. Yet by confirming the status quo, acknowledging the authority of existing use and, by extension, customary arrangements, officials also confirmed the understanding of the Jenke *pustza* as land that neither clearly belonged to one particular village (and thus urbarial) nor one particular estate (and thus dominical). In 1837 the Szirma peasants filed another petition with the county courts relating to the status of the *határ*. This stemmed from the attempt by one peasant, András Szabó, to renew his lease of a small, quarter-sessio plot on the death of his father. Szabó's case was taken up by the village council seeking to confirm the status of the whole village *határ* as a perpetual, hereditary lease, converting what had been *contractualis* land to urbarial land, and thus securing the peasants' rights to the land in the light of the recent reforms. As part of their petition, the peasants also sought to establish their claims to the Jenke *puszta*, hoping to add one quarter of a full *sessio* of land per whole *sessio* within the *határ* or for each household with a full team of oxen.[42] In ruling on this case, the court sought to ascertain whether the land had been held by the peasants, either collectively or as individual households, on the basis of a regularly renewable, hereditary lease. If so, the land could be established as equivalent to ‘urbarial’ land, and could become their permanent property: the lord had no claim to the land aside from rents owed.

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[41] Similar rejections were common throughout Hungary, particularly in those areas that had fallen under Ottoman occupation. Zita Horváth, in a survey of nine Hungarian counties, estimated that between 35 and 40 per cent of villages refused to submit to the urbarial patent and instead chose to retain their customary *contractualis* arrangements. In Borsod county, where Szirma lay, this figure reached 92 per cent. Horváth, 'Örökös és szabadmenetelű jobbágyok', 1087–103.

[42] BAZCA, IV.501/e, 1837 évi 1950 sz.

No clear decision on this was reached until a subsequent suit in 1859. By that time there seemed no doubt as to the status of land within the *határ*, but questions remained over the fate of the Jenke *pustza*.[43] To resolve the status of the latter, three witnesses were called: Imre Konrád, a steward of the Szirmay estate since 1814; György Kovács, a petty noble from the nearby market town of Miskolc; and Ferenc Szalay from Csaba. Records detailing the amount of peasant and manorial livestock sent to pasture were consulted, dating back to 1821, as were the accounts of livestock sent by the peasants to market on behalf of the estate each year. These accounts established that the use of the land had been shared by the peasants and their lord, the peasants pasturing sheep in the winter whilst tending to the lord’s cattle in the summer. In addition, the peasants paid an unspecified sum to pasture their own cattle in the summer months. Since 1849, the land had been used primarily by the peasants, with the lord reducing what had once been a herd of some 200 cattle to no more than 50. Furthermore, the peasants had ceased to pay rents since 1849 and had enjoyed almost limitless use of the land. Noting their consistent and unchallenged use that predated emancipation in 1848, the court supported the peasants’ claims to the land. A small fee was to be paid to the Szirmays in lieu of the missing rent from the last ten years and a portion of the land, which was subsequently sold back to the peasants, was allocated to the Szirmays’ estate to acknowledge its former status as shared pasture. Once this was complete, the *puszta* was to be considered, once and for all, part of the Szirma *határ*.

Conclusion

As the example of Szirma shows, local custom, reflecting established use of the landscape and affirmed by traditional practices such as beating the bounds, could prove an effective means of resisting reform imposed from beyond the village. In the face of the alternative construction of rights represented by the expansion of written records, maps, contracts and registers that emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, walking provided a practical and effective means for peasants to assert their rights to the land and shape the law in practice. Where disputes emerged that could not be settled by reference to the written record, or where there was a clear discrepancy between use (either present or past) and the written record, local memory and the customary practice of beating the bounds retained their authority. In fact, local officials acknowledged that current use—assumed, in this instance, to reflect long-standing custom, attested to by various witnesses—carried greater authority than the written record in settling disputes where rights and the law were unclear.

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[43] BAZCA, VII.1/c, Törvényszéki iratok: az úrbéri törvényszék iratai, Szirma sz. N.

As Tim Ingold has observed, knowledge is not built from a static position; rather it grows organically from the interaction between people and the world through which they journey, formed in everyday activities and coterminous with movement through the world.[44] Walking, through the beating the bounds, provided a means of mapping the self and the collective within the landscape. Walking served to reaffirm connections between and within communities, people and place, aligning physical location, landscapes and everyday activities with constructed—legal, customary or cultural—space. This was especially true when it came to establishing rights to the extra-urbarial land that peasant communities perceived as forming part of their village but that the registers and surveys had left beyond the legal borders of the *határ*. This process would prove particularly important in Hungary, where the surveying, mapping and recording of land use and associated property rights commencing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not coincide with rhythms and patterns of everyday life; custom diverged from the written record, and inevitably conflict emerged where the official record contrasted with the collective memories of villages, of physical markers, or of textual descriptions that were asserted through walking the boundaries of the village.

The act of walking cemented the links between landscape, knowledge and space, securing these links within local memory, and connecting individuals or communities with the materiality of their environment. Thus walking created an alternative repository of knowledge to the surveys and registers of official record, one that was more responsive to local circumstance, growing out of the intimate connection between the feet of the peasants and the landscape over which they walked. The space of the Hungarian village on the eve of emancipation in 1848 was a product of the processes and experiences of depopulation, resettlement and regulation of the preceding centuries. This space, often transient and frequently ill-defined, had been formed through the peasants' interaction with the landscape and the development of particular customs and practices suited to their environment. If the peasants' concept of their rights was challenged by shifting patterns in agriculture or attempts to regulate rural life from outside the village, they could appeal to the authority of a customary understanding of village space to add weight to their claims. It is this aspect of traditional knowledge that walking encapsulated, whether regular, as in the example at Csép, or in the ritualized form of beating the bounds revealed through the case of Szirma. The ability to respond to and account for changes within the environment and use of the landscape meant that the traditional construction of space revealed by walking the land retained its authority during the period of rural reconstruction in the nineteenth century, providing an important empowering process for the Hungarian peasantry.

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[44] Tim Ingold, 'Footprints through the Weather-World: Walking, Breathing, Knowing', in Trevor Marchand (ed.), *Making Knowledge: Explorations of the Indissoluble Relation between Mind, Body and Environment* (Chichester, 2010), 115–32. See also Nigel Rapport and Mark Harris, 'A Discussion Concerning Ways of Knowing', in Mark Harris (ed.), *Ways of Knowing: New Approaches in the Anthropology of Experience and Learning* (New York and Oxford, 2007), 306–30.

CHAPTER 3

Strolling the Romantic City: Gardens, Panoramas, and Middle-Class Elites in Early Nineteenth-Century Prague

Chad Bryant

Strollers appear throughout Vincenc Morstadt's *Views of Prague* (1830) and *Prague in the Nineteenth Century* (1835)—albums that established the young artist as one of the most celebrated lithographers of his age (see Fig. 3.1). Couples stand at a vista atop the city's hills to admire its architectural gems and the surrounding countryside. Other strollers admire the flora and fauna found on paths throughout and beyond the city. Many are engaged in conversation. Families walk closely together as children play and dogs bound forward ahead of their owners.[1] While the views of Prague and its surroundings often grab the attention of the viewer, the individuals therein hint at a dramatic shift in middle-class urban life. Few contemporaries, not to mention the historians who study them, wrote much about strolling (*spazieren* in German; *chodit na procházku* in Czech), which emerged as a popular leisure activity in Prague in the decades up to 1848. In this, Prague's rising middle-class elites were taking part in a common European phenomenon with common European impulses. As Rebecca

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[1] Vincenc Morstadt, *Ansichten an Prag* (Prague, 1830). See also his *Prag im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Eine Auswahl der schönsten Ansichten* (Prague, 1835). On Morstadt and his lithographs, see Václav Hlavsa, *Praha v obrazech Vincence Morstadta* (Prague, 1973) and Jana Pasáková, *Praha v díle Vincence Morstadta* (Prague, 1988).

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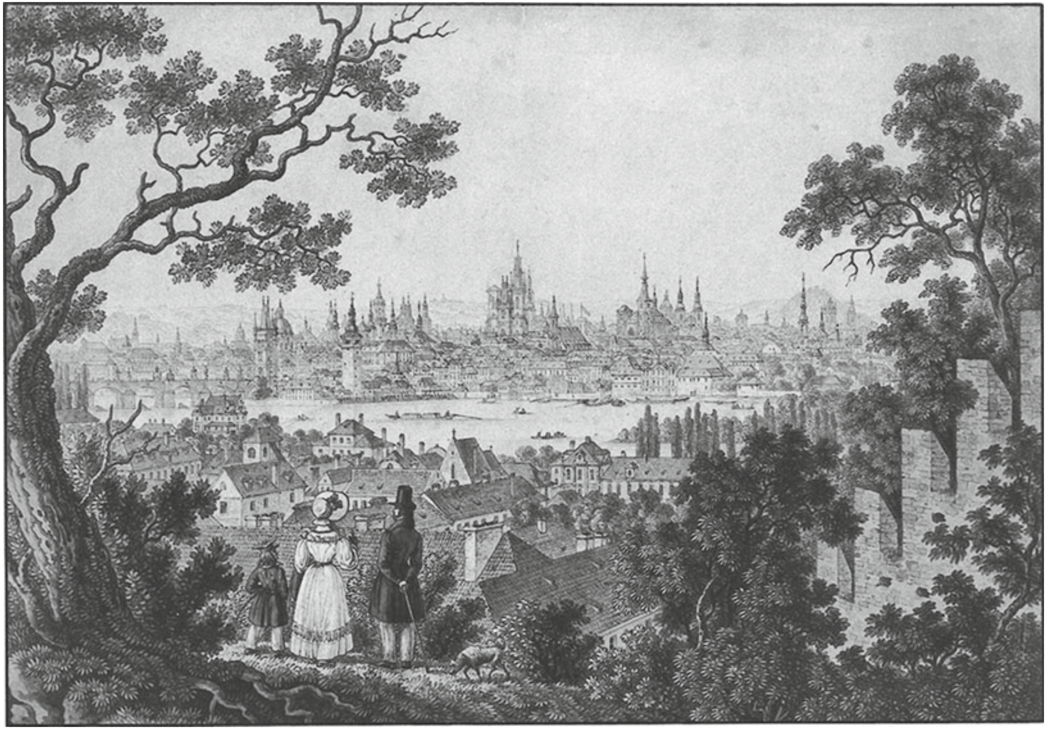

Fig. 3.1 ‘Old Town as seen from Petřin Hill’, Vincenc Morstadt, 1835 lithograph [from Vincenc Morstadt and Johann Martin Friedrich Geissler, *Prag im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Eine Auswahl der schönsten Ansichten. Mit erklärenden Texte* (Prague, 1835)] (©The British Library Board)

Solnit and others have written, the rising middle classes sought to establish their credentials as elites by mimicking noble practices such as strolling through gardens. The civilization of the countryside, the rise of the state, improved roads and other measures made it safe for nobles, and then the middle classes, to leave the confines of their protected estates. These studies only rarely, however, describe the sort of scenes depicted by Morstadt. Instead, they draw upon the literature of walking to argue that the middling classes took inspiration from Rousseau and others to see walking in nature as a journey of self-discovery and self-fulfilment. They explore how romantic sensibilities, as described so beautifully by poets and essayists, celebrated the sublime in nature, an attractive contrast to an increasingly dirty and polluted city. Urbanites, they maintain, imagined the natural world, whether a garden or path through the woods, as an escape.[2]

This chapter on strolling in and around Prague, then a provincial city within the absolutist Habsburg monarchy in the decades following the Napoleonic Wars, takes a different tack. First, rather than the cultivation of the self, it explores strolling as a means of establishing social standing.[3] Middle-class Praguers took to walking for many of the same reasons as their European counterparts, yet a closer look at topographies, travel reports, guidebooks and lithographs reveals certain peculiarities—as well as aspects of larger phenomena that have yet to be studied. Urged on by activist, civic-minded patriots from the noble and middling classes, Prague's strollers took to the paths of English-style gardens within and around the city. They charted paths outside the city and walked newly constructed roads. In the process, Prague's middling classes were doing more than establishing their own sense of prestige through new forms of sociability and leisure practices. They also crossed borders that had excluded them from the noble classes while creating their own borders around newly constructed gardens and parks. They thus challenged long-established notions that certain members of society—nobles, members of the clergy, and burghers—enjoyed peculiar privileges and rights denied to the rest of the population. Their victories, and the ubiquitous presence of middle-class (in German, *bürgerliche*) strollers throughout the city beginning in the 1830s, signalled the end of the old order and the emergence of a city increasingly dominated by a new class of civil servants, traders, intelligentsia and industrialists who embraced liberal ideas about equality and access.

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[2] Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York, 2000); Joseph A. Amato, *On Foot: A History of Walking* (New York, 2004), esp. 71–124; Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Basingstoke, 1997); Jeffrey Cane Robinson, *The Walk: Notes on a Romantic Image* (Norman, 2006), esp. 70–7.

[3] For a similar approach in the German lands, see Gudrun M. König, *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Spazierganges. Spuren einer bürgerlichen Praktik 1780 bis 1850* (Vienna, 1996).

A second point relates to how these emergent middle classes came to reimagine, this time with help from travellers from Germany, the relationship between the city and the countryside. They did this, in part, by strolling on and above the city's fortifications, the walled boundary that enclosed the city and long separated it from the rest of the world. Prague was a fortified city whose walls not only harked back to an era in which urban inhabitants could be neatly divided into those with certain privileges and those without. They also recalled a closed city, one whose residents lived within a self-contained, clearly demarcated world supposedly protected from invaders and the natural world. Middle-class strollers reworked this conception of the closed conurbation, often venturing well beyond the city walls along roads and paths that carried them through woods, over streams, and perhaps to a village pub. Most of their gardens lay outside the city walls. While standing atop one of the many hills surrounding the city, they imagined Prague as an urban space existing in harmony with its unique natural surroundings—something that, local writers claimed, distinguished Prague from its Central European rivals. Contrary to the dichotomy discussed so trenchantly by Raymond Williams, Prague's middle classes did not, like so many Romantics and their successors, imagine nature and the countryside as existing in opposition to the city.[4] Instead, the city commingled with its immediate surroundings. Strolling on and beyond the city walls suggested a more open, liberal, and expansive Prague. Walking practices and new conceptions about the limits and character of the city mark a key moment when old and new intermingled in an urban environment transitioning to the modern period.

I

Until the eighteenth century it was easy to project Prague's corporate hierarchy, or *Stände*, onto the city's topography—a topography overlaid by evidence of past historical eras that has changed only slightly to this day. On the west bank of the Vltava, atop the city's highest hill, stood the Castle District, site of one of the city's first settlements. Towering above the Castle itself, for long the seat of Bohemian kings, was the yet uncompleted St Vitus Cathedral, an imposing Gothic home to the archbishop of Prague and final resting place for many of Bohemia's past royalty. Below the Castle hill lay the Lesser Town, home to the nobility, and on the other side of the river lay the Old Town, whose jagged roads, robust houses and medieval town hall recalled an era of burghers, guilds and municipal independence. Squeezed into the Vltava's curve, the Jewish Town's cemetery, synagogues, crowded housing and gates served as reminders of the Jewish population's long history within Prague as well as of their exclusion from the city proper. The New Town, a vast expanse of well-planned boulevards and squares, radiated out from the Old Town and spoke to Prague's past importance as a centre of trade and commerce. St Vitus and the New Town, not to mention Prague University and the city's first permanent bridge, were built under the auspices of Charles IV (1346–78) when, for a brief moment, Prague was the seat of the Holy Roman Empire.

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[4] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford, 1975).

For civic patriots writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the era of Charles IV represented the last gasp of a golden age, however. The Hussite Wars (1419–34), a proto-protestant uprising with class undertones that destroyed many of the city's architectural treasures, left Bohemia divided and weak. In 1526, the Bohemian nobility confirmed Ferdinand I Habsburg as their king, relegating the city, with the exception of a brief period in the early seventeenth century, to a summer home for Habsburg royalty who ruled from Vienna. Looted and devastated further during the Thirty Years War (1618–48), Prague thereafter declined in significance while the forces of the Counter-Reformation, led by Habsburg rulers and the Catholic hierarchy, left their mark in the ostentatious baroque churches and spires that dominated the cityscape. The Lesser Town, became home to equally ostentatious residences owned by a tamed local nobility, as well as loyalist Catholic nobles drawn from across the continent.[5]

The city's topography (see Map 2), as well as the fortified walls that surrounded its districts, thus suggested a world dominated by burghers,

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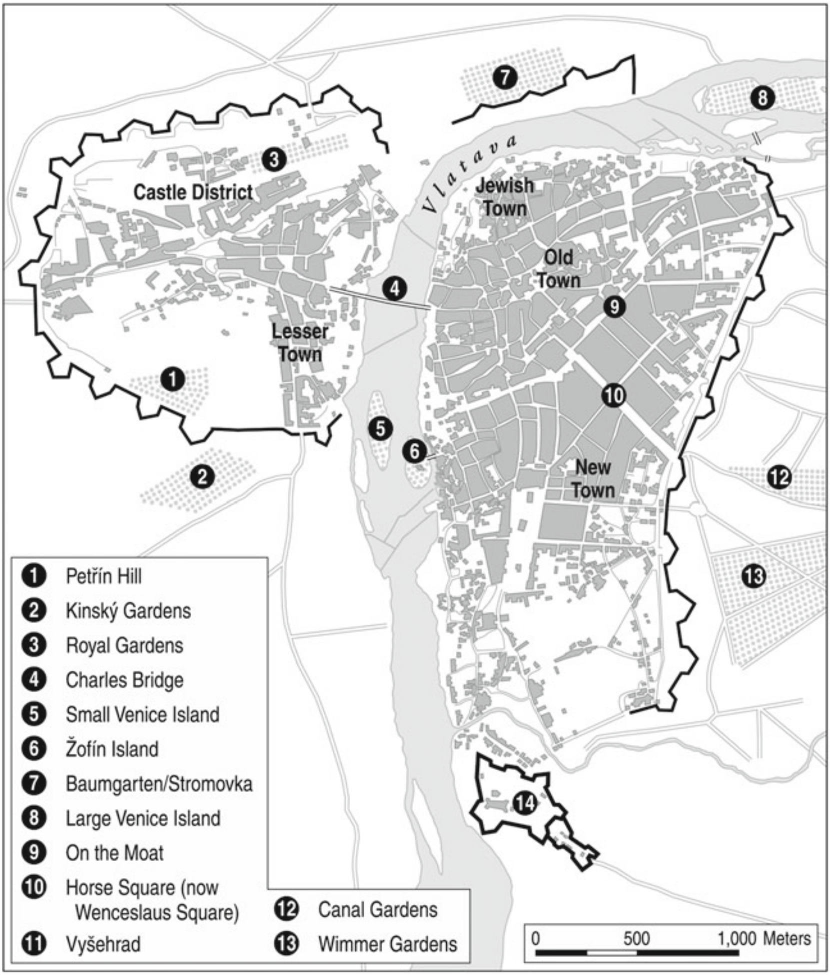
[5] For an excellent overview, see Peter Demetz, *Prague in Black and Gold: Scenes from the Life of a European City* (New York, 1998) and Emanuel Poche, *Prahou krok za krokem: Umĕleckohistorický průvodce městem* (Prague, 1958). On nineteenth-century civic patriots' understanding of Prague's history, see Chad Bryant, 'A Tale of One City: Topographies of Prague before 1848', *Bohemia*, 52(1) (2012), 5–21.


Castle District
Lesser Town
Jewish Town
Old Town
New Town
Vlatava
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
12
13
14
1 Petřín Hill
2 Kinský Gardens
3 Royal Gardens
4 Charles Bridge
5 Small Venice Island
6 Žofín Island
7 Baumgarten/Stromovka
8 Large Venice Island
9 On the Moat
10 Horse Square (now Wenceslaus Square)
11 Vyšehrad
12 Canal Gardens
13 Wimmer Gardens
0
500
1,000 Meters

Map 2 Prague, *c*.1847 (map produced by Philip Schwartzberg)

a Church hierarchy and a nobility who jealously guarded rights and privileges originally granted to them by the king. Many of these rights and privileges persisted into the nineteenth century. Guilds maintained their rights of association, self-governance, production and sale. Priests and other religious dignitaries still answered primarily to the archbishop of Prague. The nobility still enjoyed various privileges within the Bohemian kingdom as a whole, including landowners' rights and exemption from military conscription. Other groups existed outside this *Stände* system. Most of Prague's 7,000 Jews still lived in the Jewish town and were subject to the rule—and whims—of the city magistrate. And, of course, there were the uncounted, unnamed thousands who worked as day labourers and wood-haulers, or who could find no work at all, and had few or no rights within the city.[6]

The *Stände* system also encouraged social segregation, a segregation that the nobility enforced most energetically. Early in the nineteenth century members of the nobility had little contact with other Prague residents, save when they donated money to charities for the poor. Only the wealthiest of burghers were invited to mingle with Prague's nobility.[7] The privileged orders together ensured that members of a growing labouring class inhabited shoddily constructed suburbs outside the city walls. In 1844 railway workers and other radicalized members of a growing working class stormed a gate in the New Town, making their presence known, if only for a fleeting moment, before Habsburg troops and the city militia quashed the protest.[8]

Yet while Prague's architectural treasures, urban layout and walls suggested traditional *Stände* hierarchies, between 1780 and 1848 the city was undergoing a peculiarly Central European form of urbanization that challenged these old orders. In 1784 Josef II decreed that the New Town, Old Town, Lesser Town and Castle District would henceforth be fused into one administrative unit, thereby ending a long tradition of local rule within a divided city. By 1808 the burgomaster and municipal council were no longer elected but appointed by the Habsburg governor of Bohemia. Ruling elites, a burgeoning city administration, and much of the police force became civil servants with salaries and duties established in Vienna.

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[6] Jaroslaus Schaller, *Beschreibung der königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Prag* (Prague, 1820), 25–8; August Franz Wenzel Griesel, *Neustes Gemälde von Prag* (Prague, 1823), 68.

[7] Griesel, *Neustes Gemälde*, 73. While visiting Prague in 1800 Arthur Schopenhauer was also quite struck by the social segregation in the city as manifested, especially, in salutations. Vincy Schwarz, *Vidím město veliké*: *Cizinci o Praze* (Prague, 1940), 162.

[8] Josef Polišenský, *Aristocrats and the Crowd in the Revolutionary Year 1848: A Contribution to the History of Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Austria* (Albany, 1980), 57–9.

The result was a professionalization of city administration, but at the cost of municipal independence and self-sufficiency. A series of imperial decrees, culminating in the citizenship law of 1811, eroded most of the legal protections and privileges enjoyed by the nobility, such as their rights to dispense justice over their subjects. The archbishop of Prague forfeited legal jurisdiction over his subjects as well.[9] From 1782, Habsburg rulers granted certain privileges to Jews, such as the ability to practise trades and own land, which eventually allowed many to open shops and inhabit houses outside the Jewish Town.

Habsburg rulers also laid the foundation for a modern, capitalist Prague. The monarchy's Bohemian representatives based there constructed an impressive system of roads that shot out from Prague towards the major trading centres of German-speaking Europe and beyond.[10] By the 1830s Prague had become a major trading centre in its own right. Manufacturers produced sugar, porcelain, paper, beer, textiles and, after 1843, railway carriages.[11] It also became a centre of government, replete with an expanding bureaucracy. These two developments acted as a magnet drawing more and more people to the city. The city's first census in 1770 had counted more than 77,000 people. By 1846 Prague's population had expanded well beyond 100,000 inhabitants, and this did not include working-class residents who crowded into the newly built suburbs in Karlín and Smíchov located just outside the city walls.[12] By 1843 four in every ten people living within Prague's walls had not been born in the city.[13]

Within the city's walls, many of the old characters remained, of course. The number of master journeymen, key members of the guild system, remained at roughly 2,000 throughout the period. A remarkably high concentration of nobles, 683 according to the 1846 census, considered Prague their home. Indeed, many of these nobles found positions within the burgeoning Habsburg bureaucracy. Other positions were filled by first-generation university graduates born into the lower classes and the peasantry—more than 2,000 literate and politically engaged elites who, along with an unemployed intelligentsia, would prove to be a driving force for liberal change within the city. Tradesmen and shopkeepers formed another portion of this emergent class of middling elites. The number of fruit sellers rose from 36 in 1834 to 240 in 1847. The number of butchers and butter sellers rose from 21 to 114 and 55 to 141, respectively, in the same period.[14] Still more elites could be found among the owners of factories, warehouses and inventories often located just outside the city walls. As the century progressed, Prague's emerging middle class of tradesmen, shopkeepers, civil servants and industrialists gained rights as burghers and hence access to corporate resources, such as charity services. Although not drawn toward revolutionary action, they quietly shared liberal beliefs that took shape after the French Revolution.[15]

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[9] Pavel Bělina (ed.), *Dějiny Prahy: Od sloučení pražských měst v roce 1784 do současnosti* (Prague and Litomyšl, 1998), 15–17; Josef Janáček, *Malé dějiny Prahy* (Prague, 1983), 243–4; Jitka Lněničková, *České země v době předbřeznové 1792–1848* (Prague, 1999), 60–2.

[10] Milan Hlavačka, *Cestování v éře dostavníku: Všední den na středoevropských cestách* (Prague, 1998), 23–8.

[11] Poche, *Krok*, 9.

[12] Bělina, *Dějiny*, 24.

[13] Ludmila Kárníková, *Vývoj obyvatelstva v českých zemích 1754–1914* (Prague, 1965), 105, 107.

While encouraging economic modernization, and the benefits that it provided to tax coffers, Habsburg rulers looked upon these new middle-class elites with suspicion. Hence they coupled their efforts at centralization with a wave of repression designed to prevent the further influx of ideas born of the French Revolution—an event that, in their eyes, had led to Europe's most destructive conflict since the Thirty Years War and had caused many Europeans to question monarchies whose legitimacy depended upon God and tradition. The Habsburg army became a visible presence, not just in the city's newly built barracks, but along its fortifications.[16] A special office in Prague censored letters that arrived from abroad. A related system of censorship denuded local publications of serious political content, even if censors did allow space for cultural development and non-political discussions. Libraries provided police with lists of borrowed books. Books on the Censorship Court Bureau's index were either banned or restricted in various ways. Habsburg spies monitored conversations.[17] Liberal, reformist ideas still entered the city in the form of pamphlets smuggled in from other countries. By the 1840s liberal publications printed abroad could occasionally be found in reading clubs and cafes throughout the city. Traces of liberal thought crept into officially sanctioned publications as well, especially by the 1840s. Radical political societies met out of earshot of Habsburg secret police.

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[14] Jiří Štaif, *Obezřetná elita: Česká společnost mezi tradicí a revolucí 1830–1851* (Prague, 2005), 72.

[15] Lněničková, *České země*, 254–5.

[16] Griesel, *Neustes Gemälde*, 68.

[17] Stanley Z. Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848* (Chapel Hill, 1969), 9–12; Bělina, *Dějiny*, 22.

Revolution would come to Prague in 1848, but before then Prague's middling elites turned much of their public attention to assuring their newly won social status. The wealthiest among them purchased country homes beyond the city walls and obtained titles of nobility. Owning property within the city, as well as living in a 'respectable' neighbourhood, marked one out as well. Women of all social levels wore fashionable dresses and bonnets in public; men wore hats and tailcoats.[18] Often encouraged by liberal-minded nobles, they attended the theatre, danced at balls, engaged in conversations in reading clubs and cafes, and travelled in ways that mimicked the customs and practices of the aristocratic elites. Once they gained experience and capital, the middling classes formed their own clubs and societies for the promotion of middle-class culture and economic advancement. To be middle class, then, meant to obtain financial and social respectability through a set of practices often borrowed from the nobility.[19] The middle classes, however, overlaid these practices with a peculiarly Central European Biedermeier culture in which, as Virgil Nemoianu writes, 'everyday life [became] the locus for applying romantic ideals in a rational, moderate fashion—under Enlightenment auspices, as it were'.[20] In Prague this meant exhibiting frugality, modesty, a love of the family, and deep concern for domesticity that paralleled a public life of grace, sociability and tempered enjoyment. It also meant embracing romanticism in the arts, such as the classical music of Franz Liszt, Hector Berlioz, and Frédéric Chopin, not to mention an array of locally trained composers. Essayists and short-story writers filled the pages of local newspapers with sentimental tales of romance, domestic drama and excursions into nature.

Many of these cultural impulses came from other parts of German-speaking Europe, and for good reason. Before 1848 Prague was, in many ways, a 'German' city where German was the language of the bureaucracy, of most educational institutions, and of the majority of the city's elites. Prague had also become an increasingly popular destination for travellers from Germany, most of whom arrived from Dresden or the spas of

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[18] Lněničková, *České země*, 255–6.

[19] In this respect, Praguers shared much with their counterparts in France and the German lands as described in Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Cambridge, MA, 2000).

[20] Virgil Nemoianu, *The Taming of Romanticism: European Literature and the Age of Biedermeier* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 11.

Karlsbad.[21] As Peter Demetz notes, German-language travelogues and travel reports on Prague, ‘provincial, quiet, and darkly dominated by its historical monuments’, had become ‘a virtual literary genre of German Biedermeier writing’ after the Napoleonic Wars.[22] Travel writers, in turn, inspired civic patriots to compose detailed topographies of Prague that combined rich statistical information with romantic historical accounts and detailed descriptions of the city and its surroundings. In his 1831 publication *Prague As It Was and As It Is*, Julius Max Schottky, for example, began by quoting laudatory travel accounts of the city in a book intended to pique further the interest of foreigners and ‘teach Bohemians to intimately love and hold in high esteem their peculiar fatherland’.[23] Travel writers and topographers alike considered Prague—once within the Holy Roman Empire and at the time a member of the German Confederation—to be part of Germany, even though the majority of the city’s inhabitants primarily spoke Czech at home.

By the 1830s, however, Czech-speaking tradesmen, civil servants and members of the intelligentsia began to challenge the German-language domination of the city. Yet it was only in 1848 that nationalist rivalry burst out into the open. Before then, members of the German-speaking elites such as Franz Klutschak considered the Czech national movement a quaint effort to revive a language and history.[24] Czech elites, while radicalized by the revolutions of the 1830s and embracing a peculiarly romantic nationalism inspired by Johann Gottfried Herder, remained beholden to their noble benefactors and considered their efforts largely in cultural, not political, terms. They not only strove to establish themselves as elites on an equal footing with their German-speaking counterparts, but saw cultural production—dictionaries, poetry, short stories, plays, musicals, historical accounts and topographies—as a way of establishing the Czechs as a nation of repute. For Czech nationalists, then, Biedermeier cultural practices were a means of establishing their newly won status in the city as well as their nation's status within Europe more broadly.[25]

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[21] On the popularity of Prague as a destination for Germans, see Demetz, *Prague*, 272–4; see also the voluminous quotations from various German travel writers in Julius Schottky, *Prag, wie es war und wie es ist. Nach Aktenstücken und den besten Quellenschriften geschildert* (Prague, 1831), I, 15–31. A number of German-speaking British travellers ventured off the Grand Tour to visit Prague as well. Peter Bugge, ‘“Something in the View which Makes You Linger”: Bohemia and Bohemians in British Travel Writing, 1836–1857’, *Central Europe*, 7(1) (May 2009), 3–29.

[22] Demetz, *Prague*, 272, 273.

[23] Schottky, *Prag*, I, vii–viii.

[24] Franz Klutschak, *Der Führer durch Prag* (Prague, 1845), 17.

Whether German-speaking or Czech-speaking, nearly all of Prague's emerging middle-class elites eventually turned to strolling as a way of establishing their newly acquired status within the city. They did so, however, only thanks to the generosity of Habsburg officials and liberal-minded nobles, as well as the chiding of vocal civic patriots. As throughout Europe, Prague's nobles had, by the late eighteenth century, a long-established tradition of strolling in gardens. Only a handful of non-nobles walked in these gardens. Access to green spaces came slowly. A significant example is the royal gardens just west of the Castle district walls known as the Baumgarten, and later Stromovka. Established by Přemysl Otakar in the thirteenth century, the gardens underwent numerous architectural changes over the years—the introduction of fish ponds, grottos, and, finally, in the early eighteenth century, curving paths and a variety of flora and fauna that mimicked English-style gardens—yet its usage long remained restricted to the court and its guests.

In 1792, however, the Bohemian estates hosted a harvest festival to celebrate the coronation of Franz II to the Habsburg throne that included Prague burghers and notables from around Bohemia. One witness wrote that roughly 5,000 people had been invited to the festival, which included 24 dance floors, 6,000 lanterns, and 10,000 torches. Guests consumed more than 3,000 bottles of wine, 2,000 bottles of beer, and 300 carafes of English punch.[26] In the following decades the Baumgarten hosted a number of weddings and holiday celebrations, and in 1804 Jan Rudolf Chotek, governor of Bohemia, opened the park to the public.[27] Non-nobles obtained access to a limited number of other public spaces as well. In the late eighteenth century the moat separating the Old and New Towns, previously one of the least appealing sections of the city, was filled, covered, and lined with linden trees, thus creating a broad avenue for promenaders. Non-nobles could also congregate on several of the islands that dotted the Vltava river. In 1791 Franz Alexander von Kleist enjoyed an evening of 'Socratic conversations' on Small Venice Island amid 'thoughtful gentlemen and sensitive ladies' under clear, blue skies.[28] Other islands, including hunting grounds for royalty that had been granted to local organizations and the city militia, became favoured spots for evening meals in the summertime.[29]

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[25] For an excellent summary, see Štaif, *Obezřetná elita*.

[26] Jaroslaus Schaller, *Beschreibung der königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Prag. Sammt allen darinn befindlichen sehenswürdigen Merkwürdigkeiten* (Prague, 1794), I, 530–4.

[27] Olga Bašeová, *Pražské zahrady* (Prague, 1991), 84–5.

More space became accessible to the middle classes after the Napoleonic Wars. Some nobles allowed members of the public to stroll through their gardens on appointed days of the week. Other nobles opened up their gardens to 'proper-looking' people or to those who obtained passes from their palaces in the Lesser Town. Again, some, no doubt proud of architectural additions that reflected the latest English tastes, decided to make their gardens, in essence, public parks. Still more sought to encourage, albeit subtly, liberal and Biedermeier ideas.[30] Perhaps the most notable in this respect was Emanuel Joseph Malabaila Canal, who opened his English garden to the public in 1817. Canal had been the chairman of the Patriotic Economic Society, and thus a member of the nobility who embraced at least some aspects of the liberalism that came to predominate among Prague's *Burgerstand* (indeed, one author describes him as liberal).[31]

The decision to create an English rather than a Baroque garden was also significant, as the former suggested liberal values, the latter conservative absolutism. Canal's paths wandered among the trees, leading the stroller to family monuments and a garden pavilion—all suggestive of timelessness, domesticity and aesthetic sentimentalism. One path led to a hermitage which, as Robert Rotenberg suggests, indicated that 'the patron was a true lover of nature, an enlightened man who sought a new liberal order'. Vineyards and a garden covered a sunny hillside. The garden included 700 types of fruit trees, as well as botanical rarities visited by students from Prague University and other specialists. A variety of potato crops furthered efforts by the enlightened absolutist Joseph II to introduce this starchy, new-world vegetable to Central Europeans. (Despite chronic food shortages, Praguers remained sceptical into the nineteenth century.) The garden's sugar refinery, the first in the city, suggested a man of commerce and economic productivity.[32] The wealthiest among Prague's rising middle classes mimicked noble practices by designing their own gardens and offering public access. After Canal's death in 1826 his family sold the gardens to Moric Zdekauer, a Prague banker and shop owner who kept the garden open to the public. Jakub Wimmer, a tradesman who made his fortune building the fortifications for the military barracks at Theresianstadt, also built an elaborate English garden with walking paths that possessed a 'patriotic sense of beauty' on lands that had once been the royal gardens.[33] One rising industrialist established a garden and cafe for the public near his paper mill on the banks of the Vltava.[34]

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[28] Franz Alexander von Kleist, *Fantasien auf einer Reise nach Prag* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1792), 102.

[29] Anton Reichsritter von Geissau, *Kurze Beschreibung der königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Prag im Königreiche Böhmen, und insbesondere des Panorama von dieser Hauptstadt* (Vienna and Prague, 1805), 60–1; Schottky, *Prag*, II, 12; Karel Vladislav Zap, *Wegweiser durch Prag. Ein nothwendiges Handbuch für Fremde, die sich mit den Merkwürdigkeiten der böhmischen Hautpstadt bekannt zu machen wünschen*, trans. Ludwig Ritter von Rittersberg (Prague, 1848), 335; Bělina, *Dějiny*, 68–9.

[30] Schaller, *Beschreibung* (1820), 63–4.

[31] Ibid., 67.

And yet, as civic patriots curtly complained in the first decades of the nineteenth century, non-noble Praguers, despite cultural impulses from England and Germany, only rarely took strolls in these and other spaces. This was despite the fact that Prague's emerging middle classes had begun to embrace modern fashion, music, dancing and other markers of respectability. Jaroslav Schaller, a Piarist educator writing in 1820, complained that in the summer the noble classes left for their country homes and spas. Wealthier inhabitants of the city developed their own small garden plots both within and just outside the city. As a result, no one promenaded or strolled, leaving the city empty and lifeless.[35] Dancing was the only event in which the middle classes came together in public, another civic patriot, August Franz Wenzel Griesel, wrote five years later, and this camaraderie lasted only as long as the music played. Otherwise, he concluded, Praguers remained 'closed and monosyllabic', confining their interactions to small, private gatherings.[36]

Yet another civic patriot, Sebastian Willibald Schiessler, went further, writing that non-nobles' failure to stroll marked them as socially inferior to the nobility. Schiessler, a young army officer and Prague native who would later be known for charity work in the city, bemoaned the fact that ‘the noble is somewhat sociable with his own. The same cannot be said of the other classes.’ ‘Where sociability predominates the culture is raised to higher levels’, he continued. ‘Many virtuous principles can develop more quickly and more effectively, and the fraternity of humanity is firmly bound with a sense of moral character.’ As evidence, he declared, sadly, that the city’s gardens ‘are of no importance [to Prague’s non-nobles] and are only used by the inhabitants in order to consume their supper out of doors’.[37]

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[32] Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1857), II, 241–2; Bašeová, *Pražské zahrady*, 86. Robert Rotenberg, 'Biedermeier Gardens in Vienna and the Self-Fashioning of Middle-Class Identities', in Michel Conan and Chen Whangheng (eds), *Gardens, City Life, and Culture: A World Tour* (Washington, DC, 2008), 115–16.

[33] Schaller, *Beschreibung* (1820), 19.

[34] Ibid., 67–8.

[35] Ibid., 39–40.

[36] Griesel, *Neustes Gemälde*, 75.

Sociability, as Schiessler and other civic patriots knew well, was central to middle-class status and respectability in the early nineteenth century. What seems to have bothered these authors was the lack of public sociability among Prague’s emerging middle classes of the kind performed most obviously through strolling. Romantic poets might have written of men, book in hand, wandering through a melancholic, natural setting, but middle-class leisure walking was done among families and small groups of men and women. They conversed, and flirted, according to a set of rules laid out by advice books. A respectable stroller kept more than two metres apart from new acquaintances. The most intimate friends and family members went arm-in-arm. Idleness, combined paradoxically with an upright stance and stiffness of limbs, distinguished the walk. Talking-points such as gothic ruins, Chinese bridges, monuments, memorials and garden gnomes provided material for conversation. Sociability also meant seeing and being seen. Men wore specially designed walking hats and tobacco bags. Women often wore gloves. Children brought rolling toys, dolls and butterfly nets. Adults typically carried walking sticks or, in the case of women alone, umbrellas, all of which recalled the noble practice of strolling with a duelling sword. Unlike the nobility, who primarily had strolled during the week, middle-class elites strolled on Sunday afternoons and holidays, thus underscoring a division between work and leisure during the week, not to mention the merits of labour as opposed to inherited luxury.[38]

Not long after civic patriots had chided Praguers for ignoring the merits of sociability, the city’s middle-class inhabitants began descending upon the city's green spaces. In 1820 Schaller had complained that floods had covered the island of Great Venice with sand and that the other islands had little to offer in the way of walks.[39] Three years later two wooden bridges linked Great Venice with the New Town and a dance hall had been built.[40] That same year Washington Irving, having escaped tedious social engagements in Dresden, described for his friend Emily Foster his attempts to find solace on Great Venice Island:

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[37] Sebastian Willibald Schiessler, *Prag und seine Umgebungen: Ein Taschenbuch für Fremde und Einheimische* (Prague, 1812), I, 12.

[38] Sabine Krebber, *Der Spaziergang in der Kunst: Eine Untersuchung des Motives in der Kunst des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, Bern, New York, Paris, 1990), 26–9, 93–7.

> There are really delightful walks in the vicinity of this place. I often wish for you all here, that I might show you some charming strolls. There are several islands on the Muldau [sic: the Vltava] that are laid out with walks; one that particularly delights me is called, I think, *der Grosser Venedig* [Great Venice]. It is covered with trees, and has the most beautiful shady avenues and rambling footpaths, that wind among groves and thickets along the banks of the Muldau. I spend hours there in the morning, before the Germans come to poison the air with themselves and their tobacco pipes; as the pure air is too insipid for a German. Indeed, he knows as little of what pure air is, as a drunkard does of pure water: they both must qualify the element to their palates. I don't know a better punishment for the German delinquents, than to deprive them of their pipes, and banish them to Buenos Ayres—they'd die of the purity of the air.[41]

Again in 1823 a German traveller who made no mention of pipe-smoking, Wilhelm Bischoff, took note of Praguers' love of nature and how walking on the islands of the Vltava was becoming a common summer pastime.[42] By 1831 Julius Max Schottky claimed that Prague was home to some of the most visited and discussed strolling paths in the German lands—a new phenomenon that had developed before Praguers' eyes within the previous few years.[43] Travel guides announced that the Baumgarten had become known as the Prater of Prague—the most popular garden for

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[39] Schaller, *Beschreibung* (1820), 17.

[40] Rudolf von Jenny and Adolph Schmidl, *Handbuch für Reisende in den österreichischen Kaiserstaate* (Vienna, 1823), II, 431.

[41] Washington Irving, 'Prague, Saturday June 13, 1823, letter to Miss Emily Foster', in Pierre M. Irving (ed.), *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1864), III, 402–3.

[42] Wilhelm Ferdinand Bischoff, *Reise durch die Königreiche Sachsen und Böhmen in den Jahren 1822 und 1823. Mit dem Bildnisse Albrechts Von Wallenstein nach einem Wohlgetroffenen Originalgemälde* (Leipzig, 1825), 162.

[43] Schottky, *Prag*, I, 31.

Sunday strolls among the urban elites.[44] Local elites formed volunteer clubs to care for publicly owned green spaces, and in 1842 the first public park administered by the city opened to the public.[45] It is perhaps not a coincidence that Morstadt's *Views of Prague* was published in 1830, just as strolling was beginning to gain in popularity among the middle classes. He and other lithographers consistently depicted respectable, sociable, middle-class strollers along the paths in and around Prague. In doing so, they not only confirmed an emerging reality but portrayed a set of peculiarly middle-class manners and customs (dress, accoutrements such as walking sticks, distance from one's companions, posture and so on) to be imitated.[46]

As the number of possibilities for strolling increased, various social groups also made claims on particular parks and social spaces. In the 1830s the Czech-speaking educated classes descended upon Dyer's Island, named after the leather dyer who owned the island and later renamed Žofin after a prominent member of the Habsburg family, the Archduchess Sophie. Numerous paths meandered through the poplar-lined island, which was accessed by crossing a small wooden bridge from the New Town. Visitors could partake in warm or cold baths, listen to occasional outdoor concerts, or play billiards in the saloon. Vendors offered pony rides for children. Nationalist-minded patriots held balls in a building that would later became the site for the Pan-Slavic Congress of 1848.[47] Even members of the working classes took up middle-class strolling practices. By the 1840s urban elites had abandoned Great Venice to the working classes. Floods had swept over the island again, and its walks had fallen into disrepair. Bleach from nearby textile factories washed up on the island; newly built railway tracks gashed through previously pristine forests.[48] Accounts of such social stratification are rare, especially as the possibilities for socializing out of doors increased, but these barriers no doubt existed. One cannot avoid the conclusion that an old set of spatial inclusions and exclusions created by strolling within garden boundaries had been replaced by others.

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[44] Jenny and Schmidl, *Handbuch*, 334; Klutschak, *Der Führer*, 110–11; Zap, *Wegweiser*, 337.

[45] Bašeová, *Pražské zahrady*, 91, 93.

[46] In addition to Morstadt's *Ansichten an Prag*, see his other lithographs reproduced in Hlavsa, *Praha* and Pasáková, *Praha*. See also the lithographs by Morstadt and other artists in L. Lange, *Prag und seine nächsten Umgebungen in malerischen Original-Ansichten nach der Natur* (Darmstadt, 1845), 102, 106, 108; V. Hlavsa, *Praha očima staletí* (Prague, 1984), plates 83, 93–5, 100, 103, 110, 115–16, 118–19, 120, 135–6; and Bašeová, *Pražské zahrady*, 85, 88, 95.

[47] Karel Vladislav Zap, *Popsánj kr. hlawnjho města Prahy pro cizince i domácj* (Prague, 1835), 204–6.

[48] Karel Vladislav Zap, *Průwodce po Praze. Potřebna příruční kniha pro každého, kdo se s pamětnostmi Českého hlawního města seznámiti chce* (Prague, 1848), 293.

II

Prague's middle-class elites had not only taken up strolling, but they had, with some prodding, begun to claim territory for this particular social practice. In doing so, they reconfigured boundaries within and outside the city while endowing these spaces with social purpose. Significantly, much of the territory that Prague's rising middle classes claimed lay outside the city's walls. Nobles still owned the vast majority of the green spaces within the city. Most of the space available to construct new gardens lay outside the fortifications. (Canal's and Wimmers' gardens, for example, existed on land that had once been part of the royal vineyards.) There, too, the middle classes followed paths through forests, up hills, and across the countryside. In doing so, they not only crossed, but blurred, a border that had long been a defining aspect of the city into the nineteenth century.

Thanks in large part to the expansion of the city under Charles IV in the fourteenth century, Prague's city walls were some of the most extensive in Europe. To walk their entire length around the city required four hours.[49] Rectangular guard towers manned by soldiers and police looked over high crenellated walls encircled by deep moats.[50] Bridges that spanned the moats could be dismantled or burned once the city came under attack. Pitfalls cut deep into carriageways and other paths leading to city gates. (During peacetime, wooden planks lay over the pitfalls.)[51] The walls' military value had, however, had been in decline since the seventeenth century. The Thirty Years War had inspired a number of reforms that transformed Prague into a fortress with citadels, but by the time the project was completed in 1727 advances in military technology had rendered many of these improvements obsolete. In 1741 French and Saxon armies faced little resistance before occupying Prague during the War of the Austrian Succession. Three years later Frederick the Great's Prussian army captured the city after only three days of artillery bombardment. Prussian cannon fire rained down on the city again in 1757, during the Seven Years War, before an Austrian victory in the east, at Kolín, forced the Prussians to withdraw. The Napoleonic Wars inspired a new round of reinforcements to the walls between 1809 and 1813, but many of these projects remained unfunded, and unfinished, after 1815.[52]

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[49] Ibid., 51.

[50] Edgar Theodor Havránek, *Neznamá Praha* (Prague and Litomyšl, 2004 [reprinted from 1939 original]), I, 13–14; Zap, *Průwodce*, 53.

[51] Bělina, *Dějiny*, 70.

It was not until much later in the century that Prague's walls would begin to come down, however. One reason was that in the early nineteenth century they maintained the city's long-standing sovereignty while playing an instrumental role in overseeing and restricting movement across the city's borders. It was only possible to enter the city through one of Prague's eight gates, a process often described in great detail by travellers writing early in the nineteenth century. A clerk took note of each entrant's name, social standing and occupation. Visitors had to declare where they would be lodging in Prague and hand over their passports, key documents in a world where both states and localities had begun to monitor travel. A solicitor collected a toll from those entering the city. (Members of the clergy and various messengers were spared the tax.) Anyone bringing goods to the city also paid a customs tax. In the winter the gates closed at 10 p.m. and opened up at 6 a.m. In the summer they remained open from 4.30 a.m. until 11.00 p.m. Only those riding in carriages could pass through the gates at night, and only then with special permission from the city police and an extra payment of one Kreuzer.[53]

Another reason for the walls' survival was that, early in the nineteenth century, they still provided a sense of protection. Throughout the night appointed residents manned high points on the walls to keep watch for fires.[54] Before the Napoleonic Wars, the nobility left the city to hunt bears, deer and Hungarian ox, but few urban elites ventured beyond Prague's gates for pleasure.[55] Writing in 1825, one local claimed that numerous dangers lurked beyond the city's walls, especially in the forests where robbers and wild animals lurked. Prague's dead had to be buried at least half an hour's walk from the city gates, often in disreputable locales that attracted the city's riff-raff.[56] Finally, and perhaps most crucially, Prague's walls recalled an earlier era as well as a traditional understanding of society. Walls, along with a market place and the guild system, had distinguished the city from a mere settlement. Walls, then, also symbolized a world dominated by the guild system and burghers who jealously guarded privileges and rights granted to them by the king. They represented the *Stände* system that Prague's rising middle classes, prodded by liberal nobility and civic patriots, came to challenge.[57]

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[52] Vladimir Kupka, *Pevnost Praha* (Dvůr Králové nad Labem, 1996); Andrej Romaňák, 'Praha jako pevnost', *Staletá Praha*, 19 (1989), 159–276; Bělina, *Dějiny*, 70–3.

[53] Havránek, *Neznamá Praha*, I, 27; Bischoff, *Reise*,139. On the experience of entering the walled city more generally, see Daniel Jütte, 'Entering a City: On a Lost Early Modern Practice', *Urban History*, 41(2) (2014), 204–27.

[54] Griesel, *Neustes Gemälde*, 111; Schottky, *Prag*, 366.

[55] Arthur Schopenhauer, diary entry from 1 September 1800, cited in Schwarz, *Vidím město*, 163.

As the century progressed, however, travellers and local topographers took little note of the process of entering the city, suggesting that it had become easier to walk beyond the city's walls. Not only did Praguers promenade in gardens outside the city walls, but the world beyond this traditional border became celebrated for its beauty, not its dangers. At the beginning of the nineteenth century pathways leading out from the city had become overgrown; only those with the means to travel by carriage tended to visit sites away from the safety of the city's walls.[58] By the 1830s six newly built roads radiated outwards from Prague, each lined with trees and including paths for Sunday walkers. Pubs and cafes began to appear on the roadside to serve travellers and strollers alike.[59] Topographies and guidebooks now began to include descriptions of day trips to nearby villages, historical sites and natural phenomena, many of which required a three-hour walk. Praguers were not only leaving the city's walls. They were venturing into nature, only to come back in the evening before the gates shut for the night.

Among the most popular day trips was that to Šarka, a densely wooded forest to the north-west of Prague with pathways that, together, required two and a half hours to walk. Located near the village of Podbaba, Šarka took its name from an infamous—yet admired—female warrior of legend. (It was on this spot, during the ninth-century 'war of maidens', that the beautiful Šarka lured the Czech king's most feared warrior, Ctirad, to a deadly ambush. Šarka, like the rest of the women who allegedly rose up in revolt against patriarchal rule, was later killed at the fortification in nearby Devín.) An 1814 collection of lithographs, replete with romantic images of Šarka's creeks and rock formations, piqued the interest of local Praguers and travellers alike, but it was not until the 1830s that guidebook writers and topographers combined walking and romantic imagery in their works.[60] In describing his stroll through Šarka for the readers of *Bohemia*, Prague's most respected German-language journal for liberal-leaning elites, Anton Müller described how conversation among his companions became more invigorated upon entering the forest. From Šarka the Vltava seemed 'wider and friendlier', which inspired Müller to indulge in a bit of romantic imagery:

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[56] Griesel, *Neustes Gemälde*, 114–15.

[57] For an excellent discussion of the meaning of walls to fortified cities in Central Europe before and after the Napoleonic Wars, see Yair Mintzker, *The Defortification of the German City, 1689–1866* (New York, 2012); also Zdeněk Wirth, *Pražské zahrady* (Prague, 1913), 8–9. In this respect, Prague had much in common with the towns described in Mack Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate, 1648–1871* (Ithaca, 1971).

[58] Schaller, *Beschreibung* (1820), 51.

[59] Bašeová, *Pražská zahrady*, 86.

> I have in mind the great Schiller when I maintain that beauteous Nature offers no greater pleasure than to glide downstream on a light boat, to be refreshed by the running water and the sight of hilly river banks, to guide the boat to the left and right, to linger, or to move more swiftly.[61]

Murray's guidebook described Šarka as a 'retired glen, presenting a sample of the most romantic scenery'.[62] The Czech-speaking civic patriot Karel Vladislav Zap noted, somewhat derisively, that Šarka was a place 'where our romantics take pleasure in lingering, where they indulge in a sense of isolation and [enjoy] being entirely cut off from the noise of the city'.[63]

Other excursions outside the city had alternative purposes, different historical narratives attached to them. Nearby Hvězda, for example, was praised for its uniquely star-shaped summer villa, a long tradition of peasant festivals, and the fact that it was on this spot that Frederick the Great encamped during the 1744 siege of the city. Prague's original fortifications on Vyšehrad, which had begun to undergo renovations, recalled the original settlement and many legends evoking the Slavs' arrival to the region. Chuchle was known for its spas. Villages promised a glimpse of traditional culture. Local history and the availability of refreshments tend to dominate the descriptions of other destinations for the walker. These and other locations outside the city hosted balls, festivals and other social events that spanned the spring, summer and autumn months.[64] Each year, on 26 July, Žofin hosted the festival of St Anna, in which women of that name, along with their admirers, promenaded the island decorated with wreaths, garlands and illuminated arches festooned with large 'A's and 'N's. 'The place was small and the crowd [so] great', one traveller wrote in 1841, 'that the visitors could do little than move in slow procession along the broad walk which encircles the island.'[65]

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[60] Franz Sartori, *Malerisches Taschenbuch für Freunde interessanter Gegenden, Natur- und Kunst-Merkwürdigkeiten der Österreichischen Monarchie*, III (Vienna, 1814); Schaller, *Beschreibung* (1820), 62; Jenny, *Handbuch*, II, 431.

[61] A. Müller, 'Kleine Ausflüge in Prags Umgebungen', *Bohemia, eine Unterhaltungsblatt*, 112 (16 September 1832), 1.

[62] John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany* (London, 1837), 334.

[63] Zap, *Průwodce*, 300.

Another purpose of walking was to take in a view of the city and its surroundings, and few locations were better for this purpose than the city's walls. Prague was one of a handful of cities in Central Europe that remained fortified by walls after the Napoleonic Wars.[66] Thus it was a rare city that also allowed strollers elevated views of both the buildings and their surroundings. In the early 1820s Governor Chotek opened a section of the city's wall to promenaders. By 1842 Praguers could stroll almost the entire perimeter of the city's walls, which had become a garden path of sorts lined with trees and other plants.[67] Pavilions, gazebos and even cafes appeared atop the walls.[68] Murray, in fact, claimed that the gardens found in the Bruska fortress on the north-western corner of the city walls offered the best view of Prague and its environs.[69] Other topographies suggested different points along the wall, but all agreed that the stroll was both popular and not to be missed. Prague's walls, once an imposing, symbolically powerful border of exclusion and inclusion, had been turned into a site of recreation for a new urban elite. Indeed, after 1815 nearly all of the funding to improve the city's walls was for beautification. Civic patriots and others provided detailed descriptions of the city's gates, each with its own name, architectural style and history, while describing the views that strollers could enjoy from these elevated points.

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[64] Klutschak, *Der Führer*, 98–111; Karl Baedeker, *Handbuch für Reisende durch Deutschland und den Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaat: Nach eigener Anschauung und den besten Hülfsquellen* (Coblenz, 1842), 197.

[65] J. G. Kohl, *Austria: Vienna, Prague, etc. etc.* (Philadelphia, 1844), 41–2, quotation from 41.

[66] Mintzer, *Defortification*.

[67] Jenny and Schmidl, *Handbuch*, 431; Zap, *Popsánj*, 198–9; Murray, *Handbook*, 328; Baedeker, *Handbuch*, 195; Zap, *Průwodce*, 53.

[68] Bělina, *Dějiny Prahy*, 69.

[69] Murray, *Handbook*, 328.

Praguers also took in views of Prague and its location from one of the many hills surrounding the city. Indeed, as one traveller wrote, the hills, which ran along the western boundary of the city, crossed the Vltava at Vyšehrad, and then continued onto Žižkov hill, created an amphitheatre with numerous elevated views.[70] As throughout Europe, gardens and paths in Prague included designed vistas, often with benches, but travellers and topographers constantly remarked on the sheer multitude of breathtaking views that Praguers enjoyed. 'The city has so grand an appearance from whatever side it is seen', Murray wrote, listing no less than five vantage points that should be visited.[71] Ascending the hilly paths of Kinský garden, another traveller observed, revealed 'a panoramic view of Prague and its environs, one of those views in which one dwells with lingering fondness, but of which the pen is powerless to convey a description, and of all which we can say is, that it is *beautiful*'.[72] Perhaps the most popular view was from atop Petřin hill, located just within the city's western-most wall. As Schottky wrote of Petřin in 1831, '[This] hill is, especially in the afternoon and early evening hours, filled with individual walkers, students and painters, and soon lovers, who think little of this world because they find themselves between heaven and earth. Joyful groups of children step here and there on the lively green … which is ringed by fruit trees, vineyards, and grain fields.'[73] By the 1840s it had become a cliché among topographers to begin their descriptions of the city with a panoramic description of the city as viewed from Petřin Hill.

In part, such descriptions of the scenes observed from elevated viewpoints looking towards the city suggest a grander, European shift in perspective, especially among travellers, who rarely noted the landscape as they approached their destinations.[74] The panorama, which originated as a circular painting, emerged as a popular form of visual perspective in which a landscape and/or city was viewed from an elevated point, often from a round viewing point.[75] In this, Prague's admirers were very much in step with their European counterparts. In 1804 Bernhard Dousolt and William Barton hung from a Vienna water tower a panorama of Prague no less than 340 ft tall. In 1826 Antonín Langweil began work on a large-scale, papier mâché model of Prague inspired by Symphorien Caron's model of Paris, which had been exhibited in Prague in the spring of that year. Morstadt was just one of many lithographers who depicted panoramas of Prague and its surrounding countryside in their works.[76] Their illustrations became commonplace additions to travel guides and topographies beginning from the 1830s.

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[70] Lange, *Prag*, 3–4.

[71] Murray, *Handbook*, 334.

[72] Kohl, *Austria*, 48.

[73] Schottky, *Prag*, I, 23.

[74] See, for example, the passage from J. M. F. von Dalem, *Reise durch Preussen, Oesterreich, Silizien*, II (Braunschweig, 1794) reprinted in Schwarz, *Vidím město*, 150; Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg-Stolberg, *Reisen in Deutschland, der Schweiz, Italien, und Silizien in den Jahren 1791 und 1792* (Königsberg and Leipzig, 1794), 464.

Prague's panoramic views thus became a defining aspect of the city among travellers, tourists and strollers. Few cities in Central Europe had a topography that allowed for the kind of panoramic views that Prague provided. Berlin, Munich and Vienna lay on plains that provided few high points from which to view the city. Newly built suburbs crowded the landscape surrounding these booming metropolises. In Vienna, despite a glacis, or thin, uninhabited plain of paths separating the walled city from its massively expanding suburbs, most Sunday strollers took the train to forests, villages, ruins and castles hours from the city, or invited friends to their private villa gardens.[77] In Prague, where population increases were less dramatic and its walled city was many times the size of Vienna's, only two working-class suburbs appeared outside the city walls before 1848. Both lay along the banks of Vltava, leaving the paths and parks of the city's surrounding hills undisturbed. The Vltava, which, interestingly, took a bizarre eastward turn around the Old Town before hooking northwards again toward the North Sea, complemented Prague's large, often green interior expanses. Neither civic patriots nor travellers mention strolls to be had after a journey from Prague by train, which first arrived to the city in 1845, six years later than to Vienna.

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[75] Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium* (New York, 1997), 7. Soon thereafter, as Oettermann continues, the word came to mean a 'survey' or 'overview' of 'a particular field of knowledge, such as art, literature, or history'.

[76] On Dousolt, Barton and Langweil, see Kateřina Bečková, *Svědectví Langweilova modelu Prahy* (Prague, 1996); Eva Semotanová, *Mapy Čech, Moravy a Slezska v zrcadle staletí* (Prague, 2001), 134; Schottky, *Prag*, I, 78–83. For a sampling of lithographic panoramas of Prague, see Morstadt's lithographs mentioned above as well as Hlavsa, *Praha*, plates 78, 95, 116–20.

[77] Baedeker, *Handbuch*, 13, 249–50, 393; Kohl, *Austria*, 99; Rotenburg, 'Biedermeier Gardens', 111–22.

Yet another peculiarity, travel writers and civic patriots maintained, was the ways in which Prague's panorama blended romantic natural features and aged architectural features to create a majestic collage of town and countryside. The panorama of the city, one traveller wrote in 1808, 'recalls the romantic legends and tales of older and newer eras—it makes a great and lasting impression'.[78] 'The impression that Bohemia's capital city makes on the foreigner is indescribable', Wilhelm Bischoff wrote several years later. 'On the right banks of the Vltava, a wide space extends outwards while on the left banks the land raises itself like a terrace towards the hilltops. We see a wide river with boat and islands, an ancient, great bridge decorated with colossal statues, a multitude of churches and monasteries with shining spires, magnificent cupolas, and tremendous palaces that suggest eternity itself!'[79] 'If Vienna displays stately opulence and more glory in its extensiveness, Berlin the look of new royalty, the cities of Nuremburg and Cologne the old glory and other special qualities', Christian August Fischer wrote a little more than 20 years later, 'Prague is regal thanks to a combination of antiquity and nature, and here no other city can compare.'[80]As Baedeker wrote, tourists went to Dresden for its galleries, Nuremberg for its medieval past and Berlin for the 'spiritual energy' of a growing metropolis. Prague, however, offered unparalleled beauty, in which the city's natural surroundings added a sense of majesty to its historical architecture. Prague, Baedeker, concluded, offered up 'an incomparable panorama', more stunning than anything else found in Germany.[81] For many German-speaking travellers, the notable presence of Czech-speakers and the city's liminal status only added to the sublime romanticism of its natural surroundings and historical architecture. As the German-speaking traveller J. G. Kohl wrote:

> Bohemia is a land wonderfully separated by nature from the rest of the world … In the middle of this magic circle rise the hills of Prague, where every great event by which the country has been agitated has set its mark, either in the shape of new edifices and enduring monuments, or of gloomy ruins and widespread desolation. The central point in a country sharply cut

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[78] Schwarz, *Vidím město*, 172.

[79] Bischoff, *Reise*, 138. See also 'Der Wanderer' (*Wiener Zeitschrift*, 1815), quoted in Schottky, *Prag*, I, 12–13.

[80] Christian August Fischer, *Taschenbibliothek der neusten und unterhaltendsten Reisebeschreibungen* (Frankfurt, 1829), III, no. 3; cited in Schottky, *Prag*, I, 15.

[81] Baedeker, *Handbuch*, 190.

> off from the rest of the world, and witness constantly to new modifications to its political life, Prague has become full of ruins and palaces, that will secure to the city an enduring interest for centuries to come; and while the hills are singing sweetly to us the traditions of past ages, let it not be supposed that the whispers of futurity are not likewise murmuring mysteriously around them.[82]

Local civic patriots and others then took up and modified these descriptions. Some simply plagiarized: 'Indeed there are few cities that make a greater first impression than the ancient capital city of Prague, which spreads out as a wide oval, ringed by hills, at times built upon hills, and divided by the Vltava, which slowly flows through the valley below', Schaller wrote, poaching word for word from a traveller who had visited the city five years earlier.[83] Zap envisioned a romantic city that offered evidence of a national past and a nation with historical and cultural legitimacy. Surveying Prague and its surroundings from Petřin Hill, he wrote in the preface to his 1847 topography, the viewer saw 'the fruition of Czech history', a panorama that embodied each era in the nation's past, everything that the nation has 'lived through, suffered through', that also expressed the 'majestic ideal of the city'.[84]

Lithographers such as Langweil also took particular inspiration from Petřin Hill and other vantage points atop Prague's hills and fortifications. His strollers often have their backs to the viewer, taking a pause to scan the landscape while suggesting a perspective that the viewer is meant to admire. In one, trees overhang part of the city's fortifications while framing the Vltava, Charles Bridge and the many-spired cityscape of the Old Town. Another lithograph from Petřin Hill, now looking to the north, and to the Castle district of Hradčany, sees a grassy garden, trees and rolling countryside surround one of the city's most imposing architectural monuments. In still others, ruins mix with exotic greenery on hills overlooking a placid city that forms part of an undulating landscape stretching into the plains in the east. At other times, the trees take on an exotic tinge, and seem poised to overrun the city below.[85]

Nature, Mack Walker once wrote, played an important role in Biedermeier culture. The natural was considered closer to God, more virtuous than things man-made; a sentiment given greater force as the tempo of change increased in early nineteenth century. Nature thus represented changelessness and a sense of certainty.[86] Yet Prague's panoramas, as enjoyed by visitors and locals alike, suggested ways in which the natural and the urban might be combined to offer a similar sense of changelessness and certainty. For many German travellers this harmony suggested a city, complemented by elegant natural surroundings, whose built environment evoked the past, not a modern changing future. Zap, looking down upon Prague, saw Czech history and buildings whose stones were 'the most immediate witnesses, the surest proof of the past'.[87]

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[82] Kohl, *Austria*, 16.

[83] 'Der Wanderer'; Schaller, *Beschreibung* (1820), 3.

[84] Zap, *Průwodce*, 1–2.

[85] Morstadt, *Ansichten*; Morstadt, *Prag*.

Other local commentators, while more aware of the present energies within the city, agreed that nature and the urban created a majestic harmony unique to Prague. 'A romantic nimbus, bestowed upon the city by its heroic actions of the past and the medieval expression of its countless towers, blends with the real, significant strivings of today's city, which makes the city doubly fascinating for locals and foreigners alike': thus wrote Klutschak, perhaps Prague's most widely read civic patriot.[88] In Morstadt's lithographs, judged František Palacký, historian and leader of the Czech national movement, 'nature and art, present and past, appear to vie with one another so as to give the city a beautiful sense of diversity within the whole, as well as a magnificent grandness'.[89] The city walls, when noticed at all, had become a complementary set of lines running through a panorama of Prague—a panorama to be enjoyed by travellers and locals alike while strolling along one of the city's many elevated points. Nature and the built environment, walking and a new perspective on the city, together combined to recast the boundaries and essential character of the capital.

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Prague's city walls began coming down in 1875, the beginning of a long process that would last decades and leave only a few surviving remnants. Habsburg defeats at the hands of the Prussians (again) in 1866 revealed, once and for all, the ineffectiveness of fortified cities in the modern age. Tradesmen, shopkeepers and industrialists complained that the city's walls hindered the flow of human traffic. Suburbs, both working-class and middle-class, had blossomed outside the city's walls. Indeed, after the 1870s the only dedicated defenders of the walls were strollers and a vocal group of preservationists who bemoaned the destruction of Prague's older structures. Efforts at defortification stalled primarily because of questions of financing, however. The army, which owned the walls and the land upon which they stood, wanted to be compensated for this loss of property. Disagreements about who would pay for the walls' destruction often brought negotiations to a standstill.[90] In the meantime, buildings, broad avenues and other markers of human habitation filled the natural landscape in all directions. Villages outside Prague grew in size. Most became incorporated into the city in or before 1922. Today, the portion of Prague once enclosed by walls constitutes only two of the city's twenty administrative districts. The spires, churches and other architectural remnants described in the early nineteenth century are no longer complemented by nature, but by urban sprawl and the occasional green space.

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[86] Walker, *German Home Towns*, 322–8.

[87] Zap, *Průwodce*, ii.

[88] Klutschak, *Der Führer*, 4.

[89] Schottky, *Prag*, I, 77.

Many of these transformations took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century under the auspices of a new generation of Czech-speaking middle-class elites.[91] The groundwork for their rise to power had been laid during the 1848 revolution, when many of Prague's middle-class elites hesitatingly joined their radical counterparts on the barricades, an uprising put down that summer after Habsburg artillery rained cannon fire on the city from Petřin hill. In the 1860s a weakened Habsburg government relented to liberal reforms and undid the last, remaining traditional urban privileges and rights while providing for a remarkable amount of municipal autonomy. Thanks to electoral reform and a massive influx of Czech-speakers to the city, Prague's Czech-speaking middle-class elite became the dominant political force in the city, thus relegating their German counterparts—as well as the local nobility and the expanding working classes—to the peripheries of public life.[92] This new generation of middle-class Praguers, of course, continued to walk, stroll, saunter and promenade. (In fact, many of the empty spaces created by the destruction of the city's walls became popular public parks.) Many of the walks considered the most popular in the early nineteenth century—Žofin, Canal's garden and Šarka—remained the first choice for many Praguers on Sunday afternoons. But these activities had taken on a modern hue. One of Prague's first tram lines ended at Baumgarten (now named Stromovka), which also became the site of Prague's 1891 world fair.[93] Praguers travelled by train to enjoy walks beyond the city centre. One guidebook writer complained that the pathways had become overrun. People littered. Visiting a pub took priority over the enjoyment of nature.[94] 'For those of you with spare time we recommend visiting Petřin for a breathtaking view, one without comparison in all of Europe', another local guidebook writer suggested in 1900, adding that the view was best in the afternoon, when smoke from the city's factories had burned off.[95]

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[90] Havránek, *Neznamená Praha*, 30–5.

[91] For an excellent study, see Cathleen M. Giustino, *Tearing down Prague's Jewish Town: Ghetto Clearance and the Legacy of Middle-Class Ethnic Politics Around 1900* (Boulder, 2003).

[92] See, for example, the classic work of Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (2nd rev. edn, West Lafayette, 2006).

Prague had become a modern, industrialized city, yet its middle-class elites continued to benefit from the many day-to-day practices such as strolling that their predecessors had introduced to the city. They benefitted in other, unseen ways as well. Early nineteenth-century elites challenged not just the boundaries set by the city's walls, but the weight of traditions that the walls represented. Urged on by liberal nobles and vocal civic patriots, they strolled in order to establish their credentials as urban, middle-class elites when an emerging liberalism challenged privilege, absolutist rule and the weight of tradition. They claimed land within and beyond the city for these activities while becoming a visible public presence. As middle-class Praguers stood on top of the city walls, or on one of Prague's many hills, they saw far beyond the original border of the city—a perspective that hailed the end of the closed, insular city of the past. They trekked beyond the fortifications, and imagined—with the help of German-speaking travellers—a romantic city that existed in harmony, not in opposition, to its surroundings. That city, which had created a calming veneer over genuine social and political change, did not, however, last for long.

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[93] Claire Nolte, 'Celebrating Slavic Prague: Festivals and the Urban Environment', *Bohemia*, 52(1) (2012), 37–54.

[94] *Průvodčí po Praze a okolí města. S plánem Prahy a popsáním nejvíce vynikajících památností historických, budov a ústavů veřejných* (Prague, 1883), 82.

[95] *Knappův průvodce po Praze* (Karlín, 1900), 33.

CHAPTER 4

Rites of Passage: Youthful Walking and the Rhythms of the City, *c*.1850–1914

Simon Sleight

> *I crawl. The* Titanic *sinks. I stand. The Archduke is assassinated at Sarajevo, and I walk at last into my own memories.*
>
> Hal Porter, *The Watcher on the Cast-Iron Balcony: An Australian Autobiography* (1963)

Categories of age and moments of transition are often linked with acts of walking. In Western society 'the patter of tiny feet' is commonly anticipated at pregnancy; later young infants take 'baby steps', 'find their feet' and—treading gingerly still—become 'toddlers'.[1] For courting teens, 'walking out' once composed a common ritual of historical socialization, whereas in traditional Aboriginal communities the trial of 'walkabout' saw adolescent boys prepare for the duties of adulthood. Older again, 'stepping out into society' is a term associated with leaving the parental home, while for many couples 'walking down the aisle' has long marked another significant departure. An occupation, or 'walk of life', is by then usually underway. That life lived, and the journey almost at an end, a pair of 'last legs' carry an individual towards the inevitable.[2]

If a language of walking punctuates the life course, only the most observant have drawn the connections in a self-reflexive way, or situated them

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[1] For definitions and usages of the terms discussed here, see http://www.oed.com/.

[2] As noted by Joseph A. Amato, *On Foot: A History of Walking* (New York and London, 2004), 10.

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C. Bryant et al. (eds.), *Walking Histories, 1800–1914*,
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historically. Hal Porter's close associations of world events, the dawning of conscious memory and walking are hence unusual. But it is possible to historicize the practice, and in so doing mine writings on walking for evidence of experience.[3] This chapter attempts this for a number of city spaces from 1850 to 1914. Young people, around whom coheres much of the terminology of walking (yet scant historical scholarship), form the focus.

The period under analysis bears witness to two distinct shifts identified by historians: the decline of the 'walking city', and the slow but significant change for the general populace from walking by necessity to walking by choice. The 'walking city', a term coined by American scholar Sam Bass Warner in 1962, referred in its first iteration to the city of Boston in 1850. At this time, Warner observed, the overwhelming majority of Bostonians lived within a 2-mile (or 3.2 km) radius of city hall and within walking distance of shops and workplaces. Moreover, at mid-century Boston was 'a city which *depended* on walking for its means of transportation'.[4] By 1870, however, the sudden rise of Boston's 'streetcar suburbs' had altered the patterns of city life fundamentally. With the metropolitan area now 14 times larger than it had been just two decades earlier, the 'walking city' was effectively at an end.[5]

Warner's concept has since been applied to cities including New York, Melbourne and London, the three locations from which (in the varying proportions discussed below) I draw my evidence here. As a case in point, urban historian Kenneth Jackson compares for London and New York two particular years, 1815 and 1875, reaching conclusions that he finds applicable to many other English-speaking cities. In the earlier moment, London—then the world's largest city—housed some 800,000 people, each if fit and mobile able to walk easily from the city's edge to the centre, a journey of just three miles. Here and elsewhere, Jackson observes, the walk to work was usually in fact much shorter than this, less than a single mile.[6] As in Boston, by the 1870s everything had altered: the desire for social differentiation together with new forms of mass commuter transport meant that cities like London and New York had turned 'inside out', with the well-heeled now choosing to live outside the centre, together with those who could afford to commute from the new suburbs.[7] For Melbourne, the 'walking city' has been argued to have persisted for another few years—'until about 1880' in the estimation of Bernard Salt—before the effects of the same transition became pronounced.[8] In each city, it should be stressed, many adults *continued* to walk to work at century's end and indeed well into the 1900s. But the journey to work on foot was no longer a near-universal experience, and the city limits moved outside the easy reach of pedestrians.

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[3] On the relationship between language and experience, see John R. Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality* (London, 1996), 59–78.

[4] Sam Bass Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston (1870–1900)* [1962] (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 15–21, 179. My emphasis.

[5] Ibid., 62.

[6] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York and Oxford, 1985), 14–15. For the 1850s, Peter Ackroyd notes that some 200,000 people are estimated to have walked into the City of London from surrounding areas each working day: Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London, 2001), 591.

The issue of choice is also central to the second shift mentioned above: the rise of walking by virtue of pleasure rather than necessity. Arguing for the change in his history of walking, Joseph Amato identifies groups including ramblers, mountaineers, romantic writers and window shoppers as exemplifying a new freedom. Amato's contention is that such leisurely pursuits came late to the urban working class (or perhaps—equally apt in the nineteenth century—the *walking* class); instead most city-dwellers 'came and went on foot at the command of their superiors' and were often looked down upon for such exertions. Using literature as a source, Amato also extends the lifespan of the generic 'walking city' (though without using the term) to 'up to and even after' the First World War. Such, he argues, was the power of pedestrian-based localism. Providing some statistical evidence to support this contention, Amato notes that in 1906 only around one in four working Londoners took the train, tram or bus to work.[9]

In order to address some of the scholarly debates on 'walking cities', three inner-urban 'precincts' are brought into comparative view in the succeeding analysis. In a recent intervention, Andrew Brown-May has demonstrated that from around the 1860s to the 1920s (and, by inference, beyond) municipalities around the world shared certain aspects of civic culture. 'Precinct[s] of the global city', the urban landscapes produced in each location—from civic institutions to metropolitan parks and busy thoroughfares—were characterized by a discrete number of variables, hence rendering them amenable to meaningful comparison.[10] This is decidedly

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[7] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 17–20.

[8] Bernard Salt, 'The Journey to Work: The Case of Foy & Gibson in Collingwood, 1891', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 11(21) (1987), 40–4. For further comparison, see Lionel Frost, *The New Urban Frontier: Urbanisation and City-Building in Australasia and the American West* (Kensington, NSW, 1991), 5–14.

[9] Amato, *On Foot*, 2, 11, 156, 162, 171.

[10] Andrew Brown-May, 'In the Precincts of the Global City: The Transnational Network of Municipal Affairs in Melbourne, Australia, at the End of the Nineteenth Century', in Pierre-

not to assert that nineteenth- and twentieth-century Sydney was essentially the same as Salford, or Boston the same as Birmingham, but it *is* to defend the utility of the comparative project begun by Asa Briggs as long ago as 1963 in *Victorian Cities.*[11] Hence while drawing the bulk of my evidence from the meticulously-kept civic archive of Melbourne, in what follows I also bring to bear selected primary and secondary material on London (particularly) and New York. Though certainly different in scale, the urban fabric and social conditions of the three historical locations were not so dissimilar.[12] Indeed, on numerous occasions in this era, town clerks in each municipality sought through correspondence with their overseas counterparts guidance on shared urban concerns, such as how to regulate juvenile street trading or (later, a phenomenon first concerning Americans) the practice of 'jay-walking'.[13] Ranging widely, I follow the trails of young people where they are best preserved for these settings.

By focusing on a variety of young people's walking practices, this chapter also addresses a major gap in historical understanding. Voluminous scholarship—generated principally within the disciplines of cultural geography, environmental psychology (where the study of youthful walks began) and sociology—exists on young people's recent use of city space,[14] but precious little is known about their walking activities in historical settings.[15] Yet if we want to examine the concept of the 'walking city' in more detail, it would seem nonsensical to exclude young people. Operating on

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Yves Saunier and Shane Ewen (eds), *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850–2000* (New York and Basingstoke, 2008), 19–34.

[11] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London, 1963).

[12] To compare population figures: London in 1851, 2,286,609 (of which inner London 1,995,846); New York City in 1850, 515,547; Melbourne in 1851, between 23,000 and 29,000; London in 1911, 7,157,875 (of which inner London 4,997,741); New York City in 1910, 4,766,883; Melbourne in 1911, *c*.593,000.

[13] On street trading, see for example VPRS 3181, Town Clerk's files, Series 1, Unit 70, By-laws (1898), Public Record Office Victoria (PROV). On 'jay-walking', see Peter D. Norton, 'Street Rivals: Jaywalking and the Invention of the Motor Age Street', *Technology and Culture*, 48(2) (2007), 331–59; *Argus* (Melbourne), 16 February 1921, 8; *Daily Mirror* (London), 9 June 1934, 2.

[14] For an introduction to international findings, see Claire Freeman and Paul Tranter, *Children and their Urban Environment: Changing Worlds* (London and Washington, 2011), 182–201.

[15] Exceptions include sections within Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980) and Colin G. Pooley and Siân Pooley, 'Constructing a Suburban Identity: Youth, Femininity and Modernity in Late-Victorian Merseyside', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 36(4) (2010), 402–10.

tighter margins, they were often less able than adults to afford the fares for the new trams, trains or streetcars that began thickly to populate urban streets and railway cuttings from the mid-1800s. In an era before effective enforcement of compulsory schooling,[16] youngsters were also to be found on foot everywhere in the outdoor city: working, flirting and exploring. These self-initiated activities hold my interest here, in contrast to the organized marching and processions about which I have written elsewhere.[17]

Before setting out in historical pursuit, I offer next an important note on my use of the term 'young people' and similar age-related designations. As scholars of youthful practice acknowledge, age is both a qualitative experience and a chronological category, historically contingent and cross-cut by factors of gender, class and ethnicity.[18] Not until 1898 did American educationalist G. Stanley Hall begin to popularize the modern notion of 'adolescence', which Hall argued extended from 12 to 21 in girls and from 14 to 25 in boys.[19] Before this time, social commentators describing young people in the urban settings assessed here grasped at a shifting series of terms—'street urchin'; 'gamin'; 'guttersnipe'; 'street rat'; 'larrikin'; 'hoodlum'; 'hooligan' and others—to define what they regarded from the 1850s as a rising social problem and public menace.[20] While I avoid the negative stereotyping suggested by such language, I do embrace some of this vocabulary—especially in instances such as 'larrikin' where the term could also be a self-description—and focus on 'adolescent' youthful experiences in the sense defined at the time by Hall. As well as this, my subject group also extends backwards from adolescence to include those ‘toddling’ in public spaces,[21] or trooping off to primary school.

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[16] For comparison, see Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, Street and School in London, 1870–1914* (London, 1996), 85–7, 98–111; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, 'Street-Rats and Gutter-Snipes: Child Pickpockets and Street Culture in New York City, 1850–1900', *Journal of Social History*, 37(4) (2004), 861; Simon Sleight, *Young People and the Shaping of Public Space in Melbourne, 1870–1914* (Farnham and Burlington, 2013), 51–2, 65.

[17] Simon Sleight, '"For the Sake of Effect": Youth on Display and the Politics of Performance', *History Australia*, 6(3) (2009), 71.1–71.22. See also David M. Pomfret, *Young People and the European City: Age Relations in Nottingham and Saint Etienne, 1890–1940* (Aldershot, 2004), ch. 6.

[18] Steven Mintz, 'Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1(1) (2008), 91–4.

[19] Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture* (New York, 2007), 66.

[20] For discussion, see for instance: Ruskin Teeter, 'Coming of Age on the City Streets in 19th-Century America', *Adolescence*, 23(92) (1988), 909–12; Christine Stansell, 'Women, Children, and the Uses of the Streets: Class and Gender Conflict in New York City, 1850–1860', *Feminist Studies*, 8(2) (1982), 309–12; Davin, *Growing Up Poor*, 162; Sleight, *Young People*, 39–43.

The Metre of City Walks

How can we know about young people’s past walking practices in cities? Walking leaves relatively few traces in either street or archive, and the difficulties reported in tracking women’s historical movements across city spaces are at least as pointed where young people are concerned.[22] As noted above, the historical language used to describe walking must first be considered and penetrated.[23] It might be possible, for example, to read from criticisms of gait and posture inferences about normative practice. Hence the episodic censure of walking habits in the Melbourne press—where boys were attacked for their alleged ‘slouching and slovenly gait’, young women rebuked for their ‘casual saunter … with heads thrust forward, or inclined together, to facilitate conversation’, and the appearance of ‘turned-in toes’ and a ‘limp crawl’ blamed (in 1914) on women’s restrictive clothing—suggest by their obverse modes of carriage considered correct.[24] Similarly, international concern about young people’s ‘roaming’ or ‘roving’ proclivities,[25] a particularly serious charge if levelled against girls,[26] can perhaps be taken as indicative of a strengthening desire on the part of city fathers for purposeful walking conforming to the requirements of Victorian respectability and an economic rationale. And if we can go by the numerous, often exasperated, descriptions of the 'leary, swaggering walk' of street-frequenting Melbourne 'larrikins'—adolescents and young men who also delighted in interrupting the passage of other pedestrians with shoves off the footpath, spitting and coarse language—then Australian thoroughfares must have been lively indeed.[27]

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[21] Such as the fortunate 3-year-old boy rescued in suburban Melbourne having been ‘toddling’ along a railway line one summer’s afternoon in 1898 (*Argus*, 28 November 1898, 3).

[22] Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca and London, 1995), 3.

[23] For an exemplary analysis of the language of walking, see Joanna Guldi, ‘The History of Walking and the Digital Turn: Stride and Lounge in London, 1808–1851’, *Journal of Modern History*, 84(1) (2012), 116–44.

[24] *Argus*, 22 March 1882, 9; 18 May 1910, 9; 24 January 1914, 39. In the 1910 article, ‘Vesta’ advises her female readership that ‘It is a little difficult to describe exactly what is a good walk. The authorities agree, however, on certain points. The head must be held erect … The chin should be slightly lifted, the chest up, the shoulders back, and the stomach in. But there should be no appearance, and no feeling, of effort … The length of the stride should be moderate … The step should be clean and neat.’

[25] Howard Chudacoff, *Children at Play: An American History* (New York and London, 2007), 4–5, 53–4; Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* [1861–2] (New York, 2009), I, 36, 421, 477.

[26] See for instance the caution issued to five ‘young girls’ (of working age) in Melbourne in March 1883 (*Argus*, 6 March 1883, 10). The girls were accosted by a policeman for ‘roaming about the street’ at midnight. On New York, see Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (London, 2001), 239.

Much of what might be surmised about youthful walking comes, of course, from the accounts of adult pedestrians trying to avoid such jostling. 'There is much to be learnt from street life', asserted Melbourne's self-styled 'Peripatetic Philosopher', Marcus Clarke, in the late 1860s, 'and one's "daily walks abroad" are instructive as well as amusing.'[28] We shall in due course return to the thoughts of Clarke as well as fellow observers including Henry Mayhew, keeping in mind their tendency towards exaggeration for the sake of journalistic effect. Supplementing the observers' insights, the web of civic regulations affecting street traffic also promises perspectives on practice. From 'walk-over crossings' to 'move-on' by-laws and decrees on vagrancy, the nineteenth century witnessed an extension of police powers to order pedestrian circulation in increasingly hectic urban centres.[29] Knowledge of such rules and statutes should not, however, mislead us into thinking that foot traffic in the long nineteenth century was especially heavily constrained. As Peter Norton has revealed in his American study of early twentieth-century 'jay-walking' regulations (regulations not adopted in Melbourne and London until the 1920s and 1930s, and implemented only sporadically), the Victorian-era city saw pedestrians exert considerable licence in using both pavements and streets.[30] Period photographs and film depict those on foot moving freely in-between trams and horse traps, with children ignoring the boundary of the kerbstone to conduct their games.[31] The dangers of such shared space, of course, fill many a column inch of the newspapers—all too often young pedestrians are reported as having fallen victim to the increasingly rapid and numerous wheels of urban progress.[32]

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[27] Examples noted in *Australasian*, 21 January 1893, 44; *Australian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil*, 17 May 1873, 34–5; *Argus*, 31 January 1882, 4; *Age*, 20 February 1896, 5. On larrikins, see Melissa Bellanta, *Larrikins: A History* (St Lucia, 2012).

[28] Marcus Clarke, 'Peripatetic Philosophy' [1867–8], in L. T. Hergenhan (ed.), *A Colonial City: High and Low Life. Selected Journalism of Marcus Clarke* (St Lucia, 1972), 5.

[29] For an introduction, see Andrew Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life: The Itinerary of Our Days* (Kew, Victoria, 1998), 36–41, 43–63; *Argus*, 17 January 1905, 7; David M. Scobey, *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape* (Philadelphia, 2002), 174–80.

[30] Norton, 'Street Rivals'.

[31] See, for instance, ibid., 335, 341; David Nasaw, *Children of the City: At Work and At Play* (New York, 1985), 18–28; G. H. Martin and David Francis, 'The Camera's Eye', in

Film and photographs offer tantalizing windows onto young people's city walks, but uncertainties regarding the true speed of the film stock and a tendency for photographers to position stationary children before the lens render these sources problematic. In a similar way, it is worth remembering that newspaper reports tend to focus on moments of drama and conflict rather than run-of-the-mill activities. Nonetheless, the historian of experience must make the best of such qualitative sources, blunting the biases inherent in each by incorporating into any analysis as wide a range of evidence as possible. Just occasionally, too, some harder data is found, buried in the archive. A case in point is the precious information on the distances young city-dwellers covered on foot in 1890s Melbourne, recorded at the time out of a concern to protect public parks from youthful damage. Assessed in detail later on, a few footprints suffice now to lay the trail. On 6 December 1899, Melbourne parks curator John Guilfoyle recorded multiple incidents of damage in the various reserves around the city. Perhaps frustrated by the failure of the authorities to prevent the uprooting of shrubs and saplings, Guilfoyle noted that in his view the destruction had been conducted 'principally by boys evidently from 10 to 12 years of age by the footprints'.[33] The culprits were long gone, but the curator could tell who to look for. Following such leads, this chapter next addresses the youthful walks of those occupied more gainfully.

Walks for Work

The relationship between walking and working is long indeed for city youth. In seventeenth-century London, for instance, Samuel Pepys made numerous references in his celebrated diary to 'link boys', adolescents

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H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City*, vol. II, *Images and Realities* (London, 1978), plate 93; Sleight, *Young People*, 56–7; *Marvellous Melbourne: Queen City of the South* (prod. C. Spencer, *c.*1910), http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/marvellous-melbourne/ (accessed 20 August 2014).

[32] Examples reported in *New York Times*, 7 August 1899, 5; *Argus*, 28 September 1893, 7; *Daily Mirror*, 3 June 1911, 3. The advent of the motor car increased the range of urban perils: motorists had killed over 1,000 children in New York by 1914. See Clay McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path: The Automobile and the American City* (New York, 1994), 176.

[33] VPRS 3181/756, Parks (1899), item 4329, report dated 6 December 1899, PROV.

employed to guide wealthier pedestrians through a warren of darkened streets using local knowledge and the light cast by flaming torches.[34] Come the middle of the nineteenth century, the trade was still relatively brisk, as suggested by contemporary illustrations and references finding adults in various states of uncertainty and distress.[35] From the early 1860s onwards, however (despite a brief reprise during the Great Fog of Christmas 1904[36]), it appears that the link-boy's time was over: nowhere does he feature in Henry Mayhew's encyclopedic *London Labour and the London Poor*.

Nevertheless, Mayhew's four-volume survey does provide a wealth of detail on the extent of the capital's 'wandering tribes'—an army of itinerant workers also taking to the streets to eke out a living.[37] Across several hundred pages we encounter boys walking alongside their costermonger fathers and barrows of produce, girls in their mid-teens hauling their wares for 8–10 miles a day and—among many other accounts—a report of a young chimney sweep earlier in the century forced by his master to walk the five miles from Wanstead to Walthamstow, carrying equipment.[38] For all of these occupations, both topographical understanding and a reasonable level of fitness must have been required. Such walks bestowed a measure of independence, but often little real freedom; an 8-year-old watercress seller knows the route of her round, Mayhew comments, but nothing of the parks that lie just beyond.[39]

Across the seas in Melbourne and New York, young people were also involved in a great variety of peripatetic trades. Less troubling to middle-class consciences at mid-century than later, hosts of young people sold flowers or matches, ran messages for city businesses and collected discarded items to sell on.[40] In Melbourne the last of these occupations was termed 'marining', after the marine stores initially reliant on maritime trade. An air of semi-legality clung to the activity and prompted legislative scrutiny from 1876 onwards. 'Marine store boys', it was claimed in the colony's parliament, 'opened yard doors without asking, and walked into one's back premises, ostensibly to get bottles, or bones, or rags, but they were always ready to lay their hands on anything that came their way.'[41] Edith Onians, a Melbourne-based 'child saving' activist with international connections, related with a mixture of concern and pride her experiences of similar activity. Two of her 10-year-old charges, Bill and Tom, 'knew every lane and right-of-way for miles', she reported. 'They knew all the wharves along the Yarra bank and often climbed and crawled beneath them to retrieve floating beer bottles and other sources of revenue. They knew all the short cuts and were as much at home in the city as old men.'[42] Equally savvy and fleet of foot, in both Melbourne and New York the figure of the scurrying newsboy, dashing along the street to meet a customer's needs, became especially iconic.[43] Quick-witted and lively, the newsboy was seen to embody the best characteristics of innumerable street-based apprentices across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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[34] See http://www.pepysdiary.com/encyclopedia/1167/#references (accessed 20 August 2014).

[35] See, for example, *Illustrated London News*, 2 January 1847, 8; 'The Link Boy of Old London', serialised in *Boys Standard*, 1882–3; Charles Dickens, *The Pickwick Papers* (London, 1837), ch. 35, 391: 'The red glare of the link-boy's torch'.

[36] As reported in *Argus*, 25 January 1905, 8.

[37] For discussion of this phrase and others including 'roving race' and 'wandering propensity', see Mayhew, *London Labour*, I, 1–4, 477–85; II, 364. My thanks to Elizabeth Womack for suggesting leads on Mayhew. This section should be read in tandem with her essay on Mayhew in the present volume.

[38] Ibid., I, 33, 43–4; II, 351. Other young workers are witnessed carrying luggage, sweeping road crossings, running messages and scouring the banks of the Thames for items of value.

[39] Ibid., I, 151.

By contrast with the pursuits of their brothers, girls' street-trading activities provoked consistent alarm on the part of middle-class observers. Outnumbered by the boys, female street-sellers peddling flowers (in particular), and less regularly newspapers, everywhere faced accusations of hawking their virtue as well as their wares.[44] They were sometimes portrayed in sexualized terms, too, and cast as fallen girls, pseudo 'streetwalkers'.[45] Older female factory hands en route to and from work shared these street spaces, attracting a measure of concern and often scalding criticism.[46] In 1891, 1898 and 1916 a coalition of child-savers and legislators in Melbourne attempted to prohibit females under specified ages varying from 16 to 18 from selling in public, while restricting the age of male entry to the street marketplace to just ten.[47] Evening 'roaming' of the streets was also targeted for both sexes (a bill proposing a curfew of 9 p.m. for under-14s was read in Melbourne in 1900), albeit that no thoroughgoing treatment of street trading was enacted there until 1925.[48]

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[40] See Sleight, *Young People*, 92–4, 96–7; Nasaw, *Children of the City*, 48–61, 88–100; Stansell, 'Women, Children', 313–17.

[41] *Victorian Parliamentary Debates* (*VPD*), Session 1888, LVII, 496.

[42] Edith C. Onians, *Read All About It* (Melbourne, *c*.1953), 38–9.

[43] Sleight, *Young People*, 101–10; Gilfoyle, 'Street Rats', 855–66; David E. Whisnant, 'Selling the Gospel News, Or: The Strange Career of Jimmy Brown the Newsboy', *Journal of Social History*, 5(3) (Spring 1972), 269–309; Nasaw, *Children of the City*, 74, 84.

[44] See: Stansell, 'Women, Children', 317–18; VPRS 3181, Unit 863, Streets (1896), item 2398, PROV; and (for a discussion of accusations pertaining to newsgirls in New York and Melbourne) MS 9910, archive of William Forster Try Boys Society, box 41, cuttings book (1883–1906), State Library of Victoria (SLV): 'Melbourne's Neglected Children' (dated 26 July 1891).

[45] For example the 'centrefold' image, 'The Flower Girl – "Please Buy"', *Illustrated Australian News*, 31 March 1888, supplement, 11–12. Many similar examples exist for London and New York. On juvenile female prostitution, see Stansell, 'Women, Children'.

Anxieties about the time of day when young people could be found on foot around the city remind us that outside the winter months walks for work were principally daylight activities. Yet not all juvenile work involved earning money, and a second category of excursions on foot—errands—were probably more evenly distributed around the clock and throughout the whole week. Anna Davin notes a variety of such activities for London between 1870 and 1914. Sundays, for instance, saw children in 1890s Camberwell carry joints and pies to the baker's for heating, while in Alice Lewis' Chelsea household of nine, one child or other would be tasked with walking to Harrods, pillowcase in hand, to buy three loaves of bread before moving on to stock up at the fish shop and butcher's.[49] At other times, girls especially were directed to street markets to haggle for produce, while the sending of a child to run a message, fetch someone or pick up an item was commonplace.[50] Children brought beer back from the pub for their parents, too, much to the chagrin of temperance campaigners.[51] Young Arthur Harding, growing up during the 1890s in the notorious 'Nichol' (an area of acute social deprivation in east London), regularly walked the half-mile to Spitalfields Market to scavenge for wooden packing crates and waste potatoes, or else to carry quantities of lemons for his elder sister to sell on. He was aged just 6 or 7 at the time. His sister's list of errands further included regular walks to the local butcher's seeking faggots, an inexpensive item for a family meal.[52]

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[46] Danielle Thornton, 'Factory Girls: Gender, Empire and the Making of a Female Working Class, Melbourne and London, 1880–1920' (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2007), 68–97.

[47] *Age*, 6 May 1891; *Argus*, 27 May 1898 (newspaper cuttings in MS 9910, box 41, SLV); *Argus*, 26 July 1916, 10.

[48] VPRS 3181, Unit 70, By-Laws (1897–1900), SLV; *Street Trading Act* (Vic) 1925.

[49] Davin, *Growing Up Poor*, 181–3.

[50] Indeed, 'errand girl' is noted as a category of occupation in the 1881 census, such workers having presumably graduated to paid employment from informal, family-instigated, assignments as children. See Peter Sanders, *The Simple Annals: The History of an Essex and East End Family* (Gloucester, 1989), 93.

[51] Davin, *Growing Up Poor*, 180–6.

In New York and Melbourne a similar economy of favours (also usually unpaid) operated.[53] The winter of 1892, for example, saw two boys (aged 10 and 11) fall foul of the authorities in Melbourne for cutting down a young tree and hauling it home, presumably for use as firewood. Legal action was recommended;[54] walks for work were not without their risks. By 1914, paid and unpaid street enterprises were starting to trail off in Western cities, at least during school hours. Class sizes were growing as attendance became the norm, part of the macro-level shifts from earning to learning and from a view of the child as an economic support for the family to a perception which considered children as emotionally priceless and requiring shelter at home.[55]

Walking and Courting

With work over, school concluded, or the weekend upon them, young people returned to the streets for another series of city walks. When they described 'going out' or 'walking out' with one another during the long nineteenth century, the language used was apt and deliberate. Courtships were most often pursued outside, across an array of urban leisure zones where walking was central. Arm-in-arm, young people were also closely entwined with a changing urban landscape privileging display.[56]

Between the 1860s and the 1890s, Melbourne's best known meeting point was 'the Block', an area of shop fronts along the ultra-fashionable Collins Street between Swanston and Elizabeth Streets. By 1870, parading up and down this location on weekday afternoons from 3.30 p.m. and either side of noon on Saturdays was 'an institution' attracting the city's well-heeled and aspiring classes of all ages.[57] Though its suitability as a place for ladies was becoming uncertain, in 1890 it was observed that young men and women 'make promenading the Block one of the more serious occupations of their lives'.[58] Displaying status and wealth were important parts of the ritual circulation; so too were coded stares, coy behaviour and the forming of new acquaintanceships.[59] This was a setting for the better-off to meet and to walk.

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[52] Raphael Samuel, *East End Underworld: Chapter in the Life of Arthur Harding* (London, 1981), 42, 60; for sister, 28.

[53] Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* [1982] (Urbana, 1987), 49–51.

[54] VPRS 3181, Unit 748, Parks (1892), item 3215, report dated 22 August 1892, PROV. On New York, see Nasaw, *Children of the City.*

[55] Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton, 1994), 209.

[56] This section draws on and extends the analysis in Sleight, *Young People*, 122–7.

[57] *Melbourne Punch*, 17 February 1870, 55.

Yet more important for young Melburnians, mostly less privileged than those parading the Block, were a variety of emergent commercial spaces around the city, some better known to historians than others. In 1883, the *Sydney Morning Herald* described the working class frequenting the Esplanade in beachside St Kilda on Sunday afternoons,[60] an influx that dramatically accelerated with the extension to a once prestigious suburb of tram lines in 1888. It was here, Melbourne autobiographer Elaine Macdonald observed, that servants and working girls had their social life, 'the equivalent of garden parties and races'.[61] As female excursionists (chiefly domestic servants, factory girls [see Fig. 4.1] and barmaids) walked up and down the foreshore and onto the pier, they were ogled by lounging teenage boys and young men, described as '"not quite larrikins"—young fellows working in all sorts of capacities from apprentices to trades, factory hands, butcher and baker boys', later to be seen hanging around street corners in the city centre.[62] In 1895, 'Cleo' surveyed an evening St Kilda 'crowded principally by the straw-hatted youth and his companion, sweet sixteen with short skirts, obviously tight stays, and carefully frizzed hair'.[63] By 1914, St Kilda was still popular with young couples, now surrounded by ever increasing varieties of seaside attractions, but more interested, it was noted, in escorting one another along the Esplanade or the pier.[64]

Back in town, the raffish Bourke Street, replete with bars, sideshows, cheap theatres and a night market, provided a place of resort for 'walking out' on Saturday and Sunday evenings. There the peripatetic Marcus Clarke

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[58] For discussion, see Penny Russell, *Savage or Civilised? Manners in Colonial Australia* (Sydney, 2010), 277–9; *Argus*, 19 April 1890, 13.

[59] *Argus*, 16 June 1882, 7; 19 June 1885, 7; 30 November 1910, 5; Henry Handel Richardson, *The Getting of Wisdom* [1910] (Melbourne, 1998), ch. 14.

[60] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 January 1883, 7.

[61] Elaine Macdonald, 'Journalist's Child' (1945), MS 198, box 53, Royal Historical Society of Victoria, 282.

[62] *Argus*, 3 December 1887, 4.

[63] Ibid., 18 January 1895, 6.

[64] Ibid., 22 January 1914, 13.

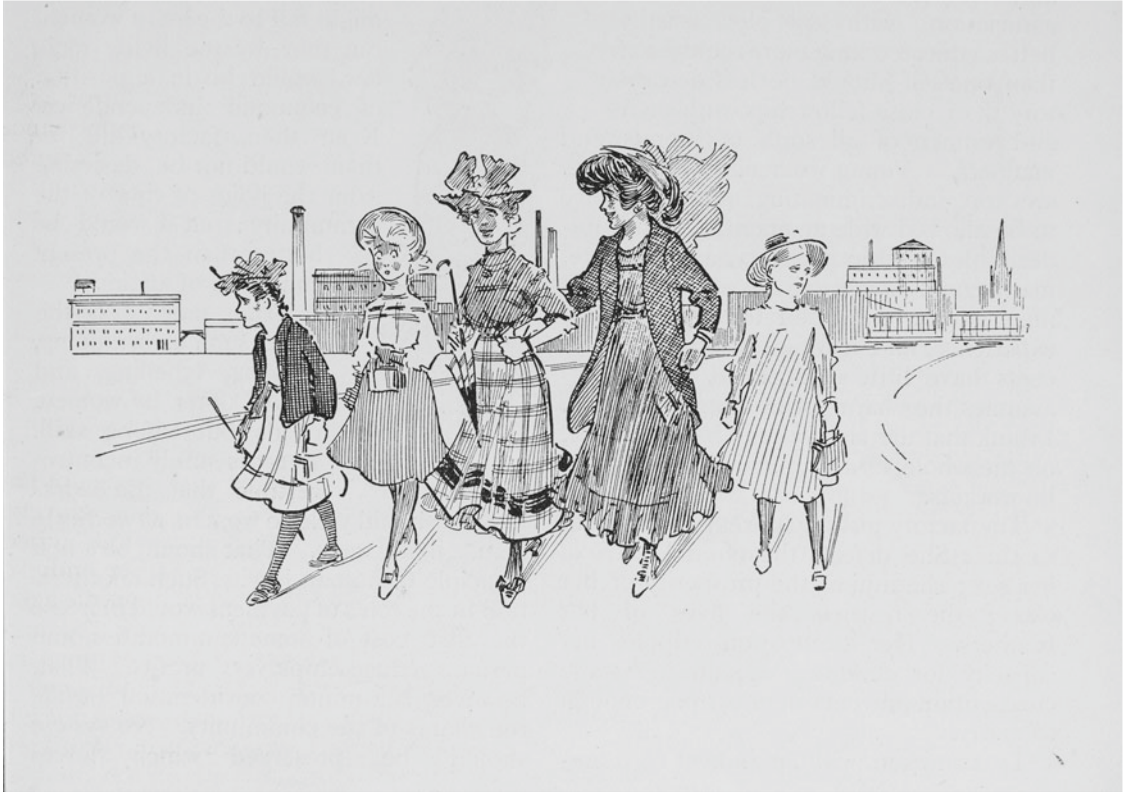

Fig. 4.1 Stepping out from the workplace: Australian ‘factory girls’ as depicted in *The Lone Hand*, 1 April 1908, 600 (reproduced by courtesy of the State Library of New South Wales)

encountered 'young ladies of sewing-machine proclivities perambulat[ing] in strings of five' in 1868, noting that both road and pavement were sometimes crowded with couples.[65] Similar observations were made ten years later,[66] although by the first decade of the new century the focus of Sunday evening activities seemed to have switched from Bourke Street to Princes Bridge, adjacent to Flinders Street Station. Meeting under the station clocks on that day in particular, youths aged 14–25 formed 'marching parties', usually single-sex, before processing to and fro across the bridge. Where groups encountered one another, playful remarks and giggling followed, before mixed-sex pairs split off to keep company for the remainder of the evening. Other couples would forego the group promenade and meet directly at the station, taking a turn on the bridge before walking through neighbouring parks.[67]

There are clear similarities between these courtship practices and the 'monkey parades' in British cities during this period. In 1905, Charles Russell wrote of girls in selected Manchester streets plucking flowers from lads' button-holes on Sunday evenings as a prelude to forming an acquaintanceship. Here such pairing off was termed 'clicking'.[68] In London, turn-of-the-century Hackney hosted its own 'monkey parade' where nattily attired youths exchanged winks or smirks as they sized one another up.[69] To the south, working-class Bow Road and Petticoat Lane witnessed the same scene, with 'walking out' taking place on Saturday evenings and Sunday afternoons.[70] The fact that sites in New York including the Bowery and Broadway had hosted working-class 'walking out' rituals since at least the early 1800s merely confirms the pervasiveness and international popularity of the practice.[71] And little wonder, argues historian of walking,

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[65] Hergenhan, *Colonial City*, 25–6. Melbourne possessed a high proportion of young women working in the garment trades in this period.

[66] *Australasian*, 19 January 1878, 7. In this article, 'A. S.' mounts a strong defence of the morality of the 'hundreds – perhaps thousands' of young women seen parading in this location.

[67] *Argus*, 2 April 1904, 5, and compare with Clarke's observations of those in Bourke Street who 'pass and repass for hours': Hergenhan, *Colonial City*, 102.

[68] Andrew Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty*: *Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900–39* (Buckingham, 1992), 102–3.

[69] Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860–1914* (Manchester and New York, 1999), 206–14.

[70] Catriona M. Parratt, *'More Than Mere Amusement': Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750–1914* (Boston, 2001), 111.

[71] Stansell, *City of Women*, 183–4, 93. Also compare David Scobey, 'Anatomy of the Promenade: The Politics of Bourgeois Sociability in Nineteenth-Century New York', *Social History*, 17(2) (1992), 203–27.

Rebecca Solnit: ‘It was free. It gave the lovers a semiprivate space in which to court … perhaps they first feel themselves a pair by moving together through the evening, the street, the world.’[72]

The 18-year-old diarist May Stewart walked out often. Lacking privacy in her lodgings for chatting with friends and entertaining boys, she instead pursued virtually all her social and romantic engagements in public. At the beginning of 1906, May ‘smooges’ (kisses) ‘M’ and then later Charlie in Edinburgh Gardens; by late October that year her affections have turned to Tom and the Fitzroy Gardens provide the setting for further intimacy.[73] On 17 occasions in her diary, May also recounts flirting with—or, in the phrase of the day, ‘mashing’—boys around the city.[74] Six of these exchanges either begin or take place in their entirety on board trams and trains; at other times the flirtatious encounters occur on foot in St Kilda, by the seaside at Sandringham and during shopping excursions in the city centre.[75] Each of these locations is some distance from her lodgings in North Fitzroy, and a sense of anonymity perhaps encouraged May to be bolder in her behaviour. An unwritten set of rules seems to govern the exchanges, nevertheless, at least from the diarist’s perspective. Hence two boys are discarded in the street for being ‘dead slow’ and a hasty extrication is made from a conversation with a boy who May describes as ‘red hot’ (too forward?).[76] Only once does a dalliance turn sour—May terming a boy she meets one Sunday evening on the aforementioned Princes Bridge a ‘nasty brute’.[77]

May Stewart’s unhappy encounter on the bridge was perhaps prescient; by 1914, Melbourne newspapers were reporting that ‘walking out’ in this location and others around the city was becoming hazardous. After retiring to park benches with their walking companions, at the end of the evening tearful girls were finding their handbags missing. So common was the occurrence that journalists speculated on the role of male decoys acting in groups.[78] The police also intervened when high-spirited or inexperienced boys and girls took mashing too far by bumping up against members of the opposite sex, and to curtail inter-gang enmity sparked by a girl associated with the 'Primrose Push' of Fitzroy 'walking out' with a boy from the 'Bourke Street Rats'.[79] Concerned as they may have been by the use of city streets and parks for mashing, however, city fathers in Melbourne and elsewhere could do little to restrict the practice. Unfolding city spaces including evening shopping destinations, gas-lit parks and beachside promenades provided ever more locations for young people to walk and to woo, and—even for the middle and upper classes—to leave behind the chaperoning conventions of the mid-Victorian period.[80] Despite the scattered examples of distress, and the underlying adult concern, consensus rather than conflict characterized most 'walking out' activities. The practice stands as one of the great rites of passage of the long nineteenth century.

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[72] Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 232.

[73] May Stewart, ‘Diary’ (1906), MS 12995, SLV: 26, 30 January, 1 February (‘went to meet M went into Edinburgh gardens smooged till 11 P.M. came home and went to bed’), 23 February (‘went to meet Charlie … smooged till 10.15 P.M.’), 24 October.

[74] *The Melbourne Punch* notes the arrival of the word in 1883 (27 December 1883, 251), stating that it is a corruption of ‘ma chère’ (or ‘my dear’). The first known use of the term in the sense employed here occurred in 1879; definitions include ‘An infatuation, a “crush”; a flirtation’ and ‘to flirt, strike up a flirtatious acquaintance (with)’ – see www.oed.com/.

[75] Stewart, ‘Diary’, 8 July (St Kilda), 26 December (Sandringham), 17 February (flirting in Bourke Street). For discussion of beachside settings as a site for promenading and romance, see Caroline Ford, ‘Gazing, Strolling, Falling in Love: Culture and Nature on the Beach in Nineteenth Century Sydney’, *History Australia*, 3(1) (2006), 08.1–08.14.

[76] Stewart, ‘Diary’, entries for 10 February and 14 August 1906.

[77] Ibid., 14 October 1906 (loose sheet).

Historicizing Urban Range

In recent decades, scholars have generated a now considerable body of evidence to argue that since the early 1970s, children's unaccompanied 'home range'—or what I shall call 'urban range'—has diminished dramatically across Western nations.[81] Updated findings for inner London and the satellite town of Hatfield confirm the trend of a classic study on independent mobility: whereas in 1971, 94% of 10- and 11-year-olds journeyed to school unaccompanied, by 1998 only 47% did so. In 1990, 70% of those children surveyed walked to school; by 1998 the figure had fallen to 45%.[82] Further analysis for Australia, the Netherlands, the United States and elsewhere suggests that this trajectory has continued on into the twenty-first century, serving to emphasize a transition from the so-called 'free-range' children of an earlier period to the 'cotton-wool kids' of current times.[83]

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[78] *Argus*, 14 February 1914, 14; 18 February 1914, 14; *Truth*, 7 February 1914, 5.

[79] *Argus*, 8 February 1872, 6; *Truth*, 5 December 1914, 5; *Argus*, 11 March 1914, 15.

[80] See Macdonald, 'Journalist's Child', 52; Ada Cambridge, *The Three Miss Kings* [1883] (New York, 1987), 36, 76–9, 83; *Australasian*, 19 March 1898, 43. On the strictures of mid-Victorian walking for younger girls, see *Australasian*, 19 August 1916, 42–3.

[81] 'Home range' implies that children's independent mobility is tethered exclusively to the home; 'urban range' promises a more encompassing analysis. For a sample of the relevant scholarship, see Freeman and Tranter, *Children and their Urban Environment*, 187–9; Lia Karsten, 'It All Used to be Better? Different Generations on Continuity and Change in Urban Children's Daily Use of Space', *Children's Geographies*, 3(3) (2005), 275–90; James C. Spilsbury, '"We Don't Really Get to Go Out in the Front Yard" – Children's Home Range and Neighbourhood Violence', *Children's Geographies*, 3(1) (2005), 79–99.

Despite the abundance of contemporary data, comparatively little is known on the extent of young people's urban range prior to the 1970s. Scattered anecdotes are merely suggestive: for the 1920s, New York author Kate Simon recalls venturing on foot, aged around 10, from her apartment at 2029 Lafontaine to 183rd Street—a distance of half a mile—and sometimes a little further afield; in 1937, by contrast, American urbanist Lewis Mumford observed that 'the activities of small children are still bounded by a walking distance of about a quarter of a mile'.[84] Elsewhere Arthur Harding recalled walks as a 6- or 7-year-old in the 1890s to bathe in London's Victoria Park, a setting located a mile-and-a-half from the cramped family home, and further trips with his friends Wally and Billy to Tower Bridge—a similar distance away on foot.[85] While historical geographers Colin Pooley (for north-west England) and Sanford Gaster (for Inwood on Manhattan Island) have generated important primary evidence of a more detailed and comparative nature, their findings only take us as far back as the 1940s and 1915 respectively.[86] For the long nineteenth century, the urban range of young people is hence grossly under-examined in existing scholarship on walking. How, one wonders, did factors of age, gender and class affect young people's movements within the city during this earlier period?

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[82] See Margaret O'Brien, Deborah Jones, Michael Rustin and David Sloan, 'Children's Independent Spatial Mobility in the Urban Public Realm', *Childhood*, 7(3) (2000), 271–4; and Mayer Hillman, John Adams and John Whitelegg (eds), *One False Move: A Study of Children's Independent Mobility* (London, 1990).

[83] See the scholarship cited in note 81 and also Sue Palmer, *Toxic Childhood: How the Modern World Is Damaging Our Children and What We Can Do about It* (London, 2006).

[84] Kate Simon, *Bronx Primitive: Portraits in a Childhood* (New York, 1982), 1, 83, 168–9; Lewis Mumford, 'What is a City?' [1937], in Richard T. LeGates and Frederick Stout (eds), *The City Reader* (London, 1996), 9.

[85] Samuel, *East End Underworld*, 37.

[86] Colin Pooley, Jean Turnbull and Mags Adams, 'Kids in Town: The Changing Action Space and Visibility of Young People in Urban Areas', in Alex Schildt and Detlef Siegfried (eds), *European Cities, Youth and the Public Sphere in the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2005), 90–109; Colin G. Pooley, Jean Turnbull and Mags Adams, 'The Journey to School in Britain Since the 1940s: Continuity and Change', *Area*, 37(1) (2005), 43–53; Sanford Gaster, 'Urban Children's Access to their Neighborhood: Changes Over Three Generations', *Environment and Behavior*, 23(1) (1991), 70–85; Sanford Gaster, 'Public Places of Childhood, 1915–30', *Oral History Review*, 22(2) (1995), 1–31.

The focus here on walking entails the exclusion of trips taken by a mixture of means. Hence the probably exceptional adventure of young E. Morris Miller—barely 7 years old in 1888 when he returned alone to North Melbourne on foot, train and tram from St Kilda beach, some 15 kilometres to the south—falls outside my frame of analysis.[87] It is important to note, however, that for the offspring of the middle classes the advent of trams in particular could extend their urban horizons. Autobiographies and newspaper articles record quite young children climbing aboard trams to visit the beach, riding in the cab with the drivers and paying for tickets with stolen money,[88] and a report on a tramways conference in 1899 notes the existence of half-price fares for children.[89] By contrast, until entering their mid-teens it is unlikely that most working-class children could afford to take up such an offer; a weekly wage in the 1890s for a Melbourne newsboy or novice flower seller of around five shillings did not go far (even if only pennies were needed to ride the trams), and the purportedly vulnerable young street traders noted in 1887 as needing up to an hour each night to return home from central Melbourne were most probably travelling on foot.[90] If they were walking, it would be no surprise: in London Henry Mayhew found watercress girls walking up to nine or ten miles a day in the early 1860s, alongside other juvenile traders covering the distances mentioned earlier.[91]

Mayhew was able to ask his subjects about their walks for work; in a similar way scholars of the contemporary period have conducted surveys with children about their journeys to school. Beyond the reach of the oral history interview, establishing such details is much more difficult. Yet a cache of documents lodged in the town clerk's files in Melbourne does allow for some informed speculation. In the 1890s, those responsible for greening the city were determined to crack down on damage to Melbourne's many parks and squares, most notably the centrally located Fitzroy Gardens.

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[87] For discussion, see Sleight, *Young People*, 68.

[88] Ibid., 78, 59–60.

[89] VPRS 3181/967, Trams (1898–9), item 607, report dated 6 February 1899, PROV.

[90] Sleight, *Young People*, 98–9; MS 9910, box 41, cutting dated 27 July 1887, SLV. It is possible, however, that more poor children travelled to work by train than might be assumed: for evidence on London, see Simon T. Abernethy, 'Opening up the Suburbs: Workmen's Trains in London, 1860–1914', *Urban History*, 42(1) (2015), 70–88.

[91] Mayhew, *London Labour*, I, 150.

In cases where those intercepted were children, information supplied by enforcement agencies to the Parks and Gardens Committee, detailing the alleged offence, its place and timing, and the particulars of the offender(s) in question, presents an opportunity to examine the extent of territory over which urban youngsters roamed.

Table 1 illustrates this data for a selection of cases for the late 1890s where a home street address is given. It is evident that most of these individuals were fairly close to home (though certainly far enough away to elude parental supervision) when they were accosted.[92] The majority hailed from working-class districts including central Melbourne, Collingwood, Fitzroy and Richmond—areas where small, workingmen's cottages provided insufficient space to play or socialize.[93] Bertie Hoey (aged 10) resided in Collingwood's Victoria Parade. He was intercepted a little over a kilometre from his house in November 1898, clutching a bird's nest and an assortment of bamboo canes intended for use as fishing rods. Also in the party were James Marston and Thomas Heaney (aged 12 and 9), near neighbours from the same street as one another in Fitzroy—also around a kilometre away—and an older lad, Victor Townsend, 15, who had come further, two kilometres, from the other end of Victoria Parade. John Hennesy, by contrast, was unlucky in being apprehended alone in December 1900 for damage caused to shrubbery during a game of hide-and-seek. Aged 10, he had walked to Curtain Square from Princes Street in Carlton, a distance of just over 400 metres. Boys dominate this list of alleged offenders, and often frequented the city's green spaces in groups. As they matured, increased confidence prompted them to venture further afield, and it is surely no coincidence that the longest journey recorded on the list (3.15 km) was undertaken by the oldest individual, 16-year-old John Carroll.[94]

Of course, the exact routes taken by the children to the open spaces in question cannot be known, and it is very likely that the figures shown in the Table are an underestimate given that they are calculated—using the GIS software MapInfo—on the assumption that the most direct paths were followed. Other sources from the period yield snippets of evidence regarding longer journeys. Oswald Barnett, for instance, recalls that as a young boy in the 1890s, he would walk with two friends to Campbellfield, 'some five or six miles' from his home in East Brunswick, Melbourne, for the purpose of shooting birds with catapults and climbing trees.[95] It seems, then, that some urban youngsters roamed over distances considerably greater than those listed in the Table. Nonetheless, this evidence is valuable in providing a comparative body of material across different locations and for a sustained period of time. It also supplies an extremely rare insight into the criss-crossing network of urban journeys made by young people in the late Victorian era.

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[92] Walking distances were calculated using the MapInfo program. For control purposes, the figures show the distance from the home address to the centre of the open space in question. The files do not provide precise locations of the reported offences within the parks. The full list of those apprehended features in Sleight, *Young People*, appendix 1.

[93] On home conditions in Collingwood forcing 'growing lads and girls [to] naturally seek enjoyment elsewhere', see Collingwood History Committee, *In Those Days: Collingwood Remembered* (Melbourne, 1979), 19.

[94] See VPRS 3181, Unit 753, Parks (1897), item 3942, PROV, for further details.

The girls featured in the Table present interesting cases. 10-year-old Eliza Meeham, for instance, had walked at least 960 metres from Little Collins Street to the Fitzroy Gardens. There she and her companion Adelaide Douglas (also aged 10; address illegible) were apprehended cutting rhododendron flowers.[96] The case of Letitia Keating, alias 'Hettie Miller', also intrigues.[97] When questioned in the Carlton Gardens by Constable Macpherson in October 1900 regarding a tree's broken branches, Keating supplied a false name and address. Instead of living in Exhibition Street, a kilometre away, it transpired that Letitia and her 3-year-old sister, 'Lilly', lived far closer to the park in question, at 35 La Trobe Street—a distance of just over 300 metres. The quick-minded 11-year-old had clearly hoped to escape punishment and hear no more from the authorities. Instead, a court summons resulted.

In contrast to the push factors associated with the working-class home, sources including autobiographies reveal a number of pull factors and ideological assumptions working to keep middle-class girls closer to the domestic sphere. While their brothers could more easily enjoy the liberty of walking city streets in their teenage years,[98] girls' urban range was usually more limited, at least until a softening of restrictions by the turn

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[95] Oswald Barnett, *I Remember* (1964–5), transcribed by Betty Blunden, http://www.ethicalpolitics.org/andy/betty/os-barnett/i-remember.htm (accessed 20 August 2014). See also Sleight, *Young People*, 70–1 for further examples.

[96] VPRS 3181, Unit 756, Parks (1899), item 4218, PROV.

[97] VPRS 3181, Unit 757, Parks (1900), item 3914, PROV.

[98] See, for instance, Geoffrey Serle, *John Monash: A Biography* (Melbourne, 1982), 21–7; Norman Lindsay, *My Mask: For What Little I Know of the Man Behind It* (Sydney, 1970), 83–9.

Table 1 Selected data on young people's minimum urban range (sourced from files held at the Public Record Office, Victoria)

Name	*Age*	*M/F*	*Home address (x)*	*Place of reported offence (y)*	*Distance from x to y (km)*	*Nature of reported offence*	*Date*	*Other notes*
John Carroll	16	M	44 Valiant St, Abbotsford	Fitzroy Gardens	3.15	Climbing a tree	15 Oct 1897	'After thrushes nests'
Bertie Hoey	10	M	141 Victoria Parade, Collingwood	Fitzroy Gardens	1.17	Robbing nests and cutting bamboo	30 Nov 1898	Caught with nest holding two live birds and eight bamboo canes (for use as fishing rods)
James Marston	12	M	50 Napier St, Fitzroy	Fitzroy Gardens	1.02	Robbing nests and cutting bamboo	30 Nov 1898	Caught in company with above
Victor Townsend	15	M	393 Victoria Parade, East Melbourne	Fitzroy Gardens	2.00	Robbing nests and cutting bamboo	30 Nov 1898	Caught in company with above
Thomas Heaney	9	M	10 Napier St, Fitzroy	Fitzroy Gardens	0.93	Robbing nests and cutting bamboo	30 Nov 1898	Caught in company with above
Eliza Meeham	10	F	34 Little Collins St, Melbourne	Fitzroy Gardens	0.96	Picking rhododendron flowers	25 Nov 1899	Accompanied by another 10-year-old (address unknown)
'Hettie Miller'	11	F	96 Exhibition St, Melbourne	Carlton Gardens	1.04	Breaking branches from tree	02 Oct 1900	Gave false name and address; real name Letitia Keating (see below)

‘Lilly Miller’	3	F	96 Exhibition St, Melbourne	Carlton Gardens	1.04	Breaking branches from tree	02 Oct 1900	False name supplied by elder sister. Real name unknown
Letitia Keating	11	F	35 La Trobe St, Melbourne	Carlton Gardens	0.32	Breaking branches from tree	02 Oct 1900	The correct details for ‘Hettie Miller’. Fined 5/-
Berty Pritchard	12	M	2 Egan St, Richmond	Yarra Park	1.12	Damaging trees	01 Nov 1900	Broke a six-foot branch. Authorities told of damage by boy cricketers playing nearby
Horace Pritchard	12	M	121 George St, East Melbourne	Yarra Park	2.01	Damaging trees	01 Nov 1900	Caught in company with above. Seen climbing a tree
John Hennesy	10	M	120 Princes St, Carlton	Curtain Square	0.44	Damage caused during hide and seek	17 Dec 1900	Offence occurred 7.50 p.m. Four others involved

of the century. Before their formal ‘coming out’ into society as eligible women, girls fell under close supervision. They might, for instance, still enjoy public parks, but this commonly occurred under the watch of the family maid, an elderly relative, or else alongside father on his Sunday stroll.[99] Kept on a tight rein, for example, for Mabel Brookes a detested punishment consisted of being marched around the Botanical Gardens by her grandmother, passing other children engrossed in games.[100] Mobility, recent scholarship has illustrated, is a thoroughly gendered privilege;[101] for younger middle-class children like Dorothy Moore and Mabel Brookes, walking was associated with fairly strict boundaries. Only those less concerned by notions of respectability, or—by century’s end—girls in their teens, could embark upon city walks which approximated to those of their brothers. Even then, they ranged less far.

Conclusion

For young people, the ‘walking city’ did not end or even begin to decline by 1870 or 1880, as has been asserted for adults; in Melbourne, London and New York it lived on into the twentieth century. For purposes of both working and courting, young city-dwellers were still overwhelmingly on foot in the early 1900s, carving out spaces for themselves. Sometimes they claimed the footpath as their exclusive domain, such as when a group of factory girls in turn-of-the-century London were encountered ‘walking arm in arm … singing and shouting and pushing other wayfarers off the curbstone’.[102] At other times they merged into everyday foot traffic or found pockets of space, particularly in parks, to conduct their games or pursue their courtships. Throughout the long nineteenth century, young people’s urban walks followed shifting patterns. A variety of leisure zones were frequented at particular hours and on different days, the resultant pedestrian congestion further attuned to the rhythms of the seasons. By morning and evening troops of youthful street traders came and went, chasing adult footfall in the intervening period as they sought to sell their wares. Across a variety of metropolitan locations, such outdoor activities were regulated only lightly until well into the twentieth century. Especially in the summer months, truants in each of our cities searched on foot for adventure and play, while more obedient younger children were sent on errands throughout the year and at any time of day. The onset of compulsory education from the 1870s did have a gradual effect on the numbers of school-age children to be found in and around the streets, but not on their locomotive habits. Growing numbers of children walked to their lessons by 1914, an activity recalled fondly by many,[103] and one that continued largely unchecked for city children until the era of the car-based 'school run' in the later twentieth century.

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[99] Nancy Adams, *Family Fresco* (Melbourne, 1966), 68; Macdonald, ‘Journalist’s Child’, 55.

[100] Mabel Brookes, *Memoirs* (Melbourne, 1974), 1–2.

[101] Tanu Priya Uteng and Tim Cresswell (eds), *Gendered Mobilities* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2008).

[102] Lilian H. Montagu, quoted in Parratt, *‘More than Mere Amusement’*, 110.

Few young people ever ran completely free, of course: factors of class, gender and age circumscribed their urban walks in the long nineteenth century, and historians must resist the nostalgia that imbues some contemporary analyses outlining declining autonomy. In cities that increasingly privileged circulation by pedestrians as well as new forms of transport, a tangle of regulations sped up the pace of urban living, moving the loiterers on and increasingly redefining social street spaces as transit thoroughfares. There were certainly more rules, but by 1900 there were also more freedoms, especially for girls and young women of all backgrounds. Amidst such changes there were also continuities: points of age-related transition continued to involve walking. Young people most often walked to school or to bypass the school gates by playing truant; they walked into the world of work, and they sought romantic encounters on foot. Some young people did embrace the transport revolution taking place around them, yet for most young city-dwellers, in 1914 as in 1850, the city remained a site for walking. A variety of sources and interpretative techniques can assist in reimagining a series of activities once so commonplace as to be considered worthy of only relatively scant comment. By placing street regulations alongside eye-witness descriptions, diary-based and autobiographical accounts alongside newspaper reports, and adult expressions of concern alongside extant quantitative evidence, we can help to repopulate the streets of the past, and bring to the fore the crucial place of youthful walking at the heart of urban history.

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[103] See, for example, Amie Livingstone Stirling, *Memories of an Australian Childhood 1880–1900* (Melbourne, 1980), 62; Mildred Snowden, 'Reminiscences and Family Life, 1829–1938', MS 10748, SLV, 10. In Victoria, the 1872 Education Act considered non-attendance admissible only if there was 'no State school which the child can attend within a distance of two miles' (The Education Act, 1872 [Victoria], s. 13). From anywhere within that radius, schoolchildren were expected to walk.

Acknowledgement I wish to acknowledge my dual affiliations in the writing of this chapter, both with King's College London and, as Adjunct Research Associate, with the School of Philosophical, Historical and International Studies at Monash University, Melbourne.

PART II

Walking and Labour

CHAPTER 5

Walking as Labour in Henry Mayhew's London

Elizabeth Coggin Womack

One of the best-known and most sympathetic portraits in Henry Mayhew's early volumes of *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) is his interview with the watercress girl, an 8-year-old street vendor with a poignant ignorance of childish pleasures. Mayhew's opening conversational gambit—an inquiry about toys, games and parks—falls on bewildered ears. '"The parks!" she replies in wonder, "where are they?"'[1] Mayhew then explains the concept of 'large open places with green grass and tall trees, where beautiful carriages drove about, and people walked for pleasure, and children played'. The watercress girl's amazement at the idea of a space for pleasure, and especially pleasure taken in recreational walking, is understandable in the context of the life Mayhew describes. Carrying her basket and shuffling along in the oversized carpet slippers she wears for shoes, she covers up to nine or ten miles of city streets per day all year round—a far cry from a stroll in Hyde Park.

This contrast between the point of view of the middle-class pedestrian and that of the working-class street vendor typifies the chasm Mayhew attempts to bridge in *London Labour and the London Poor*, which he wrote

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[1] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. [1861–2] (New York, 1968), I, 151. Future references to volume and page number appear parenthetically in the text.

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to show wealthy readers 'the condition of a class of people whose misery … is, to say the very least, a national disgrace' (I, xvi). Viewed more narrowly, this vignette also offers a starting point for the following exploration of the optics of urban walking, and specifically the legal, economic and cultural context of perceiving walking as labour in nineteenth-century London. In his conversation with the watercress girl, Mayhew assumes that the best way to relate to a child on the streets is to appeal to her love of leisure, an assumption based not only on her young age, but also on his perception of her as a vagrant, a member of 'the nomadic race of England', a wanderer incapable of settled labour (I, 2). He is shocked to learn that she knows of walking only as work: 'all her knowledge seemed to begin and end with water-cresses' and 'that part [of London] she had seen on her rounds' (I, 151). The child's failure to understand walking as leisure is balanced, then, against Mayhew's seeming resistance to perceiving walking as anything else.

The act of walking has powerful symbolic resonance and, as I will argue, the symbolism of the walking subject tends to obscure our perception of walking as a basic and sometimes unpleasant physical function. As Anne D. Wallace observes, readers who encounter walking in a text often tend to overlook the exertion, privileging instead the walker's subjectivity.[2] The bodily mechanics of such perambulations are incidental and perhaps boring; their slow and repetitive qualities facilitate reflection. However, this strong association between walking and subjectivity is limited to privileged walkers. Texts that portray economically or racially marginalized walkers often frame them externally as potential threats: vagrants, loiterers, hitch-hikers or menacing strangers on a dark street. These associations gave rise to a phrase common to African–American parenthood—'Walk like you got business. Walk like you got somewhere to be'—a reminder of the effort marginalized walkers must expend to convey purpose and respectability.[3]

Scholarship on walking in literature is inclined to focus on its function as a leisure activity and therefore tends to nurture rather than dispel the class distinctions that polarize our perceptions of human mobility. Many scholars, including Wallace, Celeste Langan, Jeffrey Robinson and Donna Landry, explore what we might call the poetics of walking in the context of the Romantic movement in general and William Wordsworth in particular, crediting him not only for his celebration of rural walking in print, but also for the 'increasing practice of deliberate excursive walking, especially by the relatively well-to-do and educated, through the nineteenth century'.[4] Another body of scholarship explores the figure of the urban flâneur: a distinctive literary type of upper-class idler who appears in the poetry of Charles Baudelaire and in the writings of Walter Benjamin.[5] Like the walk of the Romantic poet, the flâneur's walk is an exercise of observation and an activity made possible by leisure. This literary, cultural and critical tendency to focus on the interiority of the walker has the effect of eliding the physical effort of walking, and these cultural constructions, when conflated with a longstanding legal tradition of criminalizing vagrancy, obscure the physical and economic reality of walking for nineteenth-century London's poorest inhabitants.

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[2] Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1995), 3.

[3] For one example of this phrase used in context, see Ta-Nehisi Coates, *The Beautiful Struggle: A Father, Two Sons, and an Unlikely Road to Manhood* (New York, 2009), 22.

Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* offers a useful starting-point for recovering, both historically and culturally, the idea of walking as labour. Mayhew shares, to some degree, the sentiments of both the Romantic and flâneur traditions. Like Wordsworth, he chooses to relate 'incidents and situations from common life … in a selection of language really used by men' with the goal of capturing the truth of the human condition—a truth which might be lost in more ornate, educated phrasing.[6] Like the Parisian *physiologues*, the sketches of urban characters that Benjamin cites in his definitive essay on the flâneur, *London Labour and the London Poor* portrays the phantasmagoria of the city through a series of portraits, alternately sentimental and grotesque; one could easily categorize Mayhew—known for his dilettantish habits—as the type of writer who, in Benjamin's words, 'goes botanizing on the asphalt'.[7]

However, Mayhew's project began quite differently, with a series of 82 articles on London's street labourers published between October 1849 and December 1850, when he worked as metropolitan correspondent for the *Morning Chronicle*.[8] His work as a journalist and his early interest in science prompted an empirical rather than imaginative approach, and the result was the most comprehensive account of Victorian street life of that period, including interviews seemingly told in the words of his subjects, obsessive (if often estimated) statistical analysis, and context drawn from contemporary texts on political economy and anthropology. While historians have rightly questioned Mayhew's objectivity and less-than-scientific methods, the observations and interviews compiled in the eventual four-volume study include a wealth of detail on all street life, including London foot traffic. He includes, for example, the specific number of miles per day walked by many of his interviewees (20 or more for the young and healthy versus a few miles per day for the aged or infirm).[9] Mayhew also tabulates the ancillary expenses of street life, including a vigorous trade in worn-out boots, walking sticks and snake-oil remedies for feet hardened by horn-like callouses.

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[4] Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture*, 166; see also Jeffrey Robinson, *The Walk: Notes on a Romantic Image* (Norman, 1989), 6, 25.

[5] Walter Benjamin, 'The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire', in his *The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 66.

[6] William Wordsworth, 'Preface', in his *Lyrical Ballads with Pastoral and Other Poems* (London, 1802), vii.

[7] Benjamin, 'Paris of the Second Empire', 67–8.

[8] Anne Humphreys, 'Henry Mayhew (25 November 1812–25 July 1887)', in Ira Bruce Nadel and William E. Fredeman (eds), *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 18, *Victorian Novelists after 1885* (Detroit, 1983), 167–71.

However, Mayhew's depiction of the minutiae of all kinds of 'London labour' is haunted by the dark double of London idleness. The first volume is loosely organized around categories first established by the Elizabethan Poor Law, rephrased in Mayhew's subtitle as 'those who work, those who cannot work, and those who will not work'. In Mayhew's hands these categories overlap rather than remain perfectly discrete, calling into question the relative idleness or industry of each of his subjects. This typology is particularly vexed when it comes to those whose work consists primarily of walking. A predominant theme in *London Labour* is the 'love of a roving life', which Mayhew defines as resistance to settled occupation. Unfortunately for Mayhew's taxonomy, the love of a roving life looks very similar to the work of street vendors who circulate endlessly and painfully on foot. The reader is left to grapple with questions raised by Mayhew's muddy and often self-contradictory distinctions. How does one spot the difference between a vendor making his rounds and a vagrant wandering through the city?

In what follows, I consider Mayhew as an observer of London's walking street vendors, arguing that his extensive survey offers a partial corrective to a cultural tendency to associate walking with leisure. I first place Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* in the context of English vagrancy laws, which functioned to control the flow of labouring and idle bodies, and criminalized walking in anticipation of crimes against property and disorderly conduct. While Mayhew urges caution in applying such laws to the deserving poor by highlighting the modern economic pressures that mandate their unceasing circulation, he undermines his argument with his fixation on the contrasting figure of the vagrant, whom he defines as a physiologically distinct and primitive wanderer. I then consider Mayhew's efforts to distinguish labouring walkers from idle vagrants and beggars in the context of discussions of labour in nineteenth-century evangelical and economic thought, arguing that his definition of 'labour' reflects once common associations of pain with labour and pleasure with idleness. Finally, I turn my focus onto Mayhew who, as a walking observer, expands on the narrow trope of the self-contained and reflective walker in literature both by illuminating the subjectivity of working walkers overlooked in other texts and by facilitating charitable transactions between his readers and the working walkers they encounter virtually in his text.

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[9] See, for example, vendors of Christmas greenery (I, 142), a stationery seller (I, 271), sellers of tan-turf (II, 88), matchsticks (I, 329), and the nutmeg-grater seller (I, 432).

The Origins of Vagrancy

Among the most significant barriers to defining walking as labour in the nineteenth century was the ingrained association between walking and idleness or criminality forged by centuries of vagrancy and poaching laws. Traditionally, such laws had sought to regulate the settlement and thus the movements of the working class by restricting them to narrow geographical spaces. However, such restrictions became less economically feasible by the early nineteenth century, and a new set of laws that either directly or indirectly encouraged working-class mobility produced a paradoxical situation: in spite of the massive shift to an industrial economy that benefitted from an increasingly mobile workforce, the walking of working-class men and women remained inherently suspect. Mayhew's *London Labour* is unusual in that it illustrates both sides of this complex dynamic: while he decries the systemic factors that produce punishing levels of working-class circulation in London, he remains suspicious of working-class walkers.

Before turning to Mayhew, it is useful to consider a few examples of the restrictions on working-class mobility that characterized the pre-industrial era. Under Tudor poor laws, travellers were required to prove their eligibility for labour and housing by carrying documentation that marked them as deserving, while those deemed vagrants might be marked in other, more permanent ways. An Act of 1536, for example, required that vagrants be branded on the chest with a 'V' upon the first offence, while an Act of 1572 mandated that vagrants should be punished with a hole bored through the ear in addition to whipping.[10] While these punishments were rarely, if ever, implemented, the laws nevertheless testify to the desire for a visible demarcation between the body of the labourer and the body of the vagrant.

In later practice, this determination came down to the evidence of mobility itself; any working-class traveller could be assumed to be a vagrant. A series of settlement laws, most notably the 1662 Act of Settlement, sought to secure local surplus labour and eliminate the presence of vagrants by offering poor relief only to those with the privilege of settlement. While in theory one could change one's settlement by working in a new community for over a year, local employers soon learned to forestall the settlement of new indigents in their communities by offering only short-term work. Functionally, this meant that lower-class travellers were restricted to a very narrow area even in times of unemployment and famine.[11] While these laws were intended to curtail only harmful or unproductive travel, they encouraged the belief that productive bodies were stable and tied to the land; only idle bodies tended to wander. As Samuel Mencher observes, this idea appeared not only in the legal code, but also in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century utopian literature: Thomas More and Francis Bacon both imagined ideal societies that eliminated the blight of working-class mobility.[12]

Such thinking endured into the nineteenth century, when restrictions on vagrancy were detached from poor-law administration and became a matter for police, reflecting the fear that vagrants were likely to commit crime.[13] The phrasing of the Vagrancy Act of 1824 makes this association between mobility and crime especially clear:

> [E]very petty chapman or pedlar wandering abroad, and trading without being duly licensed, or otherwise authorized by law; every common prostitute wandering in the public streets or public highways, or in any place of public resort, and behaving in a riotous or indecent manner; and every person wandering abroad, or placing himself or herself in any public

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[10] Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law, 1531–1782* (Cambridge, 1995), 51.

[11] Samuel Mencher, *Poor Law to Poverty Program: Economic Security Policy in Britain and the United States* (Pittsburgh, 1967), 127.

[12] Ibid., 16.

[13] Ibid., 127.

> place, street, highway, court, or passage, to beg or gather alms, or causing or procuring or encouraging any child or children so to do; shall be deemed an idle and disorderly person within the true intent and meaning of this Act; and it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace to commit such offender … to the house of correction, … for any time not exceeding one calendar month.[14]

The implication of this act—now used to discourage loitering and other stationary offences such as sleeping on pavements—is that one's unauthorized presence in public space might lead to additional offences: peddling without a licence, prostitution or begging. Yet the common theme in the language above is not a person's *stationary* presence in the streets, or even the crimes a stationary person might perpetrate. The emphasis instead lies on the act or condition of 'wandering', a phrasing evocative of earlier settlement laws and one that frames unauthorized circulation as the primary offence. Moreover, the Vagrancy Act states that a wanderer 'shall be deemed an idle and disorderly person', a phrasing that suggests that one offends by being a type of person rather than by committing a certain act. As Landry observes, the vagrant's crime consisted very specifically in 'be[ing] a vagrant'—in being an idle body.[15]

Yet in other ways, the legal landscape was changing to encourage greater working-class mobility. On the national scale, mobility was tied increasingly to prosperity as an agricultural economy gave way to a capitalist one. Mobility benefitted not only workers who hoped to find a better life in the cities, but also employers who relied on a surplus labour force to maximize profit. In 1834 the Act of Settlement was partially repealed by the Poor Law Amendment Act, in response to rural poverty and underemployment; geographical restrictions on the working class burdened rural parishes while hindering the migration of potential workers to industrialized areas. Consequently, the New Poor Law expanded opportunities for working-class men and women to travel.

Within the confines of London, laws intended to discourage itinerancy no longer limited mobility; instead, they mandated even more circulation, for loitering rather than travelling came to be seen as the vagrant's chief offence. Among the earliest of these laws was the Hawker's Act of 1810, which aimed to free roads of street vendors whose stalls were thought to obstruct traffic and impede more legitimate forms of commerce. Unlike Elizabethan laws, which tended to tolerate if not positively to encourage the formation of markets, the Hawker's Act had the effect of keeping street vendors perpetually in motion. Mayhew observes that shopkeepers, who perceived street vendors as both competition and a nuisance, could appeal to the police if a costermonger's barrow obstructed the road or caused a disturbance; such objections prevented street vendors from setting up regular stalls, and they were perpetually forced to 'move on' (II, 1). Thus laws intended to combat itinerancy resulted in an even less stable population of street vendors: a category of people forced to work all the harder by continuously circulating in spite of their designation as 'idle'. While Mayhew devotes most of his energy to the Hawker's Act, the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 was the more significant piece of legislation in promoting constant urban circulation, for a modern police force—itself largely circulating on foot—enabled the constant surveillance of the working class in public space. Open spaces were to be kept clear, in the words of Haia Shpayer-Makov, of 'unscrupulous or irreverent elements, by which [city leaders] meant the socially inferior who did not adhere to bourgeois standards of morality, etiquette, and work discipline, thereby offending the sense of propriety of the established classes'.[16] Without the police, there would be no one to enforce charges of loitering and no constant cry to 'move on'.

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[14] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo4/5/83 (accessed 15 August 2015).

[15] Donna Landry, 'Radical Walking', *Open Democracy*, 19 December 2001, http://www.opendemocracy.net/ecology-climate_change_debate/article_465.jsp (accessed 15 August 2013).

Police enforcement of the Hawker's Act, when combined with the New Poor Law and specifically the institution of the workhouse, promoted another kind of continual circulation: the constant flow of vendors into the workhouse and back on to the streets. While unlicensed vendors could be forced by police to enter the workhouse, the workhouse directly encouraged street vending by recommending it as a form of self-sustained employment. In the words of one of Mayhew's vendors,

> They drive us about, we must move on, we can't stand here, and we can't pitch there. But if we're cracked up, that is if we're forced to go to the Union (I've known it both at Clerkenwell and the City of London workhouses), why the parish gives us money to buy a barrow, or a shallow, or to hire them, and leave the house and start for ourselves: and what's the use of that, if the police won't let us sell our goods?—Which is right, the parish or the police? (I, 20)

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[16] Haia Shpayer-Makov, *The Making of a Policeman: The Social History of a Labour Force in Metropolitan London, 1829–1914* (Aldershot, 2002), 5.

Therefore, the constantly enforced circulation of Mayhew's vendors through the streets was echoed by their paradoxical legal context, which cycled them in and out of the workhouse.

In the context of this transitional moment in vagrancy law, Mayhew paints a largely sympathetic view of the plight of the urban working walker. However, he does not go so far as to oppose restrictions on vagrancy. Instead, he argues that anti-vagrancy legislation is *indiscriminately* (as opposed to unfairly) stigmatizing and unnecessarily burdensome for those who live in the streets, not to mention ineffective in minimizing the social burden of poverty (II, 3–7). Mayhew defends street vendors from the charge that they are 'rogues and vagabonds' (II, 4) and argues that ill-conceived and unthinkingly applied vagrancy laws only hamper 'the endeavour to obtain an honest and independent livelihood' (II, 3). However, in urging readers to extend sympathy to this class of deserving street vendors, he complicates rather than opposes distinctions between the labouring and supposedly idle walkers, cloaking the long-held assumptions about walking bodies and criminal bodies once coded in English poor laws in new, pseudoscientific language.

Mayhew begins his defence of the hard-working street vendor with a construction and rejection of his antithesis, the constitutional wanderer, a specimen of vagrant Mayhew conjures by racializing the idleness and criminality of unsettled populations. He declares that humankind can be divided between two 'races', 'civilized or settled tribe[s]' and 'wandering horde[s]' (I, 1). These 'races' are not merely figurative for Mayhew; they indicate physiological and ethnic distinctions. He claims that 'those who follow some itinerant occupation' are a blend of the two 'races', varying in their physiognomy 'according as they partake more or less of the pure vagabond, doing nothing whatsoever for their living, but moving from place to place and preying upon the earnings of the more industrious portion of the community' (I, 2). While Mayhew's overview of the vagrant's 'distinct physical … characteristics', such as the 'relative development of the bones of the skull', are sketched in broad, hasty strokes, he nonetheless correlates the features of the body with aspects of the character, implying that labour is a settled, civilized activity to which one is hereditarily disposed rather than behaviour that is learned (I, 1). Even 'the roving life', an itinerant culture and lifestyle described by Mayhew's subjects, is understood by Mayhew as an ingrained trait. Near the end of the first volume, he explicitly connects the wanderer's hereditary traits to the 'roving life', declaring that

> This passion for a 'roving life' (to use the common expression by which many of the street-people themselves designate it), is a marked feature of

> some natures, there cannot be a doubt in the mind of anyone who has contemplated even the surface differences of human beings; and nevertheless it is a point to which no social philosopher has yet drawn attention. (I, 321)

Mayhew's claim for the novelty of this interpretation proves unfounded, however, when his pseudo-anthropological approach is compared with centuries of vagrancy laws, and especially with the 1824 act. To claim, as Mayhew does, that the 'roving habit' is 'essentially the physical cause of crime' (I, 321) is merely to echo the long-standing notion that a vagrant is by nature a type of person.

Mayhew suggests that London's vagrants fall into two categories. The first variation on this theme is the nature–nurture blend of the 'hereditary wanderer' (I, 213): the child raised to the streets by street-vendor parents. He suggests that the children of costers 'may be said to constitute the natives of the streets—the tribe indigenous to the paving-stones—imbibing the habits and morals of the gutters almost with their mother's milk … We might as well blame the various races on the face of the earth for those several geographical peculiarities of taste, which constitute their national characteristics' (I, 320). Mayhew intends these comments to deflect moral condemnation in favour of understanding and sympathy, for what else can children of street vendors know, if not the streets? 'To expect that children thus nursed in the lap of the kennel, should when men not bear the impress of the circumstances amid which they have been reared, is to expect to find costermongers heroes instead of ordinary human beings.' Yet by referring to them as an 'indigenous tribe', let alone a group of humans with particular physiological traits, he compounds their alterity. The implication is that no intervention can relieve them from the urge to roam and their consequent poverty.

We might think of Mayhew's second variation as the reversionary wanderer. This category is comprised of middle-class people whose reduced circumstances can be traced to their natural predisposition to roving. This variation is especially common among the street 'patterers', identified as those who make their living in the streets chiefly by providing entertainment or publicly talking up their wares. Since patterers tend to be better educated, few are born to the streets; instead, they 'have rather taken to it from a natural love of what they call "roving"'. Since Mayhew cannot explain this choice through reason, heredity or even habit, he presents it instead as a kind of atavistic reversion:

> This propensity to lapse from a civilized into a nomad state – to pass from a settler into a wanderer – is a peculiar characteristic of the pattering tribe.

> The tendency however is by no means extraordinary; for ethnology teaches us, that whereas many abandon the habits of civilized life to adopt those of a nomadic state of existence, but few of the wandering tribes give up vagabondising and betake themselves to settled occupations. (I, 213)

Here, as in his introduction, Mayhew seems to indicate that 'roving' marks an entirely separate set of physiological characteristics irreconcilable with the settled race—characteristics which may nonetheless lie dormant for generations before emerging in a particular individual.

In spite of Mayhew's insistence on the distinct and unchangeable nature of the wandering disposition, his racialized typology of street-folk often evokes nineteenth-century evolutionism. Mayhew's introduction does not explicitly argue that these wanderers are a relic of the past, but it is worth considering his references to contemporary ethnologists in the context of the postcolonial critique of allochronism, or 'the denial of co-evalness', defined by Johannes Fabian as 'a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse'.[17] Fabian argues that anthropologists must be wary of a tendency to evaluate other cultures through the framework of typological rather than synchronic time—in other words, to define the Other as 'pre-capitalist' rather than 'non-capitalist'; 'preliterate' rather than 'illiterate'—thus locating the Other in a typologically relative past. Mayhew's anthropological analysis of street-folk, then, situates London's less evolved 'nomadic race' in a pre-modern context. Underscoring Mayhew's tendency to see wanderers as primitive is his repeated comparison of nineteenth-century street traders with their historical counterparts. The nineteenth-century ballad singer, for example, is declared to be the 'sole descendant, or remains, of the minstrel of old, as regards the business of the streets' (I, 273). Rather than noting that street-selling is an entirely different occupation when it occurs in a capitalist rather than a feudal economic context, or observing that medieval and early modern minstrelsy benefitted from a system of patronage, Mayhew posits a direct line of descent, indicating how the race has 'lost caste, and be[en] driven to play cheap' as a result of economic decline. Similarly, hawking and peddling are said to be 'among the more ancient of trades', and Mayhew suggests that their prosperity, which he traces through history up to 1810, when a 4*s.* licence fee was added, was undiminished until an influx of immigrants in the recent past brought 'disrepute' to a trade once comprised of honest men (I, 375). Even in defence of the street trader's rights in the face of hostility from shopkeepers, Mayhew argues that 'If ancient custom be referred to, [hawkers are], in truth, the original distributors of the produce of the country' (II, 4).

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[17] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983), 31.

The significance of Mayhew's elaborate construction of the heredity and history of the wandering race is that he seems inadvertently to contest a point he later takes pains to prove: that walking is a kind of labour and that the conditions of this labour in London are not only survivals from a preindustrial economy, but also the side-effects of mechanization (which eliminates mechanics jobs [II, 5, 208, 306]), free trade (II, 90), immigration (I, 146), population growth (II, 5), new patterns of fishing and shipping (I, 68), rail transport (I, 68) and a host of other particularly modern conditions. Many of these assertions are laid out in the introduction to his second volume, which seems to take a far more sympathetic view of street-vending as labour than the first. Mayhew, observing 'the rate of increase among the street-traders', argues that the disproportionate expansion of street trading has resulted from economic forces that make contemporary labour, and especially labour in the factories, increasingly unrewarding and difficult to obtain. 'That there is every day a greater difficulty for working men to live by their labour—either from the paucity of work, or from the scanty remuneration given for it—surely no one will be disposed to question when everyone is crying out that the country is over-populated' (II, 5). Thus Mayhew ultimately argues that the miles and miles of walking that street vendors undertake in mid-nineteenth-century London are consequences not of a failure to modernize, but rather of modernity itself.

As for the street vendors, they may not always be aware of the larger economic narrative, but they sum up the results effectively. As Mayhew observes,

> all they can tell of it is, that about twenty years ago they took a guinea for every shilling that they get now. This heavy reduction of their receipts they attribute to the cheapness of commodities, and the necessity to carry and sell a greater quantity of goods in order to get the same profit, as well as to the increase in the number of street-traders. (II, 5)

A rhubarb and spice seller describes the impact of deflation on the street trade, saying

> I don't know wat is de cause, as you say. I only know dat I am worse, and everybody is worse; dat is all I know. Bread is sheeper, but when it was one

> and ninepence per loaf I could get plenty to buy it wid, but now it is five pence, and I can't get no five pence to have it. (I, 454)

Other street vendors specifically address reduced prices due to the influx of foreign goods resulting from free trade, as well as increased competition from recent immigrants—particularly following the Great Famine in Ireland. 'I used to sell toys, that since the foreign things were let come over, I couldn't make anything of them, and was obliged to give them up' (II, 90). Many connect the decline in trade to miles walked; in the words of one cutlery vendor,

> It's all owing to the times, that's all I can say. People, shopkeepers, and all says to me, I can't tell why things is so bad, and has been so bad in trade; but so they is. We has to walk farther to sell our goods, and people beat us down so terrible hard, that we can't get a penny out of them when we do sell. (I, 338–9)

The vendor later elaborates, '"Look here, sir," he said, holding up his foot; "look at the shoes, the soles is all loose, you see, and let water … But in most of the shops as I goes to people tells me, 'my good man it is as much as we can do to keep ourselves and our family in these cutting times'".' (I, 340) Even without continual pressure to 'move on', the increased competition among street vendors meant more hours working, and thus more hours walking.

However, Mayhew's recognition and tabulation of the contemporary trials of street vendors is undermined by his tendency to associate their itinerant way of life with the vagrant's supposed hereditary predisposition against stable productivity. While this tendency takes the shape of a modern, ethnographic argument about England's 'nomadic races', Mayhew's prejudice draws upon a long-standing English legal tradition that regulated both the settlement and the mobility of its working class. In seeking the racial and cultural origin of London's walking poor, he thus inadvertently traces the roots of his own arguments as well as his subjects' experiences to England's distant past.

Distinguishing Walks of Labour from Walks of Idleness

When it comes to day-to-day behaviour, the distinction between vendors making rounds and vagrants wandering through the city is rarely clear in *London Labour*. Beggars must sometimes work, and workers must sometimes beg. However, Mayhew does not hesitate when identifying traits of idleness and traits of industry and, in making these judgments, he reveals his assumptions about the social and psychological conditions required for labour to take place, especially in the context of walking. The most basic way in which Mayhew sets the walk of labour apart from the walk of leisure is through his choice of diction. To 'walk' almost always signifies labour in *London Labour*, and to 'tread' (I, 67) or 'shuffle' (I, 151) or 'go on a round' (I, 106, 115, 120, 346, 358) may likewise indicate worthy effort. To 'tramp' (I, 248), 'ramble' (I, 248), 'roam' (I, 86), 'rove' (I, 5, 252, 262), or 'wander' (I, 89, 138, 150), however, places the walker in a different social or psychological context. These terms connote not so much a lack of purpose as a lack of external motivation for any particular goal, distance or speed. A man who 'rambles' or 'roams' seems to follow no will, purpose or timeframe apart from his own, and his refusal to submit to the authority of an employer or potential customer takes his walk off the clock, so to speak. Moreover, such terminology often connotes pleasure, and Mayhew strongly correlates the vagrancy of those who 'love of a roving life' with characteristics including 'self-will', 'an incapability of continuous labour', and 'an unusual predilection for amusements' (I, 214).

The problem, of course, is that vagrants are not the only people who enjoy 'roving', and many street vendors interviewed by Mayhew explain that a nice walk is their one enjoyment in life. Mayhew notes that some vendors 'speak of their country expeditions as if they were summer excursions of mere pleasure' (I, 53); '"Yes, sir, there's nothing I likes better than the turn into the country", says one rag picker, "It does one's health good, if it don't turn out so well for profits as it might"' (II, 106). Some street vendors enjoy walking so much that they claim to prefer street vending to wage labour because 'to use their own words, "they like a roving life"' (I, 36) meaning that they prefer the variety of outdoor self-employment. This fondness for an excursion might seem to link itinerant labourers with their upper-class counterparts, rendering them more sympathetic subjects. Mayhew at times makes this comparison explicitly, noting for example that 'many a street-seller becomes as weary of town after the winter as a member of Parliament who sits out a very long session' (I, 483). Yet, overall, Mayhew tends to interpret a fondness for walking and the open skies as a sign of working-class degeneracy. If an industrious costermonger and a shiftless vagrant both enjoy 'a roving life', how can we tell them apart? If work is pleasant, is it really work?

This rhetorical question is meant to highlight Mayhew's unstated bias against working-class leisure, which becomes clear if we take a closer look at the street vendors who earn his sympathy. The watercress girl is a particularly good example. The little girl's poignant failure to comprehend the existence of parks, narrated in my introduction, is a sign not only of her deprivation, but also of her work ethic. Mayhew wishes us to admire the industry of the watercress sellers, whom he identifies as a particularly virtuous community:

> To visit Farringdon-market early on a Monday morning, is the only proper way to judge the fortitude and courage and perseverance of the poor. As Douglas Jerrold has beautifully said, 'there is goodness, like wild honey, hived in strange nooks of the earth'. … It must require no little energy of conscience on the part of the lads to make them resist the temptations around them … And yet they prefer the early rising – the walk to market with naked feet along the cold stones – the pinched meal – and the day's hard labour to earn the few halfpence – to the thief's comparatively easy life. (I, 149)

Mayhew claims that in this example of 'the heroism of the unknown poor is a thing to set even the dullest marveling'; 'in no place in all London is the virtue of the humblest—both young and old—so conspicuous as among the watercress-buyers'. Yet the virtue of these watercress sellers is constructed not so much out of their industry as out of their misery, and Mayhew's revealed preference for working-class asceticism. Additionally, while Mayhew claims at the outset of his interview with the watercress girl that she is ignorant of toys as well as parks, by the end of her narrative she tells Mayhew about a box of toys that she keeps at home. Mayhew's too-eager construction of a life altogether joyless at the beginning of this narrative reveals his investment in hooking the reader with a miserable working subject worthy of sympathy.

Another sympathetic character is the crippled street-seller of nutmeg-graters, who must 'walk' by shuffling along on his knees and toes (see Fig. 5.1). As Mayhew explains, 'He is unable even to stand, and cannot move from place to place but on his knees, which are shod with leather caps, like the heels of a clog, strapped around the joint' (I, 330). Mayhew's grotesque fascination with the painful mechanics of the crippled man's walk is part of his construction of the man's worthiness, for the description of his suffering and limited mobility dwarfs the account of his current trade:

> It's very hard work indeed is street-selling for such as me. I can't walk no distance. I suffer a great deal of pains in my back and knees. Sometimes I go

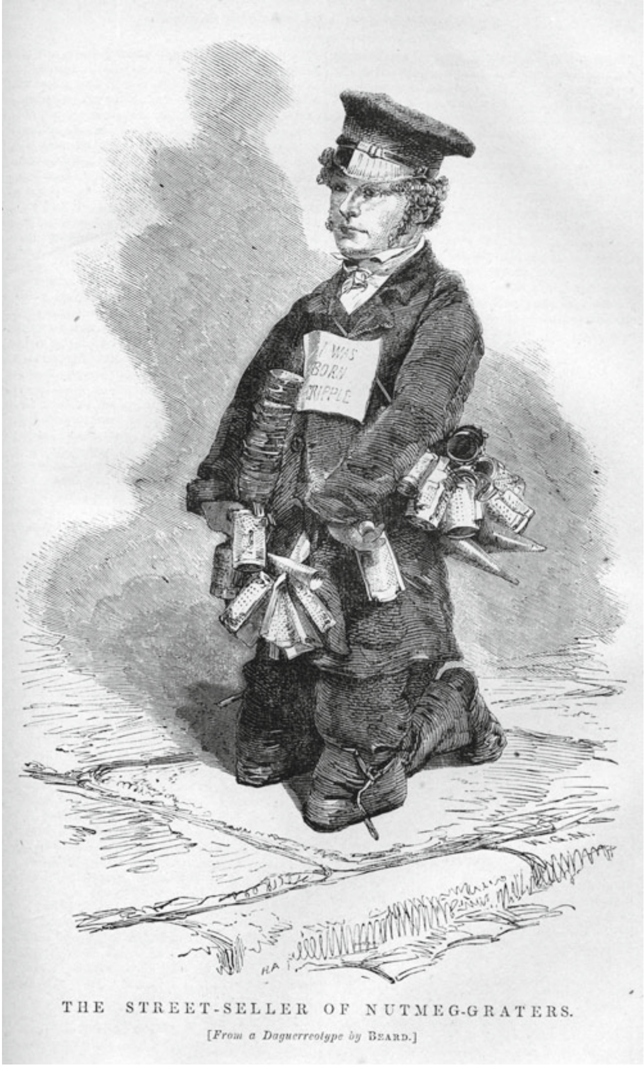
I WAS
BORN
CRIPPLE
THE STREET-SELLER OF NUTMEG-GRATERS.
[From a Daguerreotype by BEARD.]

Fig. 5.1 'The Street-Seller of Nutmeg-Graters', engraved from a daguerreotype by Richard Beard, in Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. (London 1861–2), I, 326 (reproduced by courtesy of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Special Collections Library, the Pennsylvania State University Libraries)

> in a barrow, when I'm traveling any great way. When I go only a short way I crawl along on my knees and toes. The most I've ever crawled is two miles. When I get home afterwards, I'm in great pain. My knees swell dreadfully, and they're all covered with blisters, and my toes ache awful. I've corns all on top of them. Often after I've been walking, my limbs and back ache so badly that I can get no sleep … I *do* feel it very much, but I haven't the power to get my living or to do anything for myself, but I never begged for anything. (I, 330)

The man's painful efforts generate a small profit that enables him to feed himself and renew his stock, although at the time of Mayhew's interview it was not sufficient to cover housing expenses without assistance (I, 330, 333). In spite of this partial reliance on charity, as well as what Mayhew terms the man's 'utter inability to labour', and his 'utter … helpless[ness]' as displayed to the reader through an accompanying woodcut, the 'poor fellow' is praised for being 'industrious' (I, 329, 332). Given that his narrative is so dominated by his physical misery, such praise for his industry suggests that Mayhew views the man's pains and his work as one and the same. In fact, Mayhew frames him as a hard worker, in contrast to able-bodied men who 'use the street *trade* as a cloak for alms-seeking', suggesting that an able-bodied seller of nutmeg-graters might be considered suspect (I, 329–30). By making this comparison, Mayhew reveals that his definition of labour has more to do with internal qualities, such as a disposition to work in spite of painful obstacles, than physical strength or even the ability to earn enough to cover expenses. The man's demonstrable agony—certainly an invitation to pity—is taken for evidence of a work ethic that exceeds that of successful, able-bodied costermongers who enjoy 'the roving life' they lead.

This conflation between labour and painful effort is not unique to Mayhew. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, many current and obsolete definitions of 'labour' allude to pain or arduousness, and Victorian thinkers shared these associations widely. For example, while both Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill argued that happiness was a valid goal for human endeavour, they also acknowledged the role of deferred pleasure if not actual pain in defining labour. Bentham, for example, noted that

> Aversion – not desire – is the emotion – the only emotion – which labour, taken by itself, is qualified to produce: of any such emotion as *love* or *desire*,

> *ease*, which is the *negative* or *absence* of labour – *ease*, not *labour* – is the object. In so far as *labour* is taken in its proper sense, *love of labour* is a contradiction in terms.[18]

In other words, 'labour' produces no pleasure directly; rather, it is a disagreeable task one undertakes in exchange for a distant pleasure. Similarly, John Stuart Mill observes at the commencement of his *Principles of Political Economy* that, in defining labour, 'it is necessary to include in the idea, not solely the exertion itself, but all the feelings of a disagreeable kind, all bodily inconvenience or mental annoyance, connected with the employment of one's thoughts, or muscles, or both, in a particular occupation'.[19] The implication of these definitions is not so much that labour was necessarily painful, but rather that labour is performed conditionally, rather than for intrinsic benefit. Mayhew's observations on labour echo this line of thought, as he considers in his introduction to the second volume:

> There is a cant abroad at the present day, that there is a special pleasure in industry, and hence we are taught to regard all those who object to work as appertaining to the class of natural vagabonds; but where is the man among us that loves labour? For work or labour is merely that which is irksome to perform, and which every man requires a certain amount of remuneration to induce him to perform. (II, 5)

With this comment, Mayhew aligns himself with accepted definitions of labour as generally unpleasant; he also contests the notion that labour, even painful labour, is spiritually ennobling—a view that grew out of nineteenth-century evangelical thought and became associated in its secular form with the writings of Thomas Carlyle.[20] Mayhew's disagreement with this 'cant' seems to put him at odds with what Catherine Gallagher refers to as the Victorian period's 'commonplace bourgeois pieties'.[21] It also seems to show sympathy for the working poor who often failed to adhere to this maxim of middle-class morality.

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[18] *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. I, *The Table of the Springs of Action* (Edinburgh, 1838), 214, quoted in Catherine Gallagher, *The Body Economic: Life, Death, and Sensation in Political Economy and the Victorian Novel* (Princeton, 2006), 24.

[19] John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (Amherst, 2004), 51, quoted in Gallagher, *Body Economic*, 59–60.

[20] According to Boyd Hilton, nineteenth-century evangelical thought inflected economic discourse, suggesting that competition and want reflected God's will, and, moreover, that economic fluctuations promoted 'moral and spiritual benefits': B. Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford, 1988), 32. Carlyle's version of this doctrine had less to do with salvation than with human potential. According to Carlyle, 'a man perfects himself by working'; '[E]ven in the meanest sorts of Labour, the whole soul of a man is composed into a kind of real harmony':

In practice, however, Mayhew seems to take a middle path between the Utilitarian and the religiously inflected discourses surrounding labour, for as he seeks to distinguish between labouring and idle bodies he transforms the descriptive notion that labour is generally unpleasant into a prescriptive and moralizing principle that more closely resembles the 'cant' he rejects. In short, Mayhew suggests that a good way to tell whether or not someone is a good labourer is by observing whether or not they are unhappy. By this measure, a man content to lead 'a roving life' by catching and selling songbirds, for example, is not truly working, while a rheumatic street-seller of cutlery who suffers a sense of misery and degradation can properly be identified as a labourer, regardless of the number of items sold or the amount of money earned. The only street-folk who seem to earn Mayhew's designation as 'London's labourers' are those who seek a living on the streets not out of inclination, but out of dire need:

> [T]hose who are driven to the streets … are by far the least numerous portion of the street-folk … With some who are deprived of the means of obtaining a maintenance for themselves, the sale of small articles in the streets may, perhaps, be an excuse for begging; but in most cases I am convinced it is adopted from a horror of the workhouse, and a disposition to do, at least, something for the food they eat. Often it is the last struggle of independence – the desire to give something like an equivalent for what they receive. (I, 321)

It is this disposition to do, or more importantly, a disposition to do that which is unpleasant, that serves Mayhew as the hallmark of work.

MAYHEW AND THE READER AS WALKERS

Any assessment of walking as labour in *London Labour* would be incomplete without acknowledging the labour of the author himself. As I mentioned in the introduction, Mayhew is part of a long tradition of walking writers

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Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (London, 1894), 169; on Carlyle's influence, see Walter Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830–1870* (New Haven, 1957), 251.

[21] Gallagher, *Body Economic*, 24.

as well as working walkers, and his own implied circulation plays a critical role, both literally and metaphorically, in his authorial voice. What makes Mayhew's work so remarkable is the seemingly authentic, street-level view that he provides through his first-hand observations and personal interactions with his subjects.

Yet in contrast to the walk of his subjects, which is extensively documented in terms of miles as well as in terms of its secondary effects—worn-out shoes, weariness, and even injury and death—the physicality of Mayhew's own walking work is effaced by his disembodied powers of observation and reflection. Certainly the narration of *London Labour* is highly focalized, centring over Mayhew's perceptions as he converses with the inhabitants of London's streets. However, unlike fellow urban sketch writers Charles Dickens, William Thackeray and George Augustus Sala—each of whom possesses a distinctive and overtly ironic authorial voice—Mayhew's first-person narrator often retreats quietly into the shadows, inviting his readers to fill that imaginative space. Having taught his readers to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor, Mayhew offers a virtual space in which readers can interact with the street vendors that he portrays. Moreover, this virtual space overlaps with London's actual streets in real economic terms: according to Mayhew, his *Morning Chronicle* columns generated charitable donations from sympathetic readers that he placed into the hands of the deserving poor.[22] In this way, the authorial audience that Mayhew's *London Labour* projects serves as both a narrative reflector and a model for the ideal, sympathetic reader.

One quality of the text that creates this effect for the reader is Mayhew's choice to edit out most of the questions that prompt his interviewees to speak; the result is a series of working-class monologues that read like one-sided telephone conversations. The following passage, taken from his interview with a ham-sandwich seller, serves as an example of this halting pattern:

> I used to buy my sandwiches at 6d. a dozen, but I found that wouldn't do: and now I buy and boil the stuff, and make them myself. What did cost 6d., now only costs me 4d. or 4½d. I work the theatres this side of the water, chiefly the 'Lympie and the 'Delphi. The best theatre I ever had was the Garding, when it had two galleries and was dramatic – the operas there

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[22] See, for example, Mayhew's note regarding such a donation following his accounts of a 'groundsel and chickweed seller' and a 'standing patterer' (I, 153–5, 233–4).

> wasn't the least good to me. The Lyceum was good when it was Mr. Keeley's. I hardly know what sort my customers are, but they're those that go to the theatres: shopkeepers and clerks, I think. Gentlemen don't often buy of me. They *have* bought, thou. Oh, no, they never give a farthing over. (I, 178)

As we read, we may find ourselves filling in the missing voice of the interlocutor that sustains the conversation: 'How do you acquire your stock? Which theatres do you prefer? Of what sort are your customers?' The gap between Mayhew the narrator and his idealized reader disappears, and the reader takes Mayhew's place in the streets—an illusion disrupted only when Mayhew's narration returns to gloss the experience.

Mayhew's frequent use of second-person narration allows the reader to be not only present, but also mobile in the streets, especially when he deploys the oft-repeated phrase, 'as you walk'. By the mid-seventeenth century, this phrase was common to several genres of writing including the travel narratives that most directly anticipate *London Labour*; Mayhew, however, often elaborates on the phrase in order to increase the reader's sense of participation in street life.[23] For example, to illustrate the 'bewildering and saddening effect upon the thoughtful mind' of the Newcut Market on a Saturday night, Mayhew offers an intensely descriptive passage entirely in the present tense and from the second-person point of view:

> Then the sights, as you elbow your way through the crowd, are equally multifarious. Here is the stall glittering with new tin saucepans; there another, bright with its blue and yellow crockery, and sparkling with white glass. Now you come to a row of old shoes arranged along the pavement; now to a stand of gaudy tea-trays; then to a shop with red handkerchiefs and blue checked shirts, fluttering backwards and forwards, and a counter built up outside on the kerb, behind which are young boys beseeching custom … One minute you pass a man with an umbrella turned inside out and full of prints; the next you hear one with the peep show of Mazeppa, and Paul

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[23] A search for the phrase 'as you walk' in the Chadwyck-Healey *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) database generates over 100 hits. One of these is a guide to Italian art that invites viewers to consider ornamentation 'as you walk': Giacomo Barri, *The Painters Voyage of Italy in which All the Famous Paintings of the Most Eminent Masters are Particularised, as They are Preserved in the Several Cities of Italy*, trans. W. L. (London, 1679), 45. Another is a guide to surviving a plague epidemic that recommends that readers hold a clove in their mouths 'as you walke in the streets': Francis Herring, *Certaine Rules, Directions, or Advertisements for This Time of Pestilentiall Contagion With a Caveat to Those that Weare about Their Neckes Impoisoned Amulets as a Preservative from the Plague* (London, 1636), B1.

> Jones the pirate, describing the pictures to the boys looking in at the little round windows. Then is heard the sharp snap of the percussion-cap from the crowd of lads firing at the target for nuts; and the moment afterwards, you see either a black man half-clad in white, and shivering in the cold with tracts in his hand, or else you hear the sounds of music from 'Frazier's Circus', on the other side of the road, and the man outside the door of the penny concert, beseeching you to 'Be in time!' (I, 10)

Mayhew's second-person narrator veers between the frequent and casual 'as you walk', which seems to situate an actual reader in familiar streets (as though one had asked for directions to the post office), and an authorial audience, which functions as a separate character who interacts with the surroundings Mayhew describes.[24] In the above passage, for example, 'you elbow your way through the crowd' interacting with street vendors in a tangible and clearly fictional way. Other deployments of the authorial audience blur the line between the page and the streets still further: in the introduction to the watercress sellers, for example, Mayhew describes the sights 'you' will see 'as you walk *home*': an unspecified location that the reader must supply to complete the narrative (I, 149, my emphasis).

Thus far the reader as imaginary walker remains at arm's length from the walker as labourer; the sights Mayhew depicts might be more grim, but the subjective experience differs little from the reflections of walking subjects in poetry by the likes of Wordsworth and Coleridge. However, the remaining distance between Mayhew's authorial audience and his actual audience collapses as Mayhew first encourages, then actually collects and distributes, aid for the street vendors he has textually shaped into deserving subjects. Moved by the 'knowledge of the sufferings, and the frequent heroism under those sufferings, of the poor', Mayhew established the 'Friendly Association of London Costermongers' in order 'to mitigate what appeared to him to be the chief evils of a street-seller's life' (I, xvi, 101). Mayhew invites his readers to contribute on the grounds of the 'want of funds to complete the preliminary arrangements' (I, 102). In other passages, he offers evidence of his success in eliciting donations from his *Morning Chronicle* readers, who sometimes offered spontaneous gifts in response to moving stories. However, Mayhew's readers seem less motivated by want, which is near universal in his narratives, than by evidence of fruitless exertion. The first beneficiary of Mayhew's readers, a groundsel and chickweed [birdseed] seller living in squalor and deeply in debt to a pawnbroker, received a number of donations after Mayhew's description of his way of life. According to Mayhew, the groundsel seller is half paralyzed, yet he tells Mayhew,

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[24] An authorial audience is the imagined audience projected by a specific text. The term is common in narratological studies. For an example of a critical text that discusses the actual versus the authorial audience, see Brian Richardson, 'Reception and the Reader', in David Herman, James Phelan, Peter J. Rabinowitz, Brian Richardson and Robyn Warhol (eds), *Narrative Theory: Core Concepts and Critical Debates* (Columbus, 2012), 155.

> I'm walking all the time … I am a walking ten hours every day – wet or dry … I can't go much above one mile and a half an hour, owing to my right side being paralyzed. My leg and foot and all is quite dead. I goes with a stick … I walk fifteen miles every day of my life, that I do – quite that – excepting Sunday. (I, 154–5)

The story of the man's painful daily walk does its work: donations from Mayhew's readers enable him to move his family to better lodgings and to recover their possessions from the pawnbroker.

Like a careful tour guide, Mayhew points us to the most poignant sights among London's street vendors, modelling a discerning sympathy that favours the most visibly 'deserving': those who demonstrate through pain and industry that the 'roving life' is not for them. Together, Mayhew, his subjects and his readers engage in an economy that slips from the streets of London to the pages of Mayhew's text and back again. The idealized and actual reader's pity translates into money and sustenance for another walking, working body. Yet in spite of Mayhew's good intentions, and *London Labour*'s unusual ability to bridge the gap that separates the privileged walking subject from the overlooked working-class walker, a class-based stratification remains. The labourer's walk, even for Mayhew, must visibly project humility, industry, physical need: a set of qualities inconsistent with the peripatetic rumination almost universally embodied by the writing, walking subject.

CHAPTER 6

'Efficiency on Foot'? The Well-Run Estate of Nineteenth-Century England

Julie Hipperson

> *Raffles, walking with the uneasy gait of a town loiterer obliged to do a bit of country journeying on foot, looked as incongruous amid this moist rural quiet and industry as if he had been a baboon escaped from a menagerie.*
>
> George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (1871–2), chapter 41

When we first meet John Raffles in George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, he cuts a shambolic figure amid the verdant countryside, a 'very florid and hairy' swaggerer, carrying with him 'the stale odour of traveller's rooms in commercial hotels'.[1] He is ill at ease in the country, there only to conduct his duplicitous business, hurrying through the long-weaned calves, water rats and labourers loading corn in the persistent, grey drizzle. Luckily, his unease is short-lived: to his relief, having reached the high road, he alights first on a stagecoach to convey him to an intermediate stop, and then the 'new-made railway', which whisks him away from this rural scene.[2]

An element of what Eliot conveyed through this vignette of Raffles was that walking in the countryside was a different proposition to walking in

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[1] George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (Harmondsworth, 1995 edn), 450.

[2] Ibid., 452.

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C. Bryant et al. (eds.), *Walking Histories, 1800–1914*,
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the town. Pamela Horn in her *Labouring Life in the Victorian Countryside* paints an evocative picture of a world of life on foot, with the farmers' wives and daughters bringing their produce to the weekly market, often by cart or side-saddle on a pony, but also on foot, carrying their baskets with them. This was a world of, among other things, twice-daily movements of herds of cattle from pasture to cowshed, the slow and leisurely pace of the cows seemingly well suited to the walking style of countryfolk who liked nothing more, as observed by Richard Jeffries, than to be unhurried in their day-to-day business.[3] Horn points to these walking practices as the continuation of an older way of life against the backdrop of change in rural areas. Whilst walking was ubiquitous in the countryside, with even better-off individuals setting out on foot for the want of a gig, and necessary, as opposed to volitional or recreational, walking remained more closely associated with the impoverished and landless members of rural society. Anne D. Wallace has also identified another type of walking common in rural contexts, 'local walking'—that is to say the repetitive tracing of footpaths as people moved through the locality, from home to field, from field to village or market, or from home to church (see Fig. 6.1). At a time when 50% of England's total cultivated land was enclosed, this was part of a process of re-appropriating common land, and re-establishing public rights of way through private land.[4]

This chapter examines how walking was understood in the context of the changing agricultural economics of the nineteenth century. It will first seek to do this by examining how walking was deployed as a means to carry out surveillance in the nineteenth-century countryside. As ideas concerning the productivity and efficiency of estates and farms developed over the century, so too did ideas about their ideal management, with the role of the land agent becoming increasingly demanding and complex, feeding into the professionalization of the role. The later nineteenth century witnessed further changes in the landscape, with growth in the provision of allotments and cottage gardens; these also increased pressure to 'account' for land usage in a new way. How did the act of walking intersect with these changes? Secondly, the chapter will explore how casual, almost unthinking narratives of walking emerged throughout the century in parliamentary

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[3] Pamela Horn, *Labouring Life in the Victorian Countryside* (Gloucester, 1987), 2–3, 64; Kim Taplin, *The English Path* (Woodbridge, 1979), 11.

[4] Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1993), 10–12, 114.

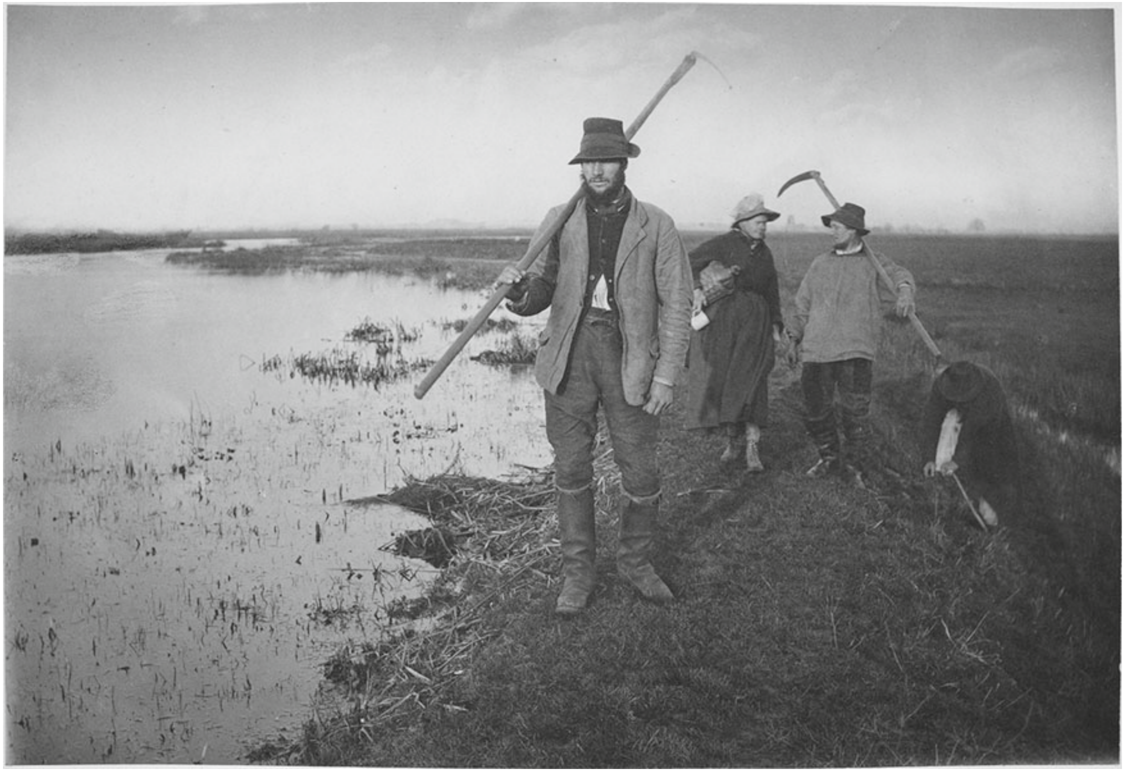

Fig. 6.1 ‘Coming home from the marshes, *c*.1886’, platinum print, from P. H. Emerson, *Life and Landscape on the Norfolk Broads* (London, 1886) (©The British Library Board)

discussions of landless labourers. How such walking affected their energy and ability to labour has certainly been noted in historical studies, but a more sustained exploration of the walking of rural labourers reveals a concern on the part of contemporaries to quantify or otherwise measure its impact on their efficiency.

Observing Countryside Walking

As a number of scholars have suggested, nineteenth-century representations of the rural poor often involved the stereotyping of the agricultural labourer as 'backward and lacking in sophistication', with the derogatory term 'Hodge' being regularly invoked.[5] In his reflections on nineteenth-century rural Wiltshire, the nature writer Richard Jefferies suggested that the slow pace of life he observed in the countryside was reflected in the characters that inhabited it. Within his writing, however, Jefferies also displayed an appreciation that the conditions of the countryside might help determine its inhabitants' inability to get anywhere quickly. 'You cannot walk fast very long in a footpath', he concluded, 'no matter how rapidly at first, you soon lessen your pace, and so country people always walk slowly. The stiles—how stupidly they are put together.'[6]

His writings also observed delineations in the types of walking taking place. In his *Life of the Fields* Jefferies wrote that a great number of people in the countryside 'seem to have no feet; they have boots, but no feet. They stamp or clump, or swing their boots along and knock the ground at every step.'[7] He recognized, however, that some country-dwellers could ill-afford such leaden steps. If a man were to be a poacher, for example, 'he must let his feet learn':

> He must walk with hands in his boots. Now and then a person walks like this naturally, and he will come in and tell you that he has seen a fish basking, a

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[5] Mark Freeman, 'The Agricultural Labourer and the "Hodge" Stereotype, *c.*1850–1914', *Agricultural History Review*, 49(2) (2001), 172–86; Alun Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob: Reconstructing the English Labourer, 1870–1914', in Malcolm Chase and Ian Dyck (eds), *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J. F. C. Harrison* (Aldershot, 1996); K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660–1900* (Cambridge, 1985), 5–14, 381–91.

[6] Richard Jefferies, 'Notes on Landscape Painting', in his *The Life of the Fields* [1884] (London, 2013), 140.

[7] Richard Jefferies, 'Mind under Water', in ibid., 172.

> partridge, a hare, or what not, when another never gets near anything. This is where they have not been much disturbed by loafers, who are worse than poachers.[8]

Accustomed to walking carefully, avoiding sudden movements and placing his feet too heavily on the ground—which might agitate the water and alert fish to his presence—the poacher had a light step; and it was this light step that distinguished him from the labourer.

Besides the labourer and poacher, we might also consider how the gamekeeper patrolled his patch of woodland. The few self-narratives of gamekeepers we have focus on the heroic aspects of the job: the energy and bravery needed to run after and detain a poacher, the rough justice, the knocks and scrapes.[9] Yet the more mundane but necessary aspects of the job required a far less dramatic, and far more observational, form of pedestrian practice: Oliver Mellors, the gamekeeper in D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, undertakes a 'beating of his bounds' as the night draws in, walking five miles on his 'slow, scrupulous, soft-stepping and stealthy round'.[10] The stalking of the gamekeeper mirrors the poacher's stalking of the game and blurs the lines, and the class distinctions, between keeper and poacher. Further, we might also explore how the gamekeeper accompanying the hunt understood this walking as different to that of his social superiors.[11]

Common to these accounts, however, is the idea that there was a special familiarity with the landscape and the conditions of the countryside, which could only be acquired through experience. Many rural observers made a clear distinction between the nature and purpose of their walking and that of the labourers and country folk they observed. George Sturt, for example, a wheelwright in Farnham in Surrey who went on to author a number of books on rural life, kept a journal in the last decade of the nineteenth century in which he repeatedly makes reference to walking. It was Sturt's habit to take a long walk, often with his brother Frank, to escape the confines and intensity of his workshop. Such activity was evidently important to him. Once, early in December, Sturt related how, feeling uncommonly 'sickened' with his business, he was unable to make the most of his leisure time, or set out for his customary walk through the surrounding countryside. The weather outside, he commented, 'is very dark and the roads are very dirty. I have little energy left for walking; not enough to enable me to enjoy the cold wind … This sort of slavery comes of being master to workmen.'[12]

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[8] Ibid. Raffles would certainly have made the worst of all poachers, having the 'air of a swaggerer, who would aim at being noticeable even at a show of fireworks': Eliot, *Middlemarch*, 450.

[9] A good example of this type of self-narrative is John Wilkins, *The Autobiography of an English Gamekeeper* (London, 1892).

[10] D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* [1928] (Cambridge, 1993), 143.

[11] For discussion of the ambiguous social situation of gamekeepers, see P. B. Munsche, 'The Gamekeeper and English Rural Society, 1660–1830', *Journal of British Studies*, 20(2) (1981), 82–105.

On other occasions he felt that 'the difficulty of keeping the path made it practically impossible to observe the fine colour of the sky: and as dusk drew on, the indistinct glare of the road dazzled me almost to staggering. 'Twas quite painful, and I was glad to get indoors again, feeling as tired as if I had walked 15 or 20 miles.'[13] A walk on Christmas Day 1899 led him to complain that the 'walking was very difficult across the common', where the 'central icy spine of the hoar-frost' had yet to thaw. He observed that someone had nevertheless made headway:

> A narrow track, where some Villager of Ewshot probably, who *knew the country*, had striven his way across the untrodden snow – some nine inches deep. Where there was probably a hollow, he had avoided it, almost as if by instinct it seemed.[14]

Contained within this description is an emphasis on endeavour, but also on an instinctive feeling for the land. This, for Sturt, was an assuredness of foot, a familiarity with the land, which he, despite living there all his life, did not have. Thus if we pay more attention to the differences in the quality of walking practices and competencies, rather than simply acknowledging that people in the countryside walked, the variety of the types of walking that took place there is strikingly apparent.

Professional Walking and Efficiency

In nineteenth-century Britain the use and distribution of landed property was a subject of intense public discussion. The issues that animated the debate were many, including the utility of self-sufficient smallholdings as against large-scale capitalist farming, the value of allotments for agricultural labourers, the vices or virtues of the great estate, and radical panaceas such as land-value taxation and even land nationalization. Collectively, these issues constituted what was known as the 'land question', now a well-established subject of scholarly inquiry.[15] Despite considerable academic debate on certain points, there exists a generally accepted account of the 'land question', at the heart of which is an emphasis on a changing attitude to land and to landed society, characterized by the decline of the 'small landowner' and the concentration of great parcels of land into the hands of a relatively few owners.

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[12] *The Journals of George Sturt, 'George Bourne', 1890–1902*, ed. Geoffrey Grigson (London, 1941), 31.

[13] Ibid., 45.

[14] Ibid., 44–5.

This shift in opinion was in part stimulated by contemporaneous attempts, such as John Bateman's *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, based on a survey conducted by Lord Derby in the 1870s and which went through a number of editions in the 1880s, to estimate the scale of this 'Acre-ocracy': in 1883 Bateman calculated that collectively a group of 1,288 landowners laid claim to over 14 million acres, or 43% of the total area of the British Isles.[16] The response from land reformers was to seek to reclaim the land for the landless and to create a class of smallholders through various means, ranging from the Chartist Land Plan of the 1840s to the Liberal government's 'Land Campaign' of 1912–14. This movement for land reform, as promoted by bodies such as John Stuart Mill's Land Tenure Reform Association in the 1870s, focused not only on the concentration of land ownership, but also on the supposed inefficiency of large landholdings.[17] Reformers charged that on such large estates cultivation was neglected, and that the ability of the masses to lead productive, prosperous and contented lives was stultified by their lack of access to land.

The land question has been writ large in the historiography for good reason, encompassing as it did questions about the very nature of ownership, the agricultural or other merits of landed estates, and the intricacies of politics high and low, national and local. It also involved heated contention between representatives of different social classes, and between political parties: accusations and defences of ‘landlordism’, large and small farms, and much else besides, sounded loudly and divisively in public meetings, private residences and parliament across much of the century and into the next. The focus of much of this sound and fury was inevitably the great estate—the linchpin of traditional rural, social and economic organization—and it is on this institution that I direct attention here. In examining the part walking played in the running of large landed estates, this chapter zooms in from the panoramic views of the land question that have dominated much of the scholarship, and instead offers a perspective rooted in an intimate understanding of how the estates operated. It reveals that, in a context where the utility of ‘landlordism’ and large holdings was increasingly disputed, the landed estate was a site for the imposition of new ideas of agricultural efficiency. Moreover, the act of walking was one of the key means by which such ideas were imposed.

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[15] For recent examples of work in this area, see Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity, and the Politics of the Land 1880–1914* (Woodbridge, 2008); Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman (eds), *The Land Question in Britain, 1750–1950* (Basingstoke, 2010); Ian Packer, *Lloyd George, Liberalism and the Land: The Land Issue and Party Politics in England, 1906–1914* (Woodbridge, 2001); Jeremy Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793–1873* (Woodbridge, 2002).

[16] J. V. Beckett, 'Agricultural Landownership and Estate Management', in E. J. T. Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. VII, 1850–1914*, 2 vols. (Cambridge and New York, 2001), 701. Beckett flags up the weaknesses of the calculations, without disputing the implications.

[17] Ibid., 694.

As early as the fifteenth century it became accepted that the good landlord was one who would do daily rounds of supervision and have a personal overview of his estate: ‘with the sun rising he must walk his rounds; / See this, View that, and all the other bounds’.[18] In the nineteenth century this duty could be largely devolved to the new breed of land agent or steward, current studies of which focus on the means and the timing of the professionalization of the job, this being placed somewhere between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.[19] Tasked with implementing the ideals of the agricultural revolution—above all, the increase in productivity (broadly understood in terms of increase in cereal yields per acre, with new crops and crop rotations and convertible husbandry)—land agents were expected to undertake ever more roles and to apply ever greater levels of knowledge and commitment to their work.[20]

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[18] Robert Herrick, ‘A Good Husband’, from his *Hesperides* [1648], quoted in Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500–1660* (Cambridge, 2002), 294.

[19] Sarah Webster, ‘Estate Improvement and the Professionalisation of Land Agents on the Egremont Estates in Sussex and Yorkshire, 1770–1835’, *Rural History*, 18(1) (2007), 47–69; David Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration* (Baltimore, 1963), esp. ch. 4; F. M. L. Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors: The Growth of a Profession* (London, 1968).

[20] Mark Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy 1500–1850* (Cambridge, 1996), 1–4.

To be an effective administrator the agent had to possess a talent for simultaneously observing small details whilst thinking about the estate as a coherent whole. *The Complete Assistant for the Landed Proprietor, Estate and House Agent, Land-Steward, Proctor, Architect, Surveyor, Builder, Auctioneer, Appraiser, Upholsterer, Cabinet-maker*, published in 1824, counselled that on first entering office the steward should 'make himself acquainted with every parcel of land and its respective value'. Every month he ought to inspect the whole estate and observe the land and stock. He should also observe the soil to ascertain which fields were best kept for pasture, meadow and tillage, and, if there was a prospective purchase of adjoining land, then he ought to carry out a similar inspection of that, as well as any produce grown there.[21] He was responsible for not only the overview of the estate, but also for taking account of its minutiae. On his survey he ought, among many other things, to

> see to the method the tenant uses in the proper cutting and management of the hedges; as stopping the gaps, sloping and twisting briars, plashing the hedges, laying the boughs horizontal to strengthen, and cutting away long branches; and the tenant keeps good all fences, &c and quick-hedges with white and black thorn.

Turning to woodland, he must see that all 'wood-keepers keep up all fences, trim the underwood and prevent all encroachments on the timber'. When valuing the timber he ought to have a survey book, which detailed the number of each tree, its circumference or girth, its length, the 'solid feet' in each tree, the value per cubic foot, the value of the body, the value of the head of each, the value of the bark, as well as the value of body, head and bark together.[22]

There was also great emphasis on good animal husbandry, field drainage, and the use of new machinery and implements; the agent had a key part to play in this to ensure effective management. G. A. Dean, an agricultural architect and engineer who published *The Land Steward* in 1851, believed that the land agent was 'the very life and soul of the system' of efficient management. It was generally agreed that having a good land agent could considerably increase the efficiency of the estate; nothing, in Dean's words, ought to escape 'the observations of an intelligent superintendent'.[23]

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[21] Anon., *The Complete Assistant for the Landed Proprietor, Estate and House Agent, Land-Steward, Proctor, Architect, Surveyor, Builder, Auctioneer, Appraiser, Upholsterer, Cabinet-Maker &c &c &c* (London, 1824), 127–8.

[22] Ibid., 130.

Yet what form did this observation take? With estates expanding and the burdens increasing, it is tempting to become carried away with the 'heroic' self-narratives of the profession. One, oft-quoted, is that of John Grey of Dilston, Northumberland. Giving evidence at a time when he was in charge of the extensive and widely dispersed Greenwich Hospital estates, he reported that in his first year he

> rode every farm and every field, and I made a report every night when I came home of its value and its capabilities … This was a thing not everyone could have done, but I had been brought up in the country, and seven or eight hours in the saddle was no great matter to me.[24]

Grey's biography, written by his daughter Josephine Butler, did much to emphasize the physical prowess required by the occupation. Her father is portrayed not only as a vital man of action, tough, resilient and almost preternaturally energetic, but also as morally sound, just and politically astute.[25]

Such positive portrayals also appeared in the manuals for agents. The *Complete Assistant* stipulated that, to be effective, the steward should be an educated man, able to connect theoretical knowledge and observation to reach sound conclusions. Ideally he would possess the full range of competencies: he ought to have a 'knowledge of *Mathematics, Surveying, Mechanics* and *Architecture*; and be likewise acquainted with the prices of various lines of business, to examine bills'. He ought to be equipped with knowledge of husbandry and its materials, and with the prices of building and building materials, before any work such as enclosing, draining, building or architectural alterations could be entered into.[26]

This ideal was also visible in a number of other manuals, including *Self-Instruction for Young Gardeners, Foresters, Bailiffs, Land-Stewards, and Farmers* by John Claudius Loudon, the influential landscape gardener and horticultural writer. Published posthumously in 1847, it gave practical advice to men wishing to map their estate. Loudon advised that, if they had more than one field to survey, it was not good enough to survey them all singly and then patch them together. Instead, he suggested, it was important to 'walk over the estate two or three times, in order to get a perfect idea of it, until you can carry the map of it tolerably well in your head'.[27] The successful translation of terrain into its representational form was dependent on the possession of theoretical knowledge, command of measuring instruments, and also—crucially—a direct connection with the land through the act of walking.

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[23] G. A. Dean, *The Land Steward* (London, 1851), 292.

[24] Quoted in Spring, *English Landed Estate*, 105.

[25] Josephine E. Butler, *Memoir of John Grey of Dilston* (Edinburgh, 1861); my thanks go to Carol Beardmore for directing me to this.

[26] *Complete Assistant*, 129.

The poet and essayist Coventry Patmore, who acquired the estate of Heron's Ghyll near Uckfield in Sussex in the 1860s, was a notable advocate of estate improvement by this method.[28] He was particularly preoccupied with how small adjustments in the management of his woodlands, through which he often rambled, could reap considerable material rewards. He observed that the 'usual way' elsewhere was for the 'wood-reeve or bailiff and the timber merchant to go over the timber together, the merchant measuring the "girth" with his own string, and the bailiff taking note of the size and marking the trees'.[29] Not satisfied by this method, concerned with the inaccuracy of the merchant's 'old and much-frayed cord', Patmore himself

> went through the woods with someone to hold my measuring rod—a lath of eighteen or twenty feet long, used to ascertain the height of the main trunk when it is above reach—and the little sliding-rule which gives the cubic contents of the tree from the measure of the circumstance; marked the trees, put the numbers and sizes in my note-book, set my own price upon them, and found I had never any difficulty in getting it.[30]

There were other benefits of walking through his woods, in which pleasure and business comingled. During one ramble he noticed a patch of woodland looking 'very sickly and drooping', only to discover squatters on his estate had been plundering from the lower stems of the underwood; this theft would not have been observed, he felt, without careful examination of the woodland possible only while on foot.[31] Patmore's overarching point was that the efficient management of his estate had allowed him to make a considerable profit on selling it. He was clear, moreover, that this management was predicated on his having a good, detailed knowledge of his land—acquired not least through his regular habit of walking over it.[32]

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[27] John Claudius Loudon, *Self-Instruction for Young Gardeners, Foresters, Bailiffs, Land-Stewards, and Farmers* (1847), 159–60.

[28] John Maynard, 'Patmore, Coventry Kersey Deighton (1823–1896)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

[29] Coventry Patmore, *How I Managed and Improved my Estate* (London, 1886), 32.

[30] Ibid., 33.

Having this type of intimate knowledge of the estate could pay dividends. When surveyor John Wills visited the St German's Farmer's Club in Cornwall in June 1843 he made it clear that improvements to the land would be recognized in financial terms:

> many a time … when walking over and valuing land, perchance I come to a field miserably cultivated, and contrasting it with another on a neighbouring farm I had just valued in a high state of cultivation, I have been forcibly struck in the almost incredible difference in the value.[33]

The importance of these twin competencies of knowledge and observation at walking pace was that they would feed into the efficient surveillance of the estate. This could be a benign professional surveillance to ensure that the estate was running smoothly. Yet, as the expectation that an estate was maximally productive increased, so too did the expectations placed on tenants to conform to the stringencies of the new order. From the agent or landlord's point of view, while great distances needed to be travelled on horseback, the substantive element of the agent's knowledge about the conditions of the land and the behaviour of the tenants were best garnered on foot. Only when the extensive and prescriptive criteria governing how tenants ought to behave in relation to the land, and also socially, were checked against the conditions on the ground could the extent of tenant conformation to the ideal of efficiency be determined.

This could be a case of agricultural returns, simply accounting for land and livestock. In 1869 Ralph Assheton, member of parliament for Clitheroe, Lancashire, reported during a Commons debate on the annual returns made to government concerning agriculture that he regretted the fact that when he himself had wanted to know the number of cattle in a given area with a view to arranging insurance for the livestock, he had asked the farmers themselves to make a return of how many cows they possessed. Some, he reported, 'although they were honest men', had put down the wrong number. This was 'from a feeling which was quite foolish, because the landlord had a right to walk over their farms and could ascertain what stock they had for themselves'.[34] Here walking was mentioned as an incursive act. It was also framed as characteristic of a practical man: walking over the land was a more effective means of obtaining the required information; it was easier, after all, to count cattle on foot than on horseback.

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[31] Ibid., 9.

[32] Ibid., 4.

[33] 'On the Relationship between Landlord and Tenant: A Lecture Delivered to the St. German's Farmers Club, Cornwall, by Mr. John Wills, 10th June 1843', in *The Farmer's Magazine*, VIII (1843), 258.

Another parliamentary debate bears this out. In the House of Lords in 1886 the issue under discussion was the difficulty encountered in obtaining accurate returns for allotments and cottage gardens for the government, and it nicely illustrates the difficulties involved in relying on the book-based administration of accounts in agricultural contexts. The Marquess of Salisbury in particular questioned the accuracy of returns made for this type of land use. With allotments under a quarter of an acre not appearing in the books, this meant that the overseer charged with making the return officially knew nothing about them. Salisbury suggested, therefore, that in order to know the true number of allotments on a particular property it was necessary first to consult with the agent of that property, a man who we have seen was held up as being both knowledgeable and practical. If it proved impossible to consult him, then the valuer 'must take a walk round the parish and see for himself'. Whilst the counting of allotments might be relatively easy, as the plots were generally concentrated in one or two fields, the enumeration of cottage gardens was generally more difficult. Here, Salisbury felt, knowledge of the parish would be needed to 'find them out'.[35] This was a recognition that the economic life of the countryside existed in its nooks and crannies—places that were not always easily accessible or legible. It was also an acknowledgement of the importance of discourses of local knowledge, the production and interpretation of which was the domain of men—pre-eminently the land agents—who knew the layout of the village and the personality of the tenants, as well as conditions of the soil.

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[34] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 197 (30 June 1869), cols. 823–38, debate on 'Agricultural Returns', at col. 830.

[35] Ibid., 3rd ser. 306 (4 June 1886), cols. 999–1002, 'Allotments and Cottage Gardens – Observations', at cols. 1001–2.

Walking as a means of surveillance also had the potential to heighten suspicion that often existed between landlords and their tenants. Beyond simply functioning as a means accurately of accounting for the size and numbers of holdings, it also served, increasingly, as a way of calculating the value of land and of the improvements thereon. This became a particular point of interest in the last quarter of nineteenth century, as the movement for tenant rights gained momentum and began to win some success. One significant landmark here was the passage of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883. Under its provisions, landlords were obliged to provide remuneration for at least some of the improvements made by an outgoing tenant.[36]

The close surveillance only possible on foot could be used to counteract false claims by tenants as to the nature of any such improvements. 'It was quite impossible', John Floyer, MP for Dorset declared in a Commons debate on the 1883 act, 'that a valuer, by merely walking over the land, could fix the amount of the value of the improvements'.[37] The valuer must get all the information he could from the different parties involved. Such information, Floyer made plain, would need to come from both landlord and tenant, and on the landlord's side would include details of the materials used in making the improvement, as well as evidence of whether or not the improvement had been well managed.[38] It was the interplay between factual knowledge and in-person observation which was of the most value here, and walking was the best means of achieving a balanced and robust assessment. Walking was rational; it was measured and unhurried; it allowed the valuer time to apply the abstract facts and figures he had collected to the material example he had before him.[39]

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[36] The shortcomings of the 1883 measure prompted demands for more legislation. Major reform came in 1906, with the passage of another Agricultural Holdings Act, which improved and extended tenant rights to compensation. For a brief summary discussion, see Readman, *Land and Nation*, 16.

[37] *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 281 (19 July 1883), cols. 1919–2023, debate on 'Improvements', at col. 1997.

[38] Ibid., cols. 1997–8.

[39] It is interesting that this same notion that the true value of land could only be arrived at once the land was walked was deployed by the Duke of Bedford, but with the opposite intention. Having expended vast sums on the improvement of his estates, he failed to make any significant profit and responded angrily to accusations that, to paraphrase Mill, he was making money in his sleep. The imagery of his riposte places him as the vulnerable walker, surveying his estate on foot for business rather than pleasure: writing of his Thorney estate he

The case of allotments supplies another example of how walking practices could be put to use in other types of surveillance that emerged in response to the changes associated with the nineteenth-century land question. In the context of increasingly vociferous calls for 'access to land', many landlords supported the provision of allotments to agricultural labourers, seeing it as a means of nipping the bud of rural radicalism and so shoring up the ramparts of the great estate through prudent and strictly limited top–down benevolence.[40] Examples of landlords who supplied allotments to farmworkers on their estates included leading Tory peers such as the Earl of Onslow, the Duke of Bedford, and the Lords Wantage and Tollemache. Yet we also know that, in doing so, many imposed strict conditions upon their allotment-holders: Tollemache, for example, dictated that land held by his tenants in Helmingham in Suffolk must be dug, not ploughed, prescribed the type and quantities of produce to be grown, and laid down that whatever was grown must only be consumed by the family and not sold. In addition he ruled that 'all the rows had to be pointed inwards from the road so the Lord could see the rows were straight and properly weeded'.[41] Jeremy Burchardt has convincingly argued that landowners leased out allotments not simply on account of their perceived social benefits, but also because they were profitable, the average rent for small plots of land being much higher than the average rent for farmland as a whole.[42] This said, however, it probably cost the landlord somewhat more to collect allotment rents because there were so many more tenants per acre; and indeed this consideration helped provoke opposition to them in the 1830s and 1840s.[43] To be profitable, allotments had to be accounted for precisely, with accurate returns created, and such was only possible through the application of observational walking.

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concluded that 'a walk around the sea walls when the north-east wind is rising, would, I think, convince the unprejudiced that the theory of the unearned increment is here inapplicable': H. A. Russell, Duke of Bedford, *A Great Agricultural Estate: Being the Story of the Origin and Administration of Woburn and Thorney* (London, 1897), 51.

[40] Readman, *Land and Nation*, 18.

[41] Horn, *Labouring Life*, 8.

[42] Burchardt, *Allotment Movement*, 121.

[43] Ibid., 119; Jeremy Burchardt, 'Rural Social Relations, 1830–50: Opposition to Allotments for Labourers', *Agricultural History Review*, 45(2) (1997), 165–75.

Walking as Labour

Walking had long been connected with landless labourers, and it was a recurring motif in parliament's discussions concerning the associated problems of the rural poor. Some labourers walked prodigious distances to get to work. Philip Bagwell has found instances in the 1880s in which a carpenter living at Chalford Hill regularly walked 28 miles a day, 6 days a week, to and from his work in Gloucester. Another Chalford resident walked 18 miles to and from work in Cirencester.[44] Although his own ramblings were an escape from the stifling existence of the workshop, George Sturt exhibited little compassion for those workmen who were forced to walk to find work. When an old workman entered his shop looking for employment, having walked from Basingstoke, a distance of about 15 miles, he seemed to Sturt 'nearly fagged out'. Sturt noted that his 'small size and nervous way makes me think of him as probably a rather slow feeble workman', a somewhat uncharitable assessment given the considerable feat of endurance he had exhibited just by walking there in the January cold, to which Sturt himself had previously alluded when describing his own perambulations.[45]

The Poor Laws gave landlords a material interest in minimizing the number of labourers' cottages on their property. Under their provisions, each parish was responsible for the maintenance of any of their inhabitants that should become paupers. The cost of this fell on the local ratepayers—and many of those who were liable to pay the highest rates were of course landlords. This helped create a system of 'open' and 'closed' villages: those in which labourers could readily find somewhere to live, and those where they could not. One consequence of such arrangements was a pattern whereby large number of labourers had to walk long distances to reach their work each day. Some improvement came with the Union Chargeability Act of 1865, which went some way towards reducing the economic incentive for keeping the number of cottages low.[46] The measure gave a boost to cottage building, since employers recognized that it was beneficial for them to have their labourers on site.[47] Yet, while the story of this change has been examined by historians, the discussions attending it are worth more consideration here, because they reveal the way in which walking was discussed and conceptualized in relation to the efficiency of labourers.

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[44] Philip S. Bagwell, 'The Decline of Rural Isolation', in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, 2 vols. (London, 1981), I, 31.

[45] *Journals of George Sturt*, 52; he did later conclude that he would have given the man employment had he had a job to offer.

[46] Susanna Wade Martins, *A Great Estate at Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1980), 240.

We still know relatively little about the nutritional content of the diet of the rural poor, beyond the fact that it amounted to about 2,000 calories per day. This was barely sufficient to sustain the hard, physical labour involved in much farm work, quite apart from the cost in energy of walking to the workplace.[48] Contemporaries believed that labour efficiency had been enhanced with the building-up of large estates after the process of enclosure, as less energy was required of labourers than under the pre-enclosure system, where much land had been divided into scattered strips, so necessitating much walking to and fro. They were also aware that larger farms generally employed fewer people per acre, so that if average farm size increased, the average number of employees per farm would decrease. In addition, as was also well known, since the 1830s there had been increased use of machinery and animal labour, so reducing the amount of human energy required.[49] It was in the light of such considerations that reference to walking featured in parliamentary debates surrounding the Poor Laws and Settlement Act from the 1840s to the 1860s. These allusions ranged from the cavalier to the compassionate.

As an example of the latter, we find an MP protesting at the demands made of labourers when compared to attitudes towards working animals. In 1846, John Evelyn Denison, the Liberal representative for Malton in the North Riding of Yorkshire, observed that 'any practical man' among his colleagues ought to 'know that the profitable cultivation of his land would be impossible if his stables were four or five miles off, and if his cart horses were to go and come all that distance to and from their work'. And yet, Denison continued, they thought nothing of asking their labourers to 'walk four or five miles to his work in the morning, and to return as many every night'.[50]

In one 1864 discussion of rates for the relief of the sick and destitute, another Liberal, Thomas Tyringham Bernard, MP for Aylesbury, calculated that in closed parishes only about one sixth of the requisite labourers were able to live in the district where their work lay. The remainder were obliged to walk two, three or even four miles a day, morning and evening, to and from their work, and 'He had been assured, on the authority of a medical man who had practised for 40 years in Aylesbury, that this amount of walking, superadded to the physical labour of the day, was productive in many cases of premature infirmity, debility, and even death.' He felt that 'even in an economical point of view', 'country gentlemen and farmers would soon find out that the present system [of not allowing labourers to live in relative proximity to the land on which they worked] was a mistake, because fully 25% must be deducted from the labourers' power'. Allowing labourers to live on site would not only result in better tended-for farms, as it was useful to have men on the spot to deal with issues of drainage, but would also reduce the instance of relief for the poor and sick by reducing the toll on their health.[51]

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Overton, *Agricultural Revolution*, 125.

[49] Ibid., 125, 127.

[50] *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 87 (5 June 1846), debate on Poor Removal Bill, col. 48.

In the same debate, Sir Baldwin Leighton, a substantial landowner and Conservative MP for South Shropshire, stated that 'he had a man in his employ who, it was calculated, in the course of 30 years, had walked 30,000 miles to and from his work, when he might have lived close by'. He, like many others, Leighton believed, preferred to live 'at a distance' and make the journey to work. Yet he also accepted that 'in many cases it was impossible for the labourer to live near his work'.[52] The following year, Joseph Warner, Conservative MP for Henley, Oxfordshire, pointed out that from an economic point of view it was a matter of indifference to farmers whether or not to house their labourers on site. Speaking during the debate on the Union Chargeability Bill, he argued that a landowner need only provide cottages attached to the farm for those who were required to be 'living on the spot': the carter, the milkman and the shepherd. All the other work, he claimed, the farmer could have done economically by the piece, and as such it was 'perfectly immaterial to him whether the labourer walked a hundred yards or a mile to perform his work'.[53]

Other landlords agreed. One such was Sir Rainald Knightley, Conservative MP for Northamptonshire South, who argued in his own contribution to the same debate that emotive accounts of labourers having to trudge to and from work were mere 'twaddle'.[54] There was no question, Knightley acknowledged, that labourers who needed to walk in from outside had to compete with other labourers who lived on the estate.

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[51] Ibid., 173 (17 February 1864), cols. 697–8.

[52] Ibid., col. 702.

[53] Ibid., 178 (27 March 1865), debate on Union Chargeability Bill, col. 349.

[54] Ibid., 297.

Moreover, he further accepted that the tenant farmer who employed those labourers who experienced a long walk to work received only ‘the services of a partially-tired man in the place of the services of a whole fresh one’; this he estimated at ‘about three parts of a day’s work instead of a whole day’s work’. Yet, Knightley assured the house, this loss was routinely taken into consideration when leasing the farm, and the tenant farmers so affected paid a smaller rent in consequence. His conclusion was that neither farmer nor labourer suffered.[55]

A rather different perspective was offered by Henry Fawcett, then the blind Liberal MP for Brighton, in 1867, during a debate on the employment of women and children in agricultural work. An economist, Fawcett had just published his *Manual of Political Economy*, and would go on to publish articles on pauperism and the nationalization of land.[56] Reflecting those concerns, he asked his audience to

> suppose a farmer were forbidden the use of stables upon his farm, and his horses had to travel five or six miles before they reached the fields in which they were to work, would not the farmer complain that their strength was to some degree exhausted, and would it not form a great grievance as against the landlords?[57]

Yet this walk of five or six miles was expected of farm labourers due to the lack of suitable cottages in the parish in which they worked. For children and women particularly this walk took its toll, Fawcett thought, and ‘was it not of greater importance that the strength of the labourers should be unexhausted than that of his cattle?’[58] For Fawcett the political economist, the answer to this question could only be in the affirmative, his argument being framed by the fact that the efficiency and productivity of the ‘real’ work of agricultural labour ought not to be compromised by the preparatory legwork required to get to the farm in the first place. (The question for Fawcett, after all, was ‘What strength could these poor children have left to work after such a walk?’ rather than the actual suitability of the ‘work’ for children.[59])

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Lawrence Goldman, ‘Fawcett, Henry (1833–1884)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[57] *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 186 (2 April 1867), col. 1013.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

Quite apart from anything else, that the walking of labourers was mentioned in many important parliamentary debates concerning the rural poor in the nineteenth century is significant. These comments reveal deeply embedded assumptions common to leading politicians on both sides of the house, from 'advanced' Liberals such as Fawcett to dyed-in-the-wool Tory squires such as Knightley. Extensive and effortful walking to work (as well as that undertaken as an integral part of paid work) was simply something that was 'done' by the working classes of rural England; it was, in a large part, expected of them. Yet, even these brief examples show that there was recognition that walking was tied more directly into the idea of efficiency than simply being an acknowledgement that some labourers had long and tiring days. The debates surrounding cottages hinged on whether walking could be seen as extraneous to the 'real' work of the labourer, or as a necessary part of it. In general it was seen that the ability of these men, women and children to labour was intimately connected to their journey to work, and as such this made it the concern of their employer. Yet for the more hard-nosed among contemporaries—Knightley being a good example here—any depletion in energy by to-work walking could be accounted for in the balance sheet of the estate rather than in the amelioration of the conditions of the labourers so obliged to put one foot in front of the other, often over long distances.

The significance of walking did not recede in later years, notwithstanding the reformist efforts of parliament. In 1873, Clare Sewell Read, the liberal Conservative MP for Norfolk South, argued that cottages ought to be erected on farmers' land for a different set of reasons from those we have encountered. During the 1870s England experienced a severe economic downturn in rural areas, as the so-called Great Agricultural Depression began to bite. One consequence of this was an influx of workers from rural into urban areas, to the extent that, in some areas at least, agricultural labour was in such demand 'that men would not walk two or three miles to work as they would formerly do'.[60] Read's point implied that since walking was a necessary condition of farm work, then the act of walking (or not walking) actually gave labourers the ability to withhold their labour from a particular farm. It could cease to be an act of compliance with their employer, and become an act of defiance. As such, the 'fact' of walking, whilst ubiquitous and expected, could have different significances. In Ireland, where the depression was acute, there were instances in which farmers themselves had to walk three or four miles in the morning to employ labourers, and consequently for them, as much as for their workforce, the Home Ruler MP for Limerick, William Henry O'Sullivan opined, 'it was quite impossible that they could perform a proper day's labour'.[61]

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[60] Ibid., 217 (16 July 1873), col. 474.

The agricultural depression coincided with an era in which the effects of walking were coming under new forms of investigation. The collotypes of Eadweard Muybridge depicting animal locomotion published in 1877 and 1878 were an attempt to understand the mechanics of walking in humans and other animals.[62] In addition, steps were being taken to understand the toll that physical exercise, and specifically long and strenuous stretches of walking, could take on the body. In 1876 the medical journal *The Lancet* carried observations made by Frederick William Pavy, physician and lecturer in Physiology at Guy's Hospital, London and fellow of the Royal Society, on the feats of 'the renowned American pedestrian' Edward Payson Weston who engaged in a series of long-distance competitive walks. The first of these was against William Perkins, 'the most celebrated amongst English walkers', and took the form of a 115-mile walk in 24 consecutive hours around the Agricultural Hall.[63] Two tracks had been laid out alongside one another. Weston's track was covered with a mixture of loam and gravel, while Perkins's had the boarded floor uncovered. On his feet Weston sported thick-soled but light boots with a shallow heel, laced up in front and reaching the ankle. He wore knickerbockers and 'shining leather leggings', the latter kept in position by elastic metal bands above and below. Perkins was clothed in 'ordinary athletic costume; with thin slipper-shoes' although these were soon changed for 'lace-up canvas, heeled boots'.[64]

The imagery alone in this contest is an interesting commentary on the act of walking. Weston was more clearly dressed as a labourer, his robust clothing giving the impression that long-distance walking was a matter of endurance rather than 'athleticism'. In wearing knickerbockers he was donning the conventional attire of workers. (A correspondent in *The Lancet* suggested that the labourer preferred to transform his trousers into 'crude knickerbockers' by pulling up the legs two or three inches, and then confining them tightly with straps just under the knee so that they did not interfere with walking. This was especially important to the agricultural labourer who was burdened with 'thick, hard boots, which allow scarcely any play at the ankle or the instep, and being obliged to high step to get over the clods, has to flex his knee more sharply than other walkers'.[65]) Weston's boots were lighter than those heavy ones more suitable for work on the land (which were made of bark-tanned leather, 'stiff and clumsy', with soles hand-stitched and studded with rows of large hobnails, the tongues stitched to the uppers so as to make them water-tight), but aesthetically the same.[66] The surface of the path he trod was also far closer to that routinely experienced by labourers.

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[61] Ibid., 260 (6 May 1881), col. 1979.

[62] For more on Eadweard Muybridge, see Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London, 2006).

[63] F. W. Pavy, 'The Effect of Prolonged Muscular Exercise on the System', *Lancet*, 107(2739) (1876), 319–20.

[64] Ibid., 319.

This was walking as spectacle, yet combined with an attempt to measure the physiological effect of excessive walking on a human body. In a series of articles Pavy recorded the food intake and timings of the participants, along with their pulses, temperature and 'heart-sounds'; he also arranged for the whole 24-hours' worth of urine to be saved for chemical analysis of its composition. Sadly Perkins had to retire before the time was up,[67] whilst Weston triumphed, going on to complete other tests of pedestrian endurance in following years.[68] During these later feats Pavy conducted tests to try to understand the source of muscular power. His 'practical deduction … of some importance' was that for the maintenance of the body in a proper state the ingoing must be equal to the outgoing:

> Whatever view we may adopt about the source of muscular power, it stands to reason that when there is extra consumption of nitrogenous matter there should also be an extra supply in order that the proper balance may be maintained.[69]

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[65] W. H. Bo, 'Knee-breeches for Labourers', *Lancet*, 123 (1884), 190.

[66] Horn, *Labouring Life*, 102.

[67] He retired at 11.50 a.m. He had started at 9.25 p.m., stopping at 12.35 a.m. to eat 'two eggs beaten up in a large glass of sherry'. 'At 3AM he stopped and partook of a large loin mutton-chop and pint of Burton ale. About half an hour afterwards he vomited; and apparently threw up what he had taken. At 4AM he had some coffee and brandy; at 6AM a glass of sherry; at 7AM a coffee-and-brandy; 8.44AM part of a mutton chop, toast, and a cup of tea with an egg beaten up in; at 10.30AM a cup of beer and tea; at 11AM the same, and also at 11.30AM. Between 10.30 and the time of leaving off at 11.50AM he also partook of small pieces of jelly at intervals. Soon after 12 he vomited a second time.' Pavy, 'Effect of Prolonged Muscular Exercise', 319.

[68] F. A. Mahomed, 'Observations on the Circulation Made on Mr. Weston during his Late 500-Mile Walk', *Lancet*, 107(2742) (1876), 432.

[69] F. W. Pavy, 'The Effects of Prolonged Muscular Exercise upon the Urine in Relation to the Source of Muscular Power', *Lancet*, 108(2782) (1876), 887–9.

In the light of such findings, it is interesting to speculate on the comments of those landlords who had spoken in such dismissive tones of the routine pedestrian exertions of agricultural labourers in the 1860s. Would they have been so cavalier had the deleterious effects of walking been better understood?

Conclusion

Walking, as a quotidian practice, was not discussed in its workaday incarnation in the countryside to the extent that it was as urban or rural recreation, whether exploration or exercise. Yet when it is examined more closely it does appear in different guises on and about the landed estate. By trying to recover some of the instances in which walking was explicitly referenced or discussed in this context, this chapter suggests that walking was integral to the operation of the estate not only in relation to the supply of labour, but also in relation to the surveillance of the holdings, both in its benign and intrusive forms. Workaday practices of walking in the countryside are easy to ignore; they are often invisible, and they are difficult for the historian to recover. But they are worth recovering. We should look more closely at their value and significance, not only to the landlords and farmers who employed labourers, but to the labourers themselves. After all, as Read suggested, withholding your labour by refusing to walk any great distance to work was a powerful means of subverting the traditional notion of walking as a burden which the labourer expected and had to endure.

PART III

Social Identities and Social Practices

CHAPTER 7

Accidents Will Happen: Risk, Climbing and Pedestrianism in the 'Golden Age' of English Mountaineering, 1850–1865

Arthur Burns

In 1907 the Czech satirist Jaroslav Hašek published a spoof first-person narrative of a mountain expedition.[1] Flirting with a Swiss innkeeper's daughter, 'Hašek' is drawn into attempting a first ascent of the Moasernspitze, a mountain 'ideally suited to the various pleasures of mountaineering, as for example neck-breaking, or leg-, spine- and arm-smashing'. Deep in his cups, he assures the *patron* that he 'never take[s] on a climb where there's less than a 70% chance of a fatal accident … Can you guarantee that in the event of an accident I would be smashed completely to smithereens?' The innkeeper can. During the climb 'Hašek' quizzes his accompanying guide, Georg: 'What would you do if I were to slip at some point and remain dangling over a precipice …? Would you wait till help arrived?' Calmly, Georg replies that 'I'd cut the rope … and go and report the accident in Berne. It'd be in the papers that same afternoon and you'd see the stir it would create and the profit that [the innkeeper] would make from it. All the English would flock here, because your Englishman loves a bit of danger.'

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[1] J. Hašek, 'The Moasernspitze Expedition [Výprava na Moasernspitze, 1907]', in J. Hašek, *The Bachura Scandal and other Stories and Sketches*, ed. and trans. Alan Menhennet (London, 1991), 20–5.

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'Hašek' soon gets cold feet, but is surprised when Georg insists on continuing despite having been paid in advance. It transpires that the guide fears losing the fee the innkeeper has promised for luring the novice on to the precipitous rocks. Moreover, should his charge perish, 'I'd get the same amount and on top of that, it would bring the climbers in, Englishmen, and I'd get more money from them.' Eventually, 20 additional francs persuade Georg to join his employer in a two-day bender in a mountain hut, before descending to the inn as if they had climbed the peak. Once back, however, they are confronted by 60 angry Englishmen brandishing newspaper reports of their demise, one of whom angrily confronts the *patron*: 'We are going back to Berne. This gentleman, as you can see, has not been killed. The ascent is not dangerous. It is a waste of our time.' As the English head off, the innkeeper plays one last desperate card: 'Gentlemen, at least consider the possibility that you might be swept away by an avalanche'.

This Czech identification of the English with wilfully reckless climbing would have struck many interwar British climbers as an inappropriate characterization. They would have thought it more suited to an Austro-German tradition epitomised in assaults on the Eiger *Nordwand*, which in 1938 (the year of the first ascent of this north face which had already claimed six lives) Edward Strutt, president of the (English) Alpine Club, described as 'an obsession for the mentally deranged' and 'the most imbecile variant since mountaineering first began'.[2] Germanic climbers' willingness to accept overwhelming risks entirely beyond their control was understood as toxically bound up with a crude nationalism equally distasteful to Anglo-Saxon rivals. For the latter eschewing such nationalism could constitute their own patriotic assertion. Thus Frank Smythe, recounting his role in the multinational 1930 Kanchenjunga expedition, disparaged the Teutonic habit of summit flag-planting, and recalled being handed a German-made red ensign (with the stripes printed the wrong way round) for his own use, which he had ostentatiously preferred to employ as a handkerchief.[3]

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[2] E. L. Strutt, 1938 valedictory address in Walt Unsworth (ed.), *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: Selections from the Alpine Journal* (London, 1981), 210.

[3] Frank S. Smythe, *The Mountain Vision* [1941] (London, 1946), 188–9. Smythe's view was that 'mountaineering is not to be classed with one of the modern crazes for sensationalism and record-breaking at the possible cost of life and limb. It is an exact science, a perfect blending of the physical and the spiritual. It is not, and should not become, a desperate enterprise': Frank S. Smythe, *The Kangchenjunga Adventure* (London, 1946), 171.

Yet the twenty-first-century British public undoubtedly identifies the UK's climbing fraternity (and sorority) with risk and an almost suicidal recklessness, in light, for example, of the deaths of George Mallory and Andrew Irvine 'going strongly for the top' on Everest in 1924, the tragic loss of the young mother Alison Hargreaves on K2 in 1995, or *Touching the Void*, Joe Simpson's best-selling account of his narrow escape on the Siula Grande in 1985, later a BAFTA-winning film.[4] If mountaineering always involves a degree of risk, it is thus apparent that risk does not occupy a similarly unvarying place in understandings of this variety of pedestrian sport.

This chapter uses one example of change in this regard to identify the timing and consequences of an important moment in the evolution of British mountaineering: the moment at which climbing began to be identified as an activity distinct from other forms of pedestrianism in the hills. This change involved not only a shift in the defining characteristics of a form of leisure-walking with its roots in the romantic and Wordsworthian aesthetics that affected pedestrian recreation more generally in the nineteenth century; it also had significant consequences for the social constituency participating in the sport, making some varieties of mountaineering more obviously accessible beyond the gentlemanly, professional and middle-class constituency that had dominated in its early years.

I

The basic story of how attitudes to mountains and mountaineering developed in England during the mid-nineteenth century is well served by numerous studies clearly charting the contours and origins of what became known as the 'golden age' of English mountaineering.[5] This stretched from—for the purist—Alfred Wills' ascent of the Wetterhorn in 1854, or—for the vulgar—from Albert Smith's barnstorming assault on Mont Blanc three years earlier, to Edward Whymper's conquest of the Matterhorn in 1865. During these eleven years, British mountaineers made first ascents of 31 of the 39 highest peaks in the Swiss Alps.

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[4] David Rose and Ed Douglas, *Regions of the Heart: The Tragedy of Alison Hargreaves* (London, 1999); Joe Simpson, *Touching the Void* (London, 1988); *Touching the Void* (2003), dir. Kevin McDonald. Among many others and most recently, Wade Davis, *Into the Silence: The Great War, Mallory and the Conquest of Everest* (London, 2011).

[5] e.g. Fergus Fleming, *Killing Dragons: The Conquest of the Alps* (London, 2000); Robert Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind* (London, 2003); Jim Ring, *How the English Made the Alps* (London, 2000); Simon Thompson, *Unjustifiable Risk? The Story of British Climbing* (Milnthorpe, 2010). For a bold, wider frame, see Peter H. Hansen, *The Summits of Modern Man* (Cambridge, MA, 2013). Important earlier works include Ronald W. Clark, *The Victorian Mountaineers* (London, 1953).

As such discussions make clear, 'modern mountaineering', in the sense of an athletic pursuit undertaken for 'its own sake'—or as Mallory put it when asked about his motivation in attempting Everest, 'because it's there'[6]—evolved through a sometimes painful emancipation from protocols associated with climbing as a means to other ends, notably scientific observations of glaciation, the atmosphere and geology, but also surveying and cartography, not least in the definition of the fluid political borders of the European Alps. Famously, one emblematic incident in the English version of this emancipation occurred in the Alpine Club, established in 1857 to cater for the appropriately clubland constituency of English climbers (of 281 members between its foundation and 1863, 80 were barristers or solicitors, 34 were clergymen, and 15 were academics).[7] Its early published proceedings, beginning with the accounts of *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* edited by John Ball and continued in the *Alpine Journal* (first published in 1863), had embodied the Saussure and Agassiz tradition of alpine observation sustained by pioneering British visitors to the high Alps such as J. D. Forbes, professor of natural philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. They were embellished not only with new (sometimes the first) maps, but delineations of glacier flow and slope declivities, erosion patterns and temperature charts, alongside descriptions of routes as often across passes as up to peaks.[8] In the course of a presidential address to the club, however, Leslie Stephen, one of the ablest alpinists of his day, and a key figure in articulating philosophies of both mountaineering and lowland pedestrianism in later nineteenth-century England, took a different tack in recounting his 1864 ascent of the Zinalrothorn:

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[6] In 'Climbing Mount Everest is Work for Supermen', *New York Times*, 18 March 1923. Mallory's motivation was, of course, distinct from that of the expedition as a whole which, like other British assaults on Everest, was co-sponsored by the Royal Geographical Society as an exercise in exploration.

[7] Clark, *Victorian Mountaineers*, 84.

[8] e.g. J. Ball (ed.), *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club*, 5th edn (London, 1860). For J. D. Forbes, see his *Travels through the Alps of Savoy and other Parts of the Pennine Chain with Observations on the Phenomena of Glaciers* (Edinburgh, 1843).

> ‘And what philosophical observations did you make?’ will be the enquiry of one of those fanatics who, by a reasoning process to me utterly inscrutable, have somehow irrevocably associated alpine travelling with science. To them I answer, that the temperature was approximately (I had no thermometer) 212° (Fahrenheit) below freezing point. As for ozone, if any existed in the atmosphere, it was a greater fool than I take it for.[9]

This pointed flippancy provoked the resignation from the Club of another leading climber, John Tyndall, Whymper’s main British rival in the race to scale the Matterhorn, but also professor of natural philosophy at the Royal Institution.

The sporting mountaineer equally had to extricate himself from the condescension of the Ruskinian aesthetic which fashioned a ‘sublime’ mountain best viewed reverentially from the plain. Ruskin himself condemned both the scientific climber who would see mountains ‘ground down into gravel, on condition of his being the first to exhibit a pebble of it at the Royal Institution’[10] and the approach embodied in Albert Smith’s commercially successful accounts of his *Ascent of Mont Blanc*, where a mass ascent riotous enough in itself, fuelled as it was by 96 bottles of wine, cognac and champagne, was celebrated in a theatrical entertainment complete with chalet girls which enjoyed a London run of more than six years.[11] Ruskin bemoaned how ‘the Alps themselves, which your own poets used to love so reverently, you look upon as soaped poles in a bear-garden, which you set yourselves to climb, and slide down again with “shrieks of delight”.’[12] Although many alpinists subscribed to the worship of the Ruskinian mountain sublime, and had no wish to be bracketed with the commercial, petit bourgeois Smith (finding their own more respectable Mont Blanc moment in the 1856 ascent by Charles Hudson and E. S. Kennedy, which dispensed with the army of accompanying guides and porters prescribed by the Chamonix cartel and equally necessary to carry scientific instruments and grog), they did like their ‘soaped poles’. Thus though few eschewed the sublime in their writings, they frequently turned to the same characteristically deflationary and laconic vocabulary and syntax deployed against the scientist to see off any hostile rhapsodist.[13]

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[9] Leslie Stephen, ‘The Ascent of the Rothorn’, *Alpine Journal* [hereafter *AJ*], 2 (1865), 67–9, later republished in Leslie Stephen, *The Playground of Europe* (London, 1871), which represents his chief statement on mountaineering; for his view of walking more generally, see Leslie Stephen, ‘In Praise of Walking’ [1901], in *Studies of a Biographer*, 4 vols (London, 1898–1902), III, 254–85.

[10] John Ruskin, comment on ‘Extract from Fors Clavigera’, in L. Rendu, *Theory of the Glaciers of the Savoy* (London, 1874), 206.

[11] Albert Smith, *The Story of Mont Blanc* (London, 1853); the alcohol content detailed on 159; R. Fitzsimmons, *The Baron of Piccadilly: The Travels and Entertainments of Albert Smith* (London, 1967); on Ruskin and Smith, see Darren Bevin, *Cultural Climbs: John Ruskin, Albert Smith and the Alpine Aesthetic* (Saarbrücken, 2010).

[12] J. Ruskin, *‘Of Kings’ Treasuries’, Sesame and Lilies: Two Lectures delivered at Manchester in 1864* (London, 1865), 84–5.

II

Through such processes the distinctive motivations of the sporting climber were differentiated and defined. This chapter, however, concerns itself with another complementary and largely contemporaneous process of differentiation; one which has received surprisingly little direct attention, perhaps because it was less contested and less visible: that between mountaineering and climbing on the one hand, and touristic and other forms of *walking* on the other. This again was a gradual process, a work in progress in the mountaineering literature in the 1860s. Those recounting the expeditions recorded in the *Alpine Journal*, for example, did not always refer to the protagonists as mountaineers or climbers, but as frequently spoke of alpine ‘travellers’, a category into which fell not only those scaling the peaks, but those navigating their way around the Alps through a combination of coach, rail and foot. Much of the information which the modern reader skips, alongside the scientific observations in early climbing narratives, takes the form of advice on inns and routes across the Alps shared by climbers and less ambitious pedestrians, both those at work (such as chamois hunters or herdsmen, who could often in fact be required to be as ambitious as the peak-bagger, and from whom the early alpinists recruited their best guides), and those at play, seeking to explore the spectacle of the Alps from on high.

Nor was a switch to what we might now regard as ‘proper’ mountaineering always clearly flagged. In the first (1859) volume of *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers*, the editor John Ball offered a set of ‘Suggestions for Alpine Travellers’. Had it not been for its publication context, it is hard to think that a prospective reader would have predicted that a section on ‘Mode of Travelling in the High Alps’ would cover only situations ‘where, excepting steep faces of rock, the surface is covered with snow and ice', and immediately turn to discuss its 'dangers', divided into the 'real'—snow bridges over crevasses, slipping on hard ice and rock falls—and 'imaginary'. The book then moves on to instruction in measuring heights and gradients, and in recording glaciers, geology and botanical specimens.[14]

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[13] Charles Hudson and T. S. Kennedy, *Where There’s a Will There’s a Way: An Ascent of Mont Blanc by a New Route and Without Guides* (London, 1856).

Another source of blurring was the fact that many early climbers boasted equally formidable records as more conventional pedestrians. Thus Charles Hudson in 1853 nonchalantly recorded a walk from Bionnassay to a social engagement in Geneva and back within 24 hours, a round trip of some 86 miles; Stephen took a stroll to London from Cambridge for dinner easily in his (quick and expansive!) stride.[15] Many interests which fed the engagement of mountaineer and mountain similarly enhanced more conventional walks—notably botany; indeed some early mountaineers effectively conceptualized climbs as walks *but in a better place*, where the benefits to health, sensibility and knowledge were amplified in an atmosphere both literally and figuratively more rarefied than that available to other pedestrians.

Where authors did seek to distinguish between the effects of climbing and walking, two attributes of the former could be emphasized. One was the engagement of *all* limbs and the route-finding brain in the encounter with rock, ice and snow, producing an intimate but holistic physical experience. John Tyndall arrived in the Alps with, as he put it, 'London … in my brain and the vice of Primrose Hill in my muscles'; solid rock articulated the capacity of his limbs and mind: 'the fingers, wrist and forearm were my main reliance, and as a mechanical instrument the human hand appeared to me this day in a light it had never assumed before'. In short 'spirit and matter are interfused: the Alps improve us *totally*, and we return from their precipices wiser as well as stronger men.'[16] The other difference, of course, was risk; above all the risk of death. The way in which this was presented during the 'golden age' was, however, more complicated than we might anticipate, and deserves close scrutiny.[17]

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[14] John Ball, 'Suggestions for Alpine Travellers', in John Ball (ed.), *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* (London, 1859), 291–312. It is also striking that the word 'traveller' occurred more than three times as frequently as 'mountaineer' in this volume—'climber' was entirely absent; the preface to the 5th edition spoke of its pocket-book format as being ideal for 'pedestrian travellers'; and it was 'travellers' too who had conquered the highest peaks (viii, vi). The second series (1862), again saw a similar imbalance, although the term 'climber' was now (sparingly) deployed, not least to describe the authors of the essays in the first: T. S. Kennedy (ed.), *Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers: Being Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club: Second Series* (London, 1862), v.

[15] Arthur Burns, 'Hudson, Charles', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; F. W. Maitland, *The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen* (London, 1906), 63.

[16] John Tyndall, *Hours of Exercise in the Alps* (London, 1871), 3, 102, 156.

III

The exhilaration and adrenalin generated by the dangerous places and conditions involved in mountaineering were clearly understood as part of its attraction even among climbers aligned with scientific or aesthetic alpinism. It could, moreover, be distinctly linked to the latter. For Vaughan Hawkins, echoing Edmund Burke (if less concerned than the philosopher with keeping a safe distance in order to ensure pleasure predominated over pain), 'the feeling of the sublime depends very much … on a certain balance between the forces of nature and man's ability to cope with them; if they are too strong for him, what was sublime becomes merely terrible.'[18] E. S. Kennedy also thought dangers improved the tonic effects: the challenges 'excited a thoughtful foresight in preparation … a self-reliance in the moment of danger, and … a fertility in resource when difficulties are impending. No other manly exercise thus brings out these two effects', a consideration he thought made mountaineering the 'first among athletic sports' for its ability to nourish the Anglo-Saxon character.[19]

How then were danger, and the realization of the perils in accidents, dealt with in the mid-Victorian English climbing fraternity? *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* and the *Alpine Journal* offer particularly interesting testimony. In the account of climbs produced by Alpine Club alumni before 1865 accidents, which predominantly occur when climbers are tired and slopes are in less good condition, were in consequence mainly found in the narration of descents. Here mishaps furnished welcome incident in otherwise potentially repetitive descriptions of routes already minutely described in the context of the ascent. The references took the form of laconic and wry accounts of slips, slides and near misses followed by even vaguer remarks on unspecified injuries, 'cold' or frozen hands, and periods of convalescence supported by alpine folk remedies. Strikingly, *fatal* accidents were rarely the focus in themselves of writing in the journal or its predecessor volumes; there were no obituaries of climbers killed in falls, for example.

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[17] The subject of mountaineering risk is discussed in Elaine Freedgood, *Victorian Writing about Risk: Imagining a Safe England in a Dangerous World* (Cambridge, 2000), ch. 4; here my specific focus is different in concentrating on actual accidents rather than potential danger.

[18] F. V. Hawkins, 'Partial Ascent of the Matterhorn', in F. Galton (ed.), *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860* (Cambridge, 1861), 299. For Burke's views, see E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757).

[19] E. S. Kennedy, 'The Ascent of Monte della Disgrazia', *AJ*, 1 (1863), 19–20.

Where serious incidents did feature, clear protocols were observed in the manner in which accidents were recounted. In March 1863, in the first number of the *Alpine Journal*, Alpine Club Vice-President William Longman offered an account of a serious but non-fatal fall on the Aletsch glacier involving his son in August 1862. He justified publication by stating the need to correct newspaper reports from which misleading inferences about the necessity for roping up a party on a glacier might have been drawn. In the course of the article Longman discussed two other accidents in which lives *had* been lost: the death of Edoard de Grotte on the Weisstor in 1859, and a fall which had cost three British lives—B. Fuller, J. M. Rochester and F. Vavasour—and that of Frederic Tairraz, one of their guides, on the Col du Géant in August 1860. Both were attributed to inadequate use of ropes. The following year, Philip Gossett published an account of an accident in which he had been involved on the Haut de Cry in February 1864, in which the famous guide Joseph Bennen perished along with a French friend of Gossett, identified solely by the first initial of his surname (Boissonnet)—the three Englishmen killed in 1860 had also not been named.[20] Once more, the account was offered as an opportunity to learn lessons from a full and correct report.

In modern terms, the discussions were therefore more exercises in 'risk management' than either commemoration or opportunities for more reflective consideration of the wider or ethical implications of the accidents for climbers. Rather than a distinct genre of 'disaster narratives', these essays are better understood as belonging to an ongoing discussion initiated by Ball's 'Suggestions for Alpine Travellers' on the best techniques to deal with the challenges of the mountains. A key intervention in this discussion was Leslie Stephen's first address as Alpine Club president, on 'Alpine Dangers', published in the June 1866 edition of the journal.[21] In this piece, explicitly framed as picking up where Ball had left off, Stephen sought essentially to normalize the dangers of mountaineering, aligning them with the risks associated with other everyday leisure pursuits of the professional and leisured classes: yachting, shooting and hunting. If sensible precautions were observed, common sense heeded, and experienced guides employed, the dangers of the sport could be reduced to a 'trifle'.

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[20] William Longman, 'A Narrative of an Accident on the Aletsch Glacier in 1862', *AJ*, 1 (1863), 20–6; Philip C. Gossett, 'Narrative of the Fatal Accident on the Haut de Cry, Canton Valais', ibid. (1864), 288–94. Newspaper reports of both accidents, in contrast, (sur-)named those involved.

[21] Leslie Stephen, 'Alpine Dangers', *AJ*, 2 (1866), 273–81.

The point about guides in particular is significant here, for it underlines the extent to which the distinction between walking and mountaineering had not yet clarified. For Stephen and his Alpine Club colleagues at this date, the extent to which the Club defined a distinct body of 'mountaineers', well expressed in Whymper's famous engraving of the 'Club-Room of Zermatt in 1864' (Fig. 7.1),[22] disguised the essential assumption that the pastime was accessible to any suitably inclined man with the requisite finances, leisure time and fitness, clubbable enough to contribute to the group dynamic so many emphasized in their accounts of the sport's pleasures. Here Stephen echoed J. D. Forbes, who in 1857 had promoted mountaineering as a safe way for normal men to experience the *frisson* of peril in an essay tellingly entitled 'Pedestrianism in Switzerland' and discussing the benefits to be derived from what he equally tellingly referred to as 'an Alpine journey': it offered 'perhaps the nearest approach to a campaign with which the ordinary civilian has a chance of meeting. He has some of the excitements, and many of the difficulties and privations of warfare, without any of the disgusting and dreadful features.' The one darker note sounded in Stephen's essay came when he speculated that, should guides be dispensed with, then 'the era of bad accidents will begin'.[23]

At this date, there were at least some grounds for claiming that any 'era of bad accidents' indeed lay in the future. In an article in the September 1864 number of the *Alpine Journal* which with hindsight seemed to tempt fate, the barrister John Jermyn Cowell, recounting the implications for glacial movement of the rediscovery of some belongings of guides killed in an accident on Mont Blanc in 1820, noted that this was one of only three accidents in which more than one life had been lost in alpine climbing (the other two being the tragedies on the Col du Géant and Haut de Cry discussed above).[24] In many of the other accidents, moreover, the fatality had been a guide or porter rather than one of the Alpine Club's own (and local guides were often assumed to lack the 'pluck' characteristic of the English climbing classes, which it was thought might be as important as any other attribute in keeping the mountaineer safe).[25] Between the publication of

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[22] Reproduced in Edward Whymper, *Scrambles amongst the Alps in the Years 1860–1869* (London, 1871), facing 263. Unless otherwise noted, all references in this chapter are to this edition.

[23] Stephen, 'Alpine Dangers', 281; J. D. Forbes, 'Pedestrianism in Switzerland', *Quarterly Review*, 101 (1857), 286, quoted in Bevin, *Cultural Climbs*, 133.

[24] J. J. Cowell, 'Some Relics of the Guides Lost on Mont Blanc', *AJ*, 1 (1864), 332–9.

[25] See Thompson, *Unjustifiable Risk?*, 35.

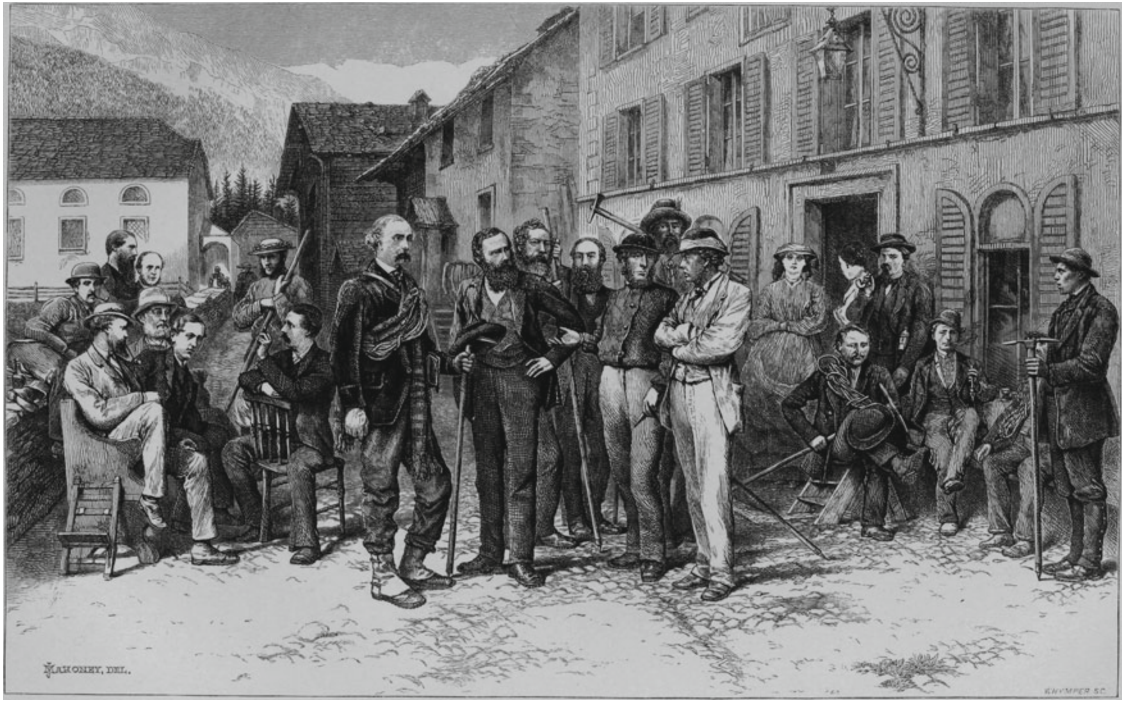
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Fig. 7.1 The Club-Room at Zermatt in 1864, by J. Mahoney and engraved by Edward Whymper for his *Scrambles amongst the Alps in the Years 1860–1869* (London, 1871), facing 263. The picture includes portraits of Leslie Stephen (*seated in the chair on the left*), John Tyndall (*third from the right in the central standing group*) and the younger Taugwalder (*sitting to the left of the window on the right*)

Cowell's piece and Stephen's, however, the tally of 'bad' accidents increased by one, following the most famous such incident in Victorian alpinism.

IV

The Matterhorn tragedy of 14 July 1865 remains a source of enduring fascination, perhaps only surpassed by the disappearance of Mallory and Irvine on one of the few more iconic mountains, Everest, in the interest it excites. It is clear, for example, that Hašek's 'Moasernspitze' is a thinly disguised Matterhorn, the author recalling the details of 1865, not least in the mention of a 'cut' rope. The nature of the break in the rope tying the Matterhorn party, which sent four of the seven climbers involved to their deaths, became a focus of discussion in the aftermath of the accident, with detailed descriptions and illustrations of the rope-end forming a key point of contention as some suggested that the surviving guides, the father-and-son team of Peter Taugwalder the elder and younger, had saved themselves by deliberately severing their connection with those who had lost their footing. In 1997, Alan Lyall published a 'bibliographical guide' and sourcebook for the accident running to almost 700 closely printed pages; it had already been the subject of a volume by Ronald Clark in 1965, in which there was sufficient interest for it to be republished in 2008, while the key protagonist, Edward Whymper, has attracted several biographies, most recently and importantly that by Ian Smith. The several film and television documentary accounts will no doubt be added to, following the 150th anniversary of the accident in 2015.[26]

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[26] Alan Lyall, *The First Descent of the Matterhorn: A Bibliographical Guide to the Accident of 1865 and its Aftermath* (Llandysul, 1997); Ronald Clark, *The Day the Rope Broke: The Tragic Story of the First Ascent of the Matterhorn* [London, 1965] (Frodsham, 2008). For biographies, see Ian Smith, *Shadow of the Matterhorn: The Life of Edward Whymper* (Hildersley, 2011); F. S. Smythe, *Edward Whymper* (London, 1940); Emil Henry, *Triumph and Tragedy: The Life of Edward Whymper* (Kibworth Beauchamp, 2011); Walt Unsworth, *Matterhorn Man* (London, 1965). For films, see the British *The Challenge*, dir. Milton Rosmer and Luis Trenker (1939), and Alexander Korda's remake of Trenker's *Der Berg Ruft* of the previous year, itself a remake of Mario Bonnard and Nunzio Malasomma's silent *Der Kampf uns Matterhorn* of 1928 in which Trenker had appeared as Carrel. For documentaries, see August Julien's *Whymper's Weg aufs Matterhorn* (1955), and Mick Conefrey's *The Misfit and the Matterhorn* (BBC, 2001). In September 2014, the route of the first ascent was illuminated on the mountain by guides and mountaineers to inaugurate the celebration of the 150th anniversary; no climbers were allowed on the mountain on 14 July 2015, lest the current death toll of more than 500 fatalities be further increased.

The accident was indeed a terrible one. The leader of the party, an already traumatized Whymper, took part in efforts to recover the bodies of the victims immediately after the accident. As a graphic account published at Annecy and then reproduced from Reuters sources in *The Times* for 2 August 1865 made clear, the scene was appalling: of one climber no trace was found save a boot; the other three had been stripped naked by the rocks encountered in a fall of 4,000 feet down precipitous slabs. The search party found a flattened skull with a ‘fleshless gap’ where the mouth had been; other ‘shapeless remnants of humanity’ included a hand and forearm, identified by scars as belonging to Whymper’s favourite and extremely experienced guide, Michel Croz, whose disembowelled torso ended in a bearded jaw in which was embedded the crucifix of his rosary; Charles Hudson was identified by a letter in his wallet.[27] Interest in the accident was further increased by the composition of the party, unusually diverse since formed from scratch at the last minute. Whymper regularly climbed with Croz, but knew Hudson only by reputation; the trio’s combined credentials probably persuaded him to take along two novices, 19-year-old Douglas Hadow, and the Taugwalders’ employer, the slightly more experienced 18-year-old Lord Francis Douglas, heir to the Marquess of Queensberry.

Whymper himself was the most exciting raw talent among the younger generation of 1860s climbers, who over the previous five years had carved out an outstanding reputation for bold first ascents. For him the Matterhorn attempt not only offered a fitting coda to an astonishing eighteen-day campaign of climbing in the Dauphiné involving more than 100,000 feet of ascent, but was no less than his eighth assault on the same mountain during a three-cornered struggle to be first to the top between Whymper, John Tyndall and the Italian guide Jean-Antoine Carrel, on whose rival assault the triumphant Englishman had been able to look down from the summit. Thus the juxtaposition of triumph and tragedy, the identity of the English victims, the repute of the expedition leader and the drama of the incident, coupled with the fraught question of the nature of and responsibility for the failure of the rope, conspired to give the incident an unprecedented prominence in wider culture. This prominence was consolidated in 1871 when Whymper published his own account of his Alpine climbs, *Scrambles amongst the Alps in the Years 1860–69*. The volume went through a second edition within a year; a third edition followed in 1879, a fourth in 1893, and then a fifth in 1900. Its place as perhaps the first 'classic' of mountaineering literature established, it has rarely been out of print since.[28]

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[27] Clark, *Day the Rope Broke*, 159; *The Times*, 2 August 1865, 10.

As noted earlier, the 1865 Matterhorn climb has often been seen as marking a significant juncture in the history of English alpinism. For some it has done so almost coincidentally, falling conveniently at a point when other factors were driving change in the sport, with a shift towards more technical routes rather than a search for new summits to conquer and a turn away from the European Alps to new fields for exploration.[29] For others, such as Leslie Stephen, reviewing Whymper's book in 1871, the climb itself was significant: it was 'the culminating victory' of the Alpine Club. No such significant alpine conquests remaining to be done, *Scrambles amongst the Alps* would inevitably be 'one of the last … of the literary family to which it belongs'.[30] Here, in the context of a discussion of the significance of accidents in the narration of climbs and their differentiation from walking, we need to consider both the impact of the incident, and then that of Whymper's account.

V

The impact of the accident itself derived chiefly from the coverage it received in the London *Times*. After *The Times* of 19 July 1865 had carried a brief note of the names of the deceased taken from the Berne papers, Joseph McCormick, Anglican chaplain at Zermatt, who had been part of a party Hudson had himself hoped to lead up the Matterhorn, had sent the editor a letter published on the 22nd in order to provide a fuller and accurate account 'for the friends of those who have been killed and to prevent mistakes'. Five days later *The Times* published its famous editorial on the incident, provoked by a second accident on 18 July, in which another English climber, W. Knyvet Wilson, was killed while attempting a solo ascent of the Riffelhorn. The editorial called the Alpine Club to account through a string of rhetorical questions: 'Why is the best blood in England to waste itself in scaling hitherto inaccessible peaks[?] … [It] is magnificent. But is it life? Is it duty? Is it common sense? Is it allowable? Is it not wrong?' The leader generated wider discussion elsewhere in the press, with much speculation as to the order in which the climbers had been roped, the quality of the rope and culpability. Unnerved, the Alpine Club sought to protect its reputation by effectively ordering an initially reluctant Whymper to produce a public report of the accident in order to exonerate its member from suspicion of negligence in preparations or conduct, which appeared in the form of another letter to *The Times* on 8 August 1865. This letter also became the first reference to the accident in the Club's own publications, resurfacing in the September 1865 number of the *Alpine Journal* alongside McCormick's account of Knyvet Wilson's accident (and another of the death of a porter on Monte Rosa).[31] Both were presented in the form of efforts to provide accurate accounts to counteract a miasma of rumour and misleading newspaper coverage. Nothing else was published—no obituary of Hudson, despite his importance to the Club, for example, or editorial comment on the controversy.

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[28] In 2002, National Geographic selected it as one of the 100 greatest adventure books of all time.

[29] The position taken by Clark, *Day the Rope Broke*, 199–200.

[30] Leslie Stephen, review of *Scrambles*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, 24 (May–October 1871), 306, 311.

In the light of these events and accounts published during the previous year, Stephen's 1866 article on 'Alpine Dangers', which—as we have already seen—took the line that the 'dangers' were trifling, can be appreciated to have been taking a more pointed position than its tone might otherwise have indicated. What could indeed be seen as the record of a burgeoning 'era of bad accidents' can be traced in the *Alpine Journal*'s pages over the next few years. In December 1866 an article entitled 'The Fatal Accidents on Mont Blanc' discussed the death of Bulkeley Samuel Young and of the cricketer Captain Henry Arkwright; three years later Stephen penned a round-up report of 'Recent Accidents in the Alps', almost implying that this was anticipated to become a regular feature.[32] In 1870 the club heard a paper from W. E. Hall on the death of the solicitor Henry Chester on the Lyskamm, published with a commentary by Stephen in the *Journal*, and the following year Stephen himself wrote about the death of no fewer than 11 climbers in a single accident on Mont Blanc which John Stogdon later considered in a full paper that also subsequently appeared in the journal. With Stephen's extended review of Whymper's *Scrambles* appearing in the same issue, the theme of fatal accidents was thus particularly well served in 1871 even before Stephen offered another round-up of 'Alpine Accidents in 1871' in the new year.[33]

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[31] *AJ*, 2 (1865), 148–53.

[32] 'The Fatal Accidents on Mont Blanc', *AJ*, 2 (1866), 382–6; Leslie Stephen, 'Recent Accidents in the Alps', *AJ*, 3 (1869), 373–9.

[33] W. E. Hall, 'Fatal Accident on the Lyskamm', *AJ*, 5 (1870–2), 23–34; Leslie Stephen, 'Note' in *AJ*, 5 (1870–2), 188–90; J. Stogdon, 'Late Accident on Mont Blanc', *AJ*, 5 (1870–2), 193; [Leslie Stephen?], 'Alpine Accidents in 1871', *AJ*, 5 (1870–2), 372–3.

There is no doubt that the furore prompted by the Matterhorn accident forced the Alpine Club to reflect on its understanding of the dangers of its sport. With each incident noted discussion was renewed, even if there was evident relief that, in contrast to the Matterhorn accident, the deaths of Young and the large party on Mont Blanc had attracted 'a wonderfully small share of attention'. Stogdon in 1871 hoped that 'Alpine accidents are beginning to lose the factitious importance they have possessed, and to take their place among what may be called the specially recognised English misfortunes, such as accidents in hunting or shooting, or crossing the streets'.[34] Perhaps partly in consequence, the *Alpine Journal*'s handling of disasters remained broadly similar to that adopted before. The key theme in all but Hall's article on the death of Chester (in which he raised suspicions of malpractice by the surviving guides) was of lessons to be learned for future climbs: the importance of good ropes, well tied, even in apparently safe places; and the need to heed the possibility of avalanches in well-known trouble spots, which should be avoided as if they were rifle ranges with warning flags flying. However, there was a subtle shift in tone. Some attempts to domesticate alpine risks must now have felt inappropriate. A. G. Girdlestone, for example, who had narrowly escaped being part of the Matterhorn party, surely protested too much when in 1870 he attempted to convince sceptics that mountaineering compared favourably with ballroom dancing in terms of the risk the latter posed to

> Those who whirl round a heated room during the small hours of the night in inflammable dresses, with occasional intervals for becoming deliciously cool … and with a heavy supper to crown all? Does such a pursuit, engaged in night after night, conduce to health and strength of mind or body? Or rather, does it not silently but surely, blight many a flower in the bud, and send many a victim to a premature grave?[35]

In the *Alpine Journal* Stephen in particular seems to have felt himself in an exposed position and on the defensive, perhaps aware that his own flippancy regarding risk, soon after memorably exemplified in 1871's *The Playground of Europe* in a discussion of the relative merits of drunkenness and sobriety when falling from a ridge, might now strike the wrong note. In various contributions over the late 1860s and early 1870s, Stephen conceded that he might have got it wrong in his 1866 article, for example on the inescapable dangers from falling rocks. He also now admitted that, however much common sense dictated otherwise, almost all climbers occasionally neglected what he tried to present as basic and essential precautions.

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[34] Stogdon, 'Late Accident', 193.

[35] A. G. Girdlestone, *The High Alps without Guides: Being a Narrative of Adventures in Switzerland, together with Chapters on the Practicability of Such Mode of Mountaineering, and Suggestions for Its Accomplishment* (London, 1870), 10.

He even began to distance himself from the laconic relation of accidents. Reviewing Whymper's *Scrambles*, where its author took a similar position to the Stephen of 1866 on the possibility of managing risk, the Stephen of 1871 pointed out how by Whymper's own account it was luck alone that had seen him through at least half a dozen narrow escapes. Under his editorship, a striking feature of the discussion of accidents in the *Alpine Journal* after the Matterhorn disaster was an increased willingness not only to indicate lessons to be learned, but to identify clearly if compassionately the specific mistakes which had led to tragedy. Young had been unlucky. In crossing a spot where another party had been overwhelmed by an avalanche, however, Arkwright's inexperienced guides had let him down, as had Chester's in tying a poor knot on the Lyskamm; Julius Elliot owed his death on the Shreckhorn to his own decision to unrope; the Mont Blanc party were far too inexperienced to attempt to overnight in bad weather on a mountain that could still be dangerous; in retrospect it was clear that Hadow should not have been on the Matterhorn, and whatever else, the accident owed something to 'the neglect of notorious precautions'.[36]

A consequence of these rhetorical moves was to sharpen the definition of mountaineering as distinct from walking. This was apparent even in some strategies to downplay climbing's dangers; as when in 1871 Stephen emphasized that two of the three fatal accidents recorded in his survey of the year properly belonged on the *walking* side of the fence, being attributable to 'botanical rather than mountaineering zeal', with Robert Crosse crushed by a boulder while attempting to record a rare fern, and two young Swiss falling to their deaths on the Stockhorn when they slipped on the grass while botanizing.[37] More commonly, it was manifest in a new recognition of the *skill* needed to avert peril. Inexperience at high altitude now looked less like a disadvantage and more like a disqualification from serious alpinism. Stephen insisted that mere 'travellers' should be more cautious, and no one should climb alone, or without an experienced guide; prudence was the new watchword. For Stephen, in fact, given his view that the peak-bagging age was over, there was indeed a case to be made that high-level alpinism might be less justifiable than in the past: ‘There is perhaps some pleasure in getting killed in trying to do what has never been done before; but there is no pleasure in being killed simply following other people’s footsteps.’[38]

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[36] Stephen, review of *Scrambles* in *Macmillan's*, 309.

[37] [Stephen?], 'Alpine Accidents in 1871', 372–3.

But for others who agreed with Stephen, the lesson to be drawn pointed in a different direction which would help seal the distinction. In the Alpine Club, matters came to a head when in 1875 Thomas Middlemore used a paper describing a very sticky passage on the Col des Grande Jorasses to insist that the party’s decision to try out a new and clearly more dangerous route over a well-known pass was perfectly justified, and in fact embodied the true spirit of the sport. He did so in a deliberate challenge to an observation made earlier in the year by the editor and wealthy lawyer Douglas Freshfield, who had ended a review of the previous season’s new routes with a caution that ‘Mountaineering, properly pursued is for the most part a game of skill, and it ought not to be turned into mere gambling with fate.’ A lively debate followed the paper, in which older climbers such as A.W. Moore and Hereford George clashed with a younger generation who claimed that it was precisely such gambling which had characterized the leading climbers of the previous decade.[39] It is hard to avoid the conclusion that an older generation still sensitive to the critiques provoked by the accidents of 1865, and who had grown up with the mixed economy of ‘alpine travelling’ in which walking and climbing coexisted, were now challenged by a generation for whom the distinction was clear, and defined who they were as mountaineers, drawing inspiration in this respect from their reading of the efforts and fates of Whymper’s party. This leads us on to consider the contribution of Whymper’s *Scrambles amongst the Alps* in this process of differentiation.

VI

Scrambles is frequently identified as the first classic of mountaineering literature to fully embody climbing as an athletic sport,[40] unashamedly revelling as it does in the conquest of virgin peaks through the author’s individual prowess: Whymper himself described the book in a letter to a friend as 'all personal, … all ego'.[41] This impression is produced in part by the series of memorable illustrations of difficult moments drawn or engraved by Whymper himself: he was, after all, a wood-engraver by trade rather than the leisured professional typical of the Alpine Club, although there is nothing chippy about Whymper's self-presentation in the volume, which probably actively seeks to diminish the social distance between him and climbing colleagues rather than emphasize it. Thus in *Scrambles* Whymper attributed the premature termination of an 1864 climbing campaign to receiving 'disastrous intelligence' that necessitated a return to England. What sounds like a family tragedy was in fact the delivery of unsatisfactory proofs of a colour-printed engraving for *Leisure Hour* which he feared might jeopardize his professional reputation unless corrected.[42]

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[38] Stephen, ‘Review of *Scrambles*’ in *AJ*, 5 (1870–2), 239.

[39] T. Middlemore, ‘Col des Grande Jorasses’, *AJ*, 7 (1875), and ensuing discussion; quote from Freshfield, 158–9.

[40] See, for example, Anthony Brandt, introduction to the National Geographic edition of *Scrambles* (Washington, DC, 2002), xvi.

While it is certainly the case that the book was a seminal contribution to climbing literature, however, the precise nature of that contribution still requires clarification. For a start, the contrast implied with earlier mountaineering literature is often too stark. Earlier works were not devoid of the thrill of the ascent or peak-baggers' priorities—hence Ruskin sounding off in *Sesame and Lillies*, and Stephen viewing *Scrambles* as the concluding achievement of an existing genre. Nor does *Scrambles* ignore some of the key protocols of earlier narratives. The first edition rambled—the climbs being interspersed with extensive and integral scientific and geographical digressions, as well as technological and anthropological observation of precisely the kind aligning early climbing literature with that of walking and travel. An entire chapter is devoted to the Mont Cenis railway; another memorable section discourses on cretinism in the Aosta valley.[43] This is hardly surprising, for Whymper's skill as engraver and illustrator equipped him perfectly to deliver such matter, which he also supplied for works by his fellow climbers, even his arch-rival Tyndall. Someone who had engraved the diagrams for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*'s discussion of optics could readily supply images of declination, glacier flow or tunnelling techniques.

Where Whymper's book *was* different, however (in addition to what other climbers judged uniquely authentic images of high alpine climbing, leading Stephen to proclaim *Scrambles* 'the most beautifully illustrated' mountaineering book to date[44]), was in the way that his climbing exploits underpinned the structure of *Scrambles*. Here Stephen hit the nail on the head when in *Macmillan's Magazine* he suggested that, had the book been published in verse, it might have been entitled the 'Matterhorniad': 'From the beginning to the catastrophe the great peak looms before us, and the awful conclusion, which we know to be approaching, gives a certain seriousness to the narrative.'[45] Before this date, with the exception of Hudson and Kennedy's (and also Smith's) account of Mont Blanc, almost all book-length contributions to English mountain literature had taken the form of edited multi-authored collections of short accounts of climbs or techniques, or anthologies of previously published accounts of climbs by a single author derived from the *Alpine Journal* and other periodicals.[46]

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[41] Smythe, *Whymper*, 225, quoting Whymper to James Robertson, 23 June 1869.

[42] Smith, *Shadow of the Matterhorn*, 79; Whymper, *Scrambles*, 262.

[43] Ibid., chs. 3, 16.

In contrast, only one chapter of *Scrambles* had previously been published, and for all its digressions, the work was conceived as a whole, and with the knowledge of how it would end in mind; one could even suggest that some of the more discursive material might have been inserted to alleviate the 'grimly determined spirit' which Stephen identified in the discussion of the climbing as contrasting with his own and others' 'time-honoured facetiousness'.[47] Whymper himself seems to have appreciated the appeal of the 'dramatic unity' which Stephen praised. Thus when the third edition of *Scrambles* was issued in 1880, it took a strikingly different form, and acquired a new title: *The Ascent of the Matterhorn*. Shorter than the original, the new version excised the chapter on the railway, and retitled the remaining chapters so as to emphasize the succession of 'first ascents' and 'first passages'.[48] When the fourth edition appeared thirteen years later, however, the book reverted to its original format and title, with the digressions restored. This equivocation begs some interesting questions, as does the retitling. After all, it was not the ascent so much as the *descent* of the Matterhorn that would draw many readers to Whymper's book. What was the place of the accident in Whymper's volume?

Stephen had his own views on this, and his comments further illuminate his own interventions on the theme of accidents discussed in the previous section. Pondering mountaineering literature as a whole in his review, he reflected that

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[44] Stephen, review of *Scrambles* in *Macmillan's*, 311.

[45] Ibid., 306.

[46] This was the case with Stephen's *Playground of Europe* and Tyndall's *Hours of Exercise*, both published contemporaneously with *Scrambles*.

[47] Stephen, review of *Scrambles* in *Macmillan's*, 306.

[48] Edward Whymper, *The Ascent of the Matterhorn* (London, 1880).

> To people who like highly spiced narratives, the casualties can hardly be too frequent. If guides were massacred on the Alps as freely as Communists in Paris, the story would be more exciting. And yet I must confess that, to a person of severe taste, the intrusion of these horrors into narratives of pure sport has something in it not altogether pleasant. An accident here and there may be tolerated. If nobody was ever killed in hunting, the pursuit would lose some of its dignity … And in the same way, I do not altogether object to an occasional reference to the fatal consequences which are inseparable from a habit of walking [nb, once more!] above lofty cliffs on staircases of ice. But for my part, I prefer the good old narratives where sudden death is kept further in the background. In the days of Saussure, or even of Agassiz and Forbes, accidents were few and far between, and yet people had a greater dread of the mountains than at present … I only wish to suggest that people who still continue to climb mountains should so arrange their pursuits that it may be pleasant to read about them afterwards. An ample supply of accidents has now been accumulated to allow any future writer to season his narrative with references that will make us shudder to our hearts’ content. … [W]e should leave horrors to war correspondents and the contributors to sensational periodicals, and let our records of enjoyment suggest mental repose rather than fierce excitement.[49]

That such reflections were provoked by *Scrambles* might suggest that its treatment of the accident had sensationalized the horrors of the experience. This was not the case. Chapter 22, headed simply ‘The Descent of the Matterhorn’ as if nothing untoward had happened, was in fact a slightly extended version of Whymper’s 1865 letter to *The Times*, modified so as to clear up misunderstandings about the role of the Taugwalders. The accident itself was dealt with in a single paragraph, before Whymper went on to recount the remainder of the descent; the recovery of the bodies was covered in a much less graphic fashion than in the press and private communications of 1865. The same restraint characterized the illustrations. A volume in which many memorable images document alpine misadventures, *Scrambles* nevertheless included no image of the accident itself (whereas it does offer a representation of triumph on the summit). Instead there are detailed drawings of rope-ends presented as evidence concerning the Taugwalders' behaviour, and a haunting frontispiece depicting the *Brockengespenst* (mountain spectre) observed by Whymper and the surviving guides descending after the accident—and even this, in the shorter *Ascent of the Matterhorn*, was replaced by a different illustration related to another minor incident drawn not by Whymper, but Gustav Doré. It is to Doré, in fact, that we owe the most familiar image of the accident (see Fig. 7.2). Alan Lyall has convincingly argued that Whymper himself had some input into the creation of Doré's print. Following the exhibition in Paris of preliminary sketches made in the month of the accident, Whymper, informed that they were wildly inaccurate, had entered into correspondence with Doré. This ensured that despite avoiding recognizable likenesses of the English victims—which Hadow's family had insisted would cause them too much pain—Doré created an otherwise accurate lithographic representation of the moment of the fall.[50] But this Doré image did not join its fellow in the pages of *The Ascent*.

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[49] Stephen, review of *Scrambles* in *Macmillan’s*, 310.

On the very last page of *Scrambles*, instead, we encounter a curious engraving of a drawing by Mahony, an image of a young man lying alongside some rocks as if asleep from exhaustion (Fig. 7.3). There is no sign of injury, merely a tear to his trousers. In this restraint, *Scrambles* unsurprisingly is positioned nearer the rhetorics of the 1860s *Alpine Journal* than those of *Touching the Void*.

Just as it retained the non-climbing ingredients of the earlier climbing narratives, and despite Stephen's strictures, *Scrambles* thus also exhibited 'old school' reticence when it came to the fatal mishap. As Frank Smythe's biography long ago demonstrated, however, this was not because Whymper was unaffected by the accident; it came to define him certainly publicly, and possibly privately. An ambitious parvenu in the clubland of Victorian alpinism, and practising a trade threatened by the rise of photography, Whymper had found in mountaineering prowess security and identity. Had the Matterhorn gone to plan, he would have triumphed, the undisputed patron saint of the up-and-coming generation who would cement the new identity of climbing as an activity quite distinct from the Alpine travelling of the earlier generation. As it transpired, his subsequent career, following the trauma not only of the accident but of the official and

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[50] Alan Lyall, 'The Matterhorn Lithographs of 1865: Gustav Doré and His Links with Edward Whymper', *AJ*, 100 (1995), 215–21.

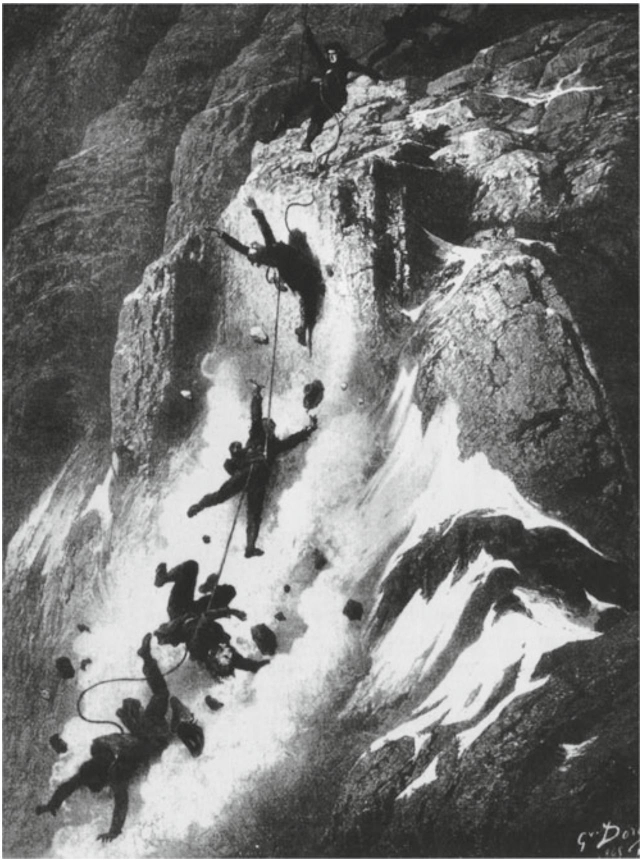

Fig. 7.2 The Matterhorn disaster of 1865, engraved by Gustav Doré (freestanding lithograph, c. 1865)

unofficial inquiries and debates that ensued, represented something of a retreat back into the 'scientific' climbing of an earlier generation, only in the Andes not in the Alps, with his continuous and ongoing engagement with the revision and republication of *Scrambles* an opportunity to shape his career into the form it should have taken. Retitling it *The Ascent of the Matterhorn* asserted what that story should have been, the last chapter defiantly omitted from its compass.

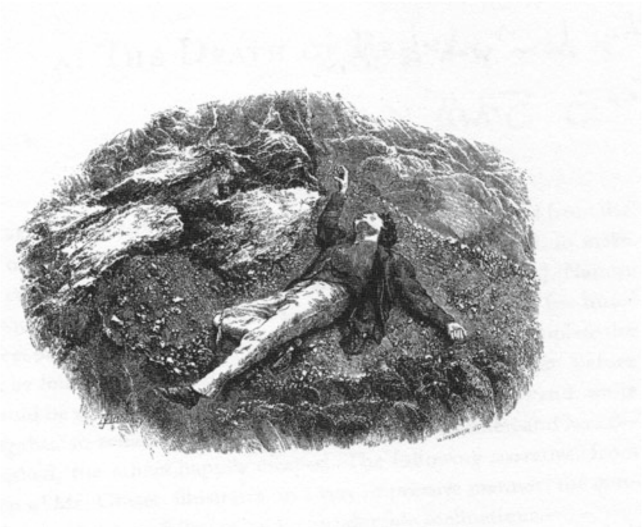

Fig. 7.3 Illustration drawn by J. Mahoney and engraved by Edward Whymper from *Scrambles amongst the Alps in the Years 1860–1869* (London, 1871), facing 408

VII

How then to characterize the significance of the events of 1865 and the responses evoked in the wider developments charted here? It is clear that the Matterhorn accident is more than merely a convenient marker in the story of the development of English mountaineering. We have seen that prior to the accident, despite the significant mountaineering feats of the golden age, the sport remained for many of its practitioners in effect a subset of a wider practice of leisure pedestrianism with which it shared much in vocabulary and justification, being conceptualized as accessible (and beneficial) to any able-bodied professional or gentleman with the inclination and available leisure to participate. It was seen as not free from risk, but was again regarded as one of a subset of leisure activities, also including hunting and shooting, where the risks added frisson but could be managed relatively easily if the best available advice was followed. The 1865 tragedy, however, gave the mountaineering accident a new significance, especially in wider public perceptions of the activity such as those influenced by newspaper reporting, which established a new context for the handling of subsequent accidents by the practitioners of the pastime even within their own internal exchanges in the pages of the *Alpine Journal*. The effects were gradual and subtle, but practitioners and commentators on mountain climbing increasingly had to acknowledge the higher level of risk the activity involved, the skill and training required to deal with it successfully, and that even with such training, the ethos of the mountaineer might lead to voluntary exposure to dangers that it was known could have been avoided. Coming as this did at a point in the development of the sport when major ‘easy’ routes to virgin summits and across high passes in the Alps had generally been successfully attempted, it reinforced the effects of a new interest in difficult routes for their own sake to mark off the climber as a man apart from other pedestrians in the hills or elsewhere.

These developments were of significance both for mountaineers at the time and for the wider cultural trajectory of this form of pedestrianism. For Stephen, Freshfield and others from the ‘golden age’, the years following the accident marked a point where the sport began to develop in directions with which they did not feel comfortable, such as guideless climbing. After his marriage in 1867 Stephen climbed less frequently, and in later life found his exercise more happily as leader of the ‘Sunday tramps’ he organized from 1879—long-distance sociable walks through the English countryside.[51] The same could even be said to some extent of Whymper, whose own formation in the walking/mountaineering culture of the 1860s golden age meant that he himself could never quite escape the model of mountaineering narrative which reflected its as yet imperfect separation from a wider culture of pedestrian tourism and observation.

At the same time, however, in the book-length and *Bildungsroman* aspects of *Scrambles* it was Whymper who provided a model of long-term significance for the future cultural history of mountaineering both as an activity and a branch of sporting literature. The combination it offered of sporting ambition with the ineradicable and unavoidable presence of the fatal accident at its climax served to ensure that *Scrambles* was not the end of a genre, as Stephen argued, but the beginning of one: a mountaineering canon in which death and catastrophe could take centre stage, enter a dialogue with achievement and athleticism, and offer a new dynamic—one so striking and particular that forty years on Hašek could see the deliberate courting of death and glory in the mountains as a distinctively English characteristic long before Mallory and Irvine reinforced the trope in the aftermath of the First World War (when, as Wade Davis convincingly argues, the post-war legacy of slaughter on the Western Front added an additional impulse to English climbing culture favourable to such developments).[52]

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[51] See Maitland, *Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen*, ch. 17, ‘Tramps and Contributors’.

Readers, many not mountaineers themselves, now turn to mountaineering literature for a reflective and introspective depth absent in other sporting writing, finding its most intense and characteristic expression when the climber is starkly confronted with his own or his fellow climbers' mortality. For all his adherence to the tropes of mountain writing as practised in the 1860s, in the final paragraphs of *Scrambles* a damaged Whymper offered a glimpse of a new kind of mountaineering narrative which would accept alongside sporting prowess both philosophical and existential reflection on the meaning and value of life. As the reader contemplated the curious image of the fallen(?) climber already described, the author offered an uncharacteristic moment of reflection:

> The play is over and the curtain is about to fall. Before we part, a word about the graver teachings of the mountains. … The recollections of past pleasures cannot be effaced. Even as I write they crowd up before me. First, comes an endless series of pictures, magnificent in form, effect and colour. I see the great peaks, with clouded tops, seeming to mount up for ever and ever; … and after these have passed away, another train of thought succeeds – of those who have been upright, brave and true; of kind hearts and good deeds … Still, the last sad memory hovers round, and sometimes drifts across like floating mist, cutting off sunshine, and chilling the remembrance of happier times. There have been joys too great to be described in words, and there have been griefs upon which I have not dared to dwell; and with these in mind I say, Climb if you will, but remember that courage and strength are nothing without prudence, and that a momentary negligence may destroy the happiness of a lifetime. Do nothing in haste; look well to each step; and from the beginning think what may be the end.[53]

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[52] Davis, *Into the Silence*.

[53] Whymper, *Scrambles*, 406–8.

Another important consequence of the codification of climbing as a distinct activity should also be acknowledged: its impact on the social constituency of mountaineering. The model of alpinism based on the walking tour was by its nature one primarily accessible to those with the means to afford extended absences from paid employment—as we have noted, Whymper himself on one occasion had to abandon his climbing to protect his income. The new appreciation of climbing as defined in part by technical and athletic challenges beyond the reach of the typical member of the leisured classes offered the sport the prospect of a new social profile, available equally to the athletic artisan in day-trip range of a challenging British crag as to the London professional able to devote his summer to Alpine touring.

To conclude, we can briefly observe the working out of some of these themes in a spat in the Alpine Club at the end of the 1880s, when both versions of alpinism remained in play. The chief protagonists were Martin Conway (1856–1937), a proficient and enthusiastic though limited climber, and the much more ambitious and technically gifted John Herbert Wicks (1852–1919), then in the early stages of a lifelong career in his uncle's firm of Brazil merchants. Wicks had only joined the Alpine Club in 1885, but would go on to cement a reputation as part of 'one of the great guideless partnerships in Alpine history'.[54] The dispute originated in papers read to the club by another merely 'proficient' alpinist, the same Douglas Freshfield we encountered in an earlier exchange on these themes in 1875. Freshfield's papers extolled the virtues of the Caucasus as a new frontier for 'Alpine Clubmen'. The term was carefully chosen—as Freshfield glossed it, this meant 'men of the stamp of the early explorers of the Alps, accustomed to rough lodging and living—travellers as well as mountaineers'. The Caucasus, he argued, remained unspoilt—whereas improved alpine infrastructure had led to a 'vulgarisation of summits', bringing the 'noblest peaks within the reach of the meanest capacities, in filling the once peaceful solitudes of the High Alps with quarrelsome cockneys from all the capitals of Europe'. Happily, the Caucasus would be beyond the capacities of 'climbers who have seldom been beyond the "three centres" …, who delight in *tables d'hôte*, depend upon huts, who have made a "record" by being nursed by two great guides up some 20 great, and perfectly well-known peaks'.[55]

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[54] For drawing this incident to my attention, I am grateful to Simon Thompson, author of the best modern account of Conway, *A Long Walk with Lord Conway: An Exploration of the Alps and an English Adventurer* (Oxford, 2013), on which I rely for the biographical details which follow. For Wicks, see the memoir by C. Wilson in *AJ*, 33 (1920), 102–10; Arnold Lunn, *A Century of Mountaineering* (London, 1957), 84.

These remarks were still in members' minds when Conway took up related themes in papers read in 1890 and 1891. Despite the limits of his capacities, a decade before Conway had been a keen sporting climber tackling the peaks around Zermatt (he even authored the *Zermatt Pocket Book* for the use of climbers seeking guidance on the best routes from that centre). Following the death of three close friends in accidents in 1882, however, he had turned away from peak-bagging and technical challenges, in favour of a more aesthetic and reflective approach; by the end of the decade he was closely aligned with Freshfield. In March 1890 he offered the club memories of an 1878 climb on the Dom, which, he opined, would not pass muster for a new generation whom he characterised as 'mountain-gymnasts':

> The Gymnast likes 'pretty bits' of rocks, with a cracklet here for a finger and cracklet there for a toe. He does not mind if he reaches a summit or not. He is not careful to enlarge his knowledge of the Alpine chain as a whole. The climbing of details is his pleasure. He is fond of Alpine centres and likes to be near his work. … He does not care for wandering. He hates long valleys. He has small affection for trees and mountain forests. He dislikes snowfields and slopes. Easy climbs are a bore to him. … He will do all he can to avoid following in the steps of a predecessor.[56]

The following December, in his paper 'Centrists and Excentrists', Conway noted that 'I do not call him [the gymnast] an Alpine climber, because that title was invented and applied before Alpine gymnasts came into being; a new descriptive term must be used for a new type.'[57] Over the previous decade 'gymnasts' had emerged as a distinct group to be contrasted with the 'mountain climber', now something of a dying breed: the climber 'loves … to wander far and wide among the mountains … He prefers passes to peaks, and hates not getting to the top of anything he starts for. He chooses the easiest and most normal route.’[58] In both papers, and a further talk on ‘exhausted districts’, Conway argued for the latter mode of alpinism, best expressed in what he now called ‘excentrist’ mountaineering, which involved strenuous and challenging high-level walking from location to location, as exemplified in his own 1894 thousand-mile expedition along the Alps from end to end.[59] As with Freshfield, however, the statement of preference was delivered with a sneer, in this case more pronounced as the ‘gymnasts’/‘centrists’ were judged more tainted by commerce than, and both intellectually inferior and anthropologically distinct from, the ‘climbers’/‘excentrists’. ‘The future of Alpine literature depends upon the climber, but the prosperity of climbing as a sport depends upon the gymnast’; the ‘centrists’ fostered an inferior type of guide—‘a highly-developed gymnast, a kind of prize-fighter with the mountains, a Professional such as the true British Philistine creates to help him in all sports’; the centrist, subject himself to ‘quasi-professional’ tendencies, could satisfy the genuine gymnastic impulse shared by all mountaineers, but ‘just as a man is a better and finer creature in proportion as his sympathies and interests are large and numerous, so is mountaineering … of a high type in proportion as it gives play to the largest number of dignified human tastes’, including the artistic, aesthetic, scientific and inquisitive impulse equally important to the true mountaineer; the climber was ‘generally a dolichocephalous [long-headed] black man, one of the small dark stock that has always to go under before the ruddy brachycephalous [short-headed] Saxon Philistine’. Perhaps, Conway pondered, an unofficial separate section of the Alpine Club should be created to serve the excentrists; as for the centrists, ‘For heaven’s sake let [them] go to Zermatt by train and stay there!’ in the ‘gymnasium of Europe’.[60]

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[55] Douglas Freshfield, 'Six Weeks Travels in the Central Caucasus', *AJ*, 13 (1886–8), 376; Douglas Freshfield, 'Climbs in the Caucasus', *AJ*, 13 (1886–8), 499.

[56] W. M. Conway, 'The Dom from the Domjoch', *AJ*, 15 (1890–1), 108. Later Conway opined that this approach led inevitably to unjustifiable risk-taking, making it 'one of the most insidious and fatal of Alpine dangers': W. M. Conway, 'Exhausted Districts', *AJ*, 15 (1890–1), 256.

[57] W. M. Conway, 'Centrists and Excentrists', *AJ*, 15 (1890–1), 400.

Conway noted in his diary that his ‘centrist’ thesis had been ‘attacked’ at the Alpine Club (‘a pleasant evening’!), and indeed some of Conway’s own contemporaries among the younger generation had had enough. In February 1891 Wicks added some ‘Reflections of a Centrist’ to his own paper for the club, provocatively entitled ‘Two Peaks and a Centre’.[61] Wicks poured scorn on those who twitted the ‘gymnasts’ as an ‘inferior genus’:

[58] Conway, ‘Dom from the Domjoch’, 109.

[59] See W. M. Conway, *The Alps from End to End* (London, 1895); Thompson, *Long Walk with Lord Conway*.

[60] Conway, ‘Dom from the Domjoch’, 109, 110; Conway, ‘Exhausted Districts’, 257; Conway, ‘Centrists and Excentrists’, 397, 400–1, 403.

[61] J. H. Wicks, ‘Two Peaks and a Centre’, *AJ*, 15 (1890–1), 333–43.

he rejected the label, seeing himself as simply an 'Alpine mountaineer' who could enjoy repeat ascents of a favourite hill by new routes as well as the skills of technical climbing. It was not 'gymnasts' but Conway, he suggested, who was 'narrow in his ideas'. But perhaps most telling was his insistence that the model of climbing preferred by the well-resourced and connected Freshfield (with his 'six weeks' in the Caucasus) and Conway (who lavished 87 days in a single summer on his alpine end-to-end), was simply an unrealistic option for growing numbers—he thought most—of the club's members, who lacked the necessary leisure time for such expeditions. He himself had cut his mountaineering teeth during the 1870s not in the Alps, but in the Lakes and North Wales. For many of the climbers now active, it was a more centrist, gymnastic option or nothing; and for Wicks it was clear that the less well-off were not a vulgar threat to the spirit of climbing as Freshfield had implied, but full members of the mountain fraternity.

In terms of future public perceptions, as we saw at the outset, it would be hard to deny that Wicks was more aligned with the development of later understandings of what constitutes British climbing, and that *contra* Conway, this held true for mountaineering literature as much as for mountaineering. But the story of how that conception of the activity as distinct from other forms of mountain pedestrianism developed in the later nineteenth century was a complex one. As this incident shows, the process of differentiation was still unfinished business at the end of the 1880s; and as we have seen, it was a process in which alpine accidents had played no small part.

Acknowledgement For John Walsh and in memory of my friend Andrew Neil Crompton (1964–1985), who died on the Eiger. I would like to thank Chad Bryant, Ying Chang, Richard Drayton, Peter Hansen, Anthony Kenny, Paul Readman, Simon Thompson, John Walsh and audiences in Oxford and Chapel Hill for a variety of stimulating responses and comments to thought and work which informs this chapter.

CHAPTER 8

'A Good Walk Spoiled'? Golfers and the Experience of Landscape during the Late Nineteenth Century

Clare V. J. Griffiths

One of the most familiar witticisms about golf is commonly attributed to Mark Twain. 'Golf is a good walk spoiled' certainly sounds like something Twain might have said, and the aphorism continues to be widely credited to him, despite a distinct lack of evidence to prove his authorship.[1] The description of golf as a good walk spoiled was first attributed to this 'quote magnet' in the late 1940s, more than three decades after Twain's death, whilst the phrase itself had been in circulation much earlier, without any reference to Twain.[2] By the turn of the twentieth century it seems to have functioned almost as a commonplace. In a novel from 1905, the American

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[1] e.g. *Yale Book of Quotations* (New Haven, 2006), 782; Robert Harman, *Tales from Pinehurst: Stories from the Mecca of American Golf* (New York, 2012); John Feinstein, *A Good Walk Spoiled: Days and Nights on the PGA Tour* (Boston, New York and London, 1996), ix; James Melville Cox, *Mark Twain: The Fate of Humor* (Columbia, 2002), vii.

[2] Fred R. Shapiro, editor of the *Yale Book of Quotations* identifies figures such as Mark Twain and Winston Churchill as 'quote magnets': Fred Shapiro, 'You Can Quote Them', *Yale Alumni Magazine*, 75 (September/October 2011): http://www.yalealumnimagazine.com/articles/3269/you-can-quote-them.html (accessed 26 August 2015). The *Quote Investigator* blog examined the origins of the comment and explodes the myth that Twain was responsible: http://www.quoteinvestigator.com/2010/05/28/golf-good-walk.html (accessed 26 August 2015).

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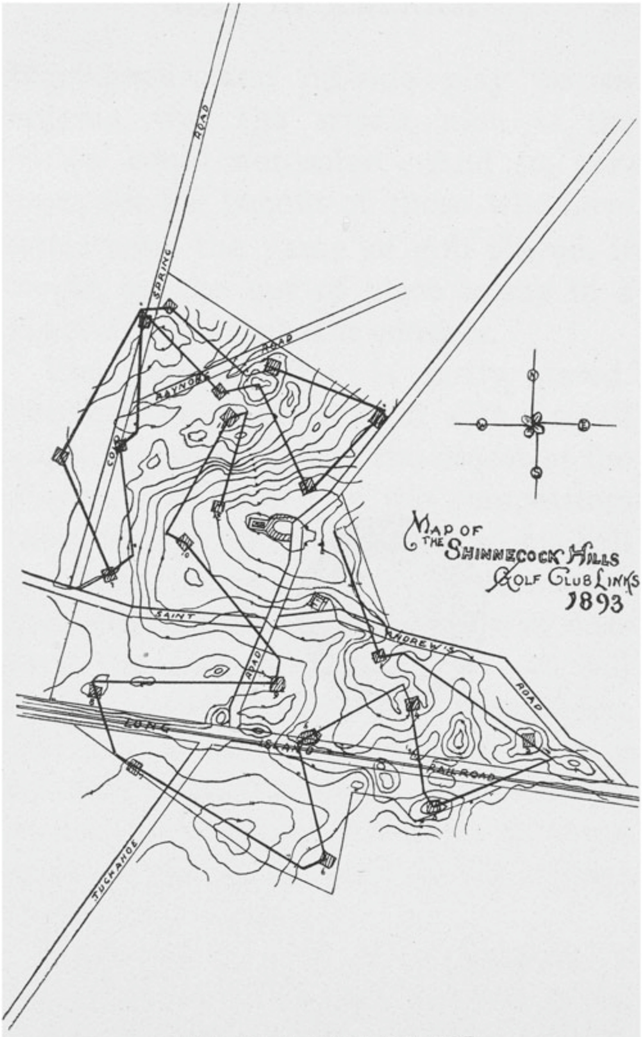
SPRING ROAD
RAYNOR ROAD
COOP
SAINT ANDREW'S ROAD
LONG ISLAND RAIL ROAD
TUCKAHOE
N
W
E
S
MAP OF THE SHINNECOCK HILLS GOLF CLUB LINKS 1893

MAP OF A GOLF COURSE.

Fig. 8.1 Mapping golfers' progress around the course: the layout at Shinnecock Hills in the 1890s, from James P. Lee, *Golf in America: A Practical Guide* (New York, 1895), 95 [©The British Library Board (7912.de.2m, opp. p. 94)]

humourist Harry Leon Wilson quoted a local newspaper's comment on the craze for golf: that golf had 'too much walking for a good game and just enough game to spoil a good walk'.[3]

The notion of the 'good walk spoiled' became a familiar way of referring to golf—adopted dismissively by those who were critical of the pastime, and ruefully by many golfers themselves. It clearly had resonance because walking was such an inherent part of playing golf. Walking set the tempo of the game and made it possible to promote golf as a new, healthy and sociable form of exercise, accessible to people for whom other sports might have been too physically demanding. But from the beginnings of its boom in popularity in the late nineteenth century, golf was also dogged by an ambiguous identity to which walking contributed: was it a game, or was it a sport? And could it possibly lay claims to being a sport when it involved relatively limited physical exertion? The pace of the game and the limited physical demands that it placed on players became part of the definition of golf as a pastime when measured alongside other kinds of games and sports: 'at cricket we run, at golf we walk; and here we touch the real broad line of distinction between cricket, the game for boys, and golf, the game for men … Men walk and boys run—golfers walk and cricketers run; the golfer is a man, the cricketer is a boy.'[4] As the writer of a guide to golf in the 1890s observed, this feature of the game seemed initially unlikely to attract Americans because 'it looked slow; too much like taking a walk'.[5]

Walking has been a significant component in people's experience of playing golf, yet golf is rarely thought of as a chapter in the history of walking. Accounts of walking as a modern leisure activity tend to focus on self-conscious pedestrianism: walking as pleasure, distraction, exertion and self-fulfilment, whether on city streets, gentle footpaths or rugged moorland.[6] However, walking was not ostensibly the *point* of playing golf: it was

[3] Harry Leon Wilson, *The Boss of Little Arcady* (Boston, 1905), 367.

[4] Horace Hutchinson's comments on 'Cricket v. Golf' in *Blackwood's Magazine*, reprinted in *Leeds Mercury*, 1 April 1890, 1.

[5] James P. Lee, *Golf in America: A Practical Manual* (New York, 1895), 104. He continued: 'with the diversion, as an incident, of hitting a ball along the ground. From this point of view it lacks interest, vitality and the spirit of contest.'

[6] e.g. Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (London, 2001); John K. Walton, 'The Northern Rambler: Recreational Walking and the Popular Politics of Industrial England, from Peterloo to the 1930s', *Labour History Review*, 78(3) (2013), 243–68; Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1993); Melanie Tebbutt, 'Rambling and Manly Identity in Derbyshire's Dark Peak', *Historical Journal*, 49(4) (2006), 1125–53.

just something that made the game possible. Indeed golf was sometimes treated as an alternative to 'walking' as an activity: a writer in *Hearth and Home* in 1895 speculated about various 'healthful' pursuits, 'whether you ride, drive, row, walk, cycle, golf'.[7] A poem in *Punch* also identified golf as separate from walking in a list of potential activities for those escaping the town for the summer: 'what *you* propose to do—yacht, shoot, or fish, or walk, or golf?'[8] Manuals on how to play golf scarcely referred to the physical experience of making one's way around the course, concentrating instead on playing techniques, equipment and rules.[9] Nor is this aspect of the game given much recognition in general histories of golf, which often focus on a celebration of heritage, accounts of the changing technology of the game, its famous players and great tournaments, and the design of the great courses.[10] Even studies of the social history of golf tend to treat the experience of walking as incidental to discussions of sociability, class, gender and club membership.[11]

Yet we should not take the walking for granted. Far from 'spoiling a good walk', by the early twentieth century golf was providing growing numbers of people with a new reason to walk. Moreover, walking on a golf course differed from other kinds of walking, and it provided a distinctive experience that deserves more exploration. This chapter sets out to recover some of that experience, drawing on sources from Britain and North America during the period of the initial golfing boom in the late nineteenth century to explore the relationship between golf and walking, and to reflect on how golf encouraged people to appreciate landscape in particular ways, as they walked and played through it.

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[7] Deborah Primrose, 'The Brutalities of Sol and Neptune', *Hearth and Home*, 216 (1895), 281.

[8] 'Kept in Town – A Lament', *Punch*, 30 August 1890, 100.

[9] Early examples include W. T. Linskill, *Golf* (London, 1891); James Dwight, *Golf: A Handbook for Beginners* (Boston, [1895?]); H. S. C. Everard, *Golf in Theory and Practice: Some Hints to Beginners* (London, 1896); Willie Park, Jun., *The Game of Golf* (London, 1896); H. J. Whigham, *How to Play Golf* (Chicago, 1897); H. R. Sweny, *Keep your Eye on the Ball and your Right Knee Stiff* (Albany, 1898); Genevieve Hecker [Mrs Charles T. Stout], *Golf for Women* (New York, 1904).

[10] For example, Bernard Darwin et al, *A History of Golf in Britain* (London, 1952); Steve Newell, *A History of Golf* (Stroud, 2004); George B. Kirsch, *Golf in America* (Urbana and Chicago, 2009); Mark Frost, *The Greatest Game Ever Played: Vardon, Ouimet and the Birth of Modern Golf* (London, 2002); James R. Hansen, *A Difficult Par: Robert Trent Jones Sr. and the Making of Modern Golf* (New York, 2014); Kevin Cook, *Tommy's Honour: The Extraordinary Story of Golf's Founding Father and Son* (London, 2007).

[11] For social histories of golf, see Wray Vamplew, 'Concepts of Capital: An Approach Shot to the History of the British Golf Club before 1914', *Journal of Sport History*, 39(1) (2012), 299–331; John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870–1914* (Manchester, 1995); John Lowerson, 'Golf', in Tony Mason (ed.), *Sport in Britain* (Cambridge, 1989), 187–214; Jane George, '"Ladies First"?: Establishing a Place for Women Golfers in British Golf Clubs, 1867–1914', *Sport in History*, 30(2) (2010), 288–308; Jane George, '"An Excellent Means of Combining Fresh Air, Exercise and Society": Females on the Fairways, 1890–1914', *Sport in History*, 29(3) (2009), 333–52; Donald M. Cameron, *Social Links: The Golf Boom in Victorian England* (Cambridge, 2010).

The Craze for Golf

Until the final decades of the nineteenth century very few people played golf. Lively debates have proposed varied national origins for golf, but it is generally accepted that the game in its modern form developed in Scotland, and for a long time it was played almost exclusively in that country.[12] There were possibly as few as 17 golf clubs worldwide in the 1830s, even including clubs in Scotland—though more people may well have played the game outside those formal organizational structures.[13] One golf club in England—the Royal Blackheath—can claim to trace its history back to the early seventeenth century, but it was only from the 1860s that more clubs began to form south of the Scottish border. In the 1870s and 1880s, Scottish immigrants were also playing the game on the other side of the Atlantic; the first modern golf club in the United States—named (with appropriate piety) St Andrews—was founded by two Scotsmen in 1888, at Yonkers, overlooking the Hudson River. Golf was played in parts of the British Empire from the early nineteenth century, though it often struggled to establish more than a temporary presence, dependent as it was on the commitment of a few enthusiasts. Clubs developed in Calcutta (1829) and Bombay (1842).[14] There was a club in Adelaide in the 1870s, when clubs were also being founded in New Zealand and in Canada.

From these modest beginnings, there was huge upsurge of interest in golf in the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth.[15]

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[12] John Lowerson, 'Golf and the Making of Myths', in Grant Jarvie and Graham Walker (eds), *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation: Ninety Minute Patriots?* (Leicester, London and New York, 1994), 75–90.

[13] Newell, *History of Golf*, 19.

[14] Where the title of a course or club is given followed by a year in brackets, this refers to the official date of its foundation.

[15] Studies on the history of golf in this period include Richard Holt, 'Golf and the English Suburb: Class and Gender in a London Club, *c*.1890–*c*.1960', *Sports Historian*, 18(1) (1998), 76–89; Roisín Higgins, '"The Hallmark of Pluperfect Respectability": The Early Development of Golf in Irish Society', *Éire–Ireland*, 48(1–2) (2013), 15–31.

Golf club membership in Britain by 1914 has been estimated at 350,000.[16] Courses were laid out, people were eager for the right equipment and the right instruction, and golf quickly established itself as a familiar part of social and geographic landscapes. It began to spawn a prolific literature of advice, humour and celebrations of the game. When Robert Clark compiled an anthology about golf in 1875, he had it printed privately; by the 1890s, *Golf: A Royal and Ancient Game* was being published in cheap reissues with a new preface. In a preface to the 1893 edition, Clark reflected on the transformation in the fortunes of golf during the 18 years that his book had been in print: 'Golf has advanced by leaps and bounds: it is now as popular in England as it is in Scotland; and it has taken deep root in Ireland.'[17] Meanwhile a guide to 'Golf in America' suggested that by 1895 there were at least 75 clubs in the United States with links attached, most of which had been founded within the previous two years.[18] A writer for the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1902 identified golf as one of the 'new' things in American life: something that had been unusual just a decade earlier, but was now among those topics most likely to crop up in the conversation of any group of 'reasonably alert and reasonably well-to-do Americans'.[19]

Why did golf suddenly take off in this way? Many histories of the game point to the influence of transformations in equipment, making the game easier and more satisfying to play. While golf had once been a rough-and-ready, improvised pastime, commercial technologies became an important element in its modern development, beginning with the introduction of new types of balls. Golf had originally been played with wooden balls, and then with 'featheries'—stuffed with feathers, expensive to make, and lacking in any durability. From the late 1840s, the gutta-percha ball, made with Malaysian rubber, offered a cheaper product, greater distance and a longer life, making golf a more affordable hobby, whilst the year 1902 marked another significant turning point with the development of rubber-cored balls. Dismissed by some as 'the ball for a tired man', these flew further and had more bounce and run than their predecessors.[20] They made golf more rewarding, and less frustrating for many players, and began a trend towards longer holes and the development of different sorts of clubs with which to hit the ball. The prolific golf journalist Bernard Darwin described in his memoirs how the shift to rubber-cored balls unleashed a ‘golfing boom’, though he cautioned that the impact of this breakthrough might have been exaggerated: golf’s popularity was already on the rise by then, and the new ball encouraged an existing trend since ‘by being easier to hit [it made] the game easier to play, and so more popular’.[21]

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[16] Jane George, Joyce Kay and Wray Vamplew, 'Women to the Fore: Gender Accommodation and Resistance at the British Golf Club before 1914', *Sporting Traditions*, 23(2) (2007), 79.

[17] Robert Clark (ed.), *Golf: A Royal and Ancient Game* (London, 1899), viii.

[18] Lee, *Golf in America*, 33.

[19] Quoted in Kirsch, *Golf in America*, 1.

[20] Bernard Darwin, *Life is Sweet, Brother* (London and Glasgow, 1940), 39.

Changes to balls and clubs certainly made golf more attractive to players, enticing more people onto the courses and shaping the character of their experience there. But the ‘golfing boom’ rested on a wide variety of factors to do with fashion, sociability, leisure time, disposable income, suburban development, holiday resorts and the peculiar attractions of an outdoor activity that could be enjoyed by both sexes and all ages. The associational life of the golf club also served to reinforce and create social networks, and developed a relationship between golf and class identities: despite the more socially democratic character of the original game in Scotland, golf in its new incarnations was largely the preserve of the middle classes and the economically privileged.[22]

From the outset of this golfing boom, there was also much discussion about the healthful aspects of the game, associated as it was with gentle exercise in the open air. As early as 1854, the London-based *Fraser’s Magazine* was enthusing about the way in which the game encouraged people to walk: ‘This, then, is golf, consisting of pedestrianism round the margin of the links, two or three powerful blows, and two or three delicate manipulations. No game that yet has been invented affords more gentle and equable exercise.’[23] Golf was always said to be very popular with doctors, possibly the most famous of golfing medical men being the Yorkshire-born Dr Alister MacKenzie (1870–1934), who suggested that the pastime was as good as most prescriptions, and who went on to become one of the most renowned of all golf architects, responsible for designing some of the most iconic and prestigious courses of his day, including Augusta National (1933). MacKenzie insisted that golf courses were ‘a great asset to the nation’, given ‘the extraordinary influence on health of pleasurable excitement, especially when combined with fresh air and exercise’.[24]

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[21] Ibid., 121.

[22] Holt, ‘Golf and the English Suburb’, 76–89, at 77.

[23] Reprinted in Clark (ed.), *Golf*, 223.

[24] A. MacKenzie, *Golf Architecture: Economy in Course Construction and Green Keeping* (London, 1920), 118.

The virtues of golf came up periodically in the pages of *The Lancet*, where once again the emphasis was on the gentleness of the exercise involved. An article from 1892 praised golf as superior to other sports, notably for adults who were 'somewhat past their prime'.[25] Played too energetically and too often, golf might, however, do more harm than good. One doctor in St Louis in 1901 blamed golf for the rapid weight-loss and subsequent death of an over-enthusiastic player: 'The golf fad for busy men who have become corpulent is a dangerous experiment, and the sad example of Mr McCreery must be a warning for all.'[26]

This connection between golf and healthful exercise was clearly part of its appeal, and became institutionalized through some of the locations where golf courses began to develop, around spas and at the seaside—environments where recuperation and sociability had been combined since the eighteenth century. Golf often had close links with other sporting activities too, particularly tennis: in late nineteenth-century suburbia tennis and golf clubs were sometimes adjacent to each other, catering for the same clientele.[27] Yet the perceived advantage of golf was that the exercise involved was not too taxing—even if, as Andrew Lang pointed out, the worse one played, the more exercise one got: 'the further you walk the more numerous whacks do you apply'.[28] The relatively gentle nature of the exertion required made it a sport which people could play at all ages, and which was—at least in its early years—surprisingly open to, and seen as appropriate for, women. A well-known advice manual for wives and mothers characterized golf as the 'perfect' game for women, and walking featured prominently in the description of golf's benefits: 'here they can walk at their own pace, in fresh air … They tread lightly the verdant pasture land.'[29]

Golf was one of the few sports in which women could play alongside men, though complaints began to emerge (from men) that women played too slowly. This does not seem in itself to have been a reflection of their inability to walk at a reasonable pace around several miles of uneven ground—though given their additional handicap of clothing still ill-adapted to the new pursuit, a slower rate of play would have been quite understandable. The main issue was how far women could hit the ball, and hence the number of times that they needed to stop to take another shot.[30] Nonetheless, distinctions were made between men's and women's resilience to the exertions of walking the course. The American golfer Genevieve Hecker commented on the challenges that certain types of terrain could pose for players and for women in particular:

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[25] 'The Value of Cricket, Educational and Hygienic', *Lancet*, 139(3590) (1892), 1378. Some medics did, on the other hand, warn against the deleterious effects of golf on psychological well-being, for causing irritation and worry which might outweigh the benefits of exercise in the fresh air: see 'The Worrying Side of Golf', *Lancet*, 173(4456) (1909), 255.

[26] Newell, *History of Golf*, 38.

[27] Holt, 'Golf and the English Suburb', 80.

[28] Andrew Lang, 'Golf's Place among Games', *Illustrated London News*, 2852 (16 December 1893), 776.

[29] P. H. Chavasse and Farncourt Barnes, *Chavasse's Advice to a Wife* [London, 1906], quoted in George, '"An Excellent Means"', 333.

> In Scotland and England the great majority of courses are laid out on flat sandy ground, and one does not have to use up the best part of one's strength in the physical exertion of climbing up and down hill. Owing to the different characteristics of country in the United States, however, many popular links are laid out, from necessity, on ground which is so much up and down hill that a woman is really tired out from the exertion of walking before half the course is played. Even for a man, it is decidedly unpleasant to play over hilly links. For a woman it makes the sport so arduous that it is only the most intense enthusiast who will play very steadily or for a very long time.

Her conclusion was that, 'In choosing, therefore, land on which to lay out a golf links, the first consideration, in my opinion, is to select ground over which it will be easy to walk.'[31]

Progress around a course could be hard going, whatever one's sex. James Lee's guidebook on American golf warned that players at a recently established course in Philadelphia in the early 1890s had 'hills to climb, stone walls, hedges, and fences to surmount, and in addition streams to cross before completing the round'.[32] Courses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were rarely manicured environments—indeed attempts to introduce features which looked too neat were greeted with ridicule. Most courses began on open ground that was still being used for other purposes, and they continued to retain a makeshift character for many years—walls, hedges and all. Indeed, the roughness of the terrain was almost a defining characteristic of authentic golf, born in the unprepossessing scrubby windswept dunes of the Scottish coast. Gorse and heather and other kinds of unforgiving rough were prized as appropriately unwelcoming hazards on the course.

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[30] As the number of women players at a club began to rise, it was common to establish a separate, shorter course for their use, generally with fewer holes to play – though some ladies-only courses also arose from the initiative of women themselves: George, Kay and Vamplew, 'Women to the Fore', 79–98.

[31] Hecker, *Golf for Women*, 196–7. In laying out a scheme of holes, she suggested that an ideal 18-hole course for women's play might be 5,984 yards long (ibid., 203–4)—quite a distance to cover, given that the average length of modern courses played with modern equipment is in the range of 5,000–7,000 yards.

[32] Lee, *Golf in America*, 55.

All of this could make for bracing walking. The *Cornhill Magazine* presented the potential benefits for rural sportsmen looking forward to the shooting season: 'there is no better preparation for the moors than golf. It hardens the muscles, both of arms and legs; and the sportsman who can take his three rounds of St Andrews links without feeling the worse for it, need not be afraid of knocking up about two o'clock on the 12th of August.'[33] But there were limits to the amount of physical exertion that golfers might be expected to endure willingly, as Genevieve Hecker had observed. The American golfer and journalist Walter J. Travis objected to 'very hilly' courses on the grounds that they stretched the notion of exercise too far: 'Mountain-climbing is one thing and golf is distinctly another. It is never satisfactory to attempt to combine both.'[34]

Walking the Course

What was it like to walk a golf course in the late nineteenth century? Descriptions of golf—from this, as for later periods—make relatively little reference to walking itself. Instructional books on golf (a publishing genre already flourishing by the 1890s) rarely commented on the process of moving between shots or on the contribution of walking to the pleasures of playing golf. However they did insist that walking on the course should be disciplined. General points of golfing etiquette included injunctions always to let faster groups of golfers play through, and many commentators alerted players (and spectators) to the dangers of careless walking. The golfer who walked on after playing his own shot, without waiting for his opponent to play, could be committing a literally fatal breach of etiquette. A local paper in Dundee reported the cautionary tale of an impatient player who walked on 30 yards before being hit by a ball and 'stupefied', dying the next day. H. S. C. Everard was unsympathetic to this man's fate, commenting that 'the etiquette of golf is very clear on this point', and hoping that other 'impetuous golfers' would take note.[35]

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[33] 'The Golfer At Home', *Cornhill Magazine* (April 1867), reprinted in Clark (ed.), *Golf*, 180. Given the need for clothing which suited all weathers, and probably helped by the connection with Scotland, connections were often made between the demands of golf and shooting when it came to what to wear, too — though golf was always a pastime with a far wider social reach than the world of shooting parties and rural sports.

[34] Walter J. Travis, *Practical Golf* (New York and London, 1909), 153.

Yet, although there were few explicit instructions on *how* to walk, it is possible to reconstruct something of the experience of walking on the golf course and to appreciate the ways in which this might have differed from other experiences of walking. While the distances involved do not measure up to the energetic pedestrianism undertaken by some Victorians in other settings, they could still amount to several miles and involve players in walking (admittedly with many stops along the way) for a large part of the day. Playing golf was a time-consuming activity. An article about playing at St Andrews in the 1860s suggests a schedule in which matches began at 11 a.m. following a leisurely, late breakfast, and which allowed three-quarters of an hour for lunch and cigars, before going out to play again until about 5.30 p.m.[36] The size of courses varied considerably at this time, as clubs took advantage of whatever land became available to them and before the idea of a standard format of 18 holes had been established. Blackheath still had only seven holes in the early twentieth century, though matches were played over three rounds of the course.[37] Indeed it was usual to play shorter courses more than once as part of a match, sometimes with a break for lunch in between circuits. Most games of golf thus involved quite a lot of walking. Lee commented that 'A good golf course should be from three to four miles in length, or even longer, and will generally partake of the character of a circular tour. Thus players going out will not interfere with those coming in, and … the point at which the game is finished will not be far removed from the starting point.'[38] He used a diagram of the layout at Shinnecock Hills (1891–2) on Long Island to illustrate his point (see Fig. 8.1).

That point about finishing close to where one began is a reminder that moving from one hole to another during a game was not the only walking involved in golf. Circular course layouts usually led players back to some sort of clubhouse, which could be a place serving elaborate meals (providing one of the major social reasons for club membership) or a simple shack offering basic refreshments. But one also had to get onto the course in the first place, and later make one's way home. In the early years, players often walked to the clubhouse from the nearest railway station, some of which grew up specifically to serve the links. Nostalgic for the days before people drove to the club in a car, Bernard Darwin (writing in 1940) recalled this more sociable experience of arriving at a course by train, describing the 'precious and perilous memory' of crossing Waterloo Bridge in nailed shoes on the way to a day's golf, and (at the other end of the journey) 'the wild rush for the brake at the station and the final walk over heather which was intersected with ditches'.[39] Lee likewise rhapsodized about players making their way to the course in the morning: 'Within sight of the golf course they quicken their pace.'[40]

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[35] Everard, *Golf in Theory and Practice*, 147–8.
[36] 'Golfer at Home', 191.
[37] *The Golfers' Year-Book* (London, 1905), 240.
[38] Lee, *Golf in America*, 96.

Occasionally one gets a sense of what some people *felt* as they walked over the course—and this could include visceral responses to walking on the grass. When club secretaries and other respondents reported on the character of various British golf courses for a plush illustrated survey volume in 1897, there were a number of comments along such lines, explicitly linking the course with a pleasurable, physical experience of walking. Wimbledon's course, boasting a solitary bunker, a surfeit of whinberry bushes and restricted days of play (following a compromise settlement with the commoners) was, in these respects, far from an ideal ground for golf. But its secretary knew that the golfer was 'glad to find his foot on it again after a week on the flagstones'.[41] The quality of turf itself could contribute to this enjoyment. The ground at Machrihanish on the Mull of Kintyre in Scotland was described as so 'elastic' that a dropped clubhead would bounce back: 'consequently, walking is a pleasure—this, too, though the course is exceedingly undulating, and at first sight seemingly ill adapted to the requirements of the weight-carrying and plethoric pedestrian'. The 'springy turf' at Gullane in North Berwick was reported to be similarly forgiving on legs and feet, 'enabling a man to play golf from morn till dewy eve of the longest summer's day without more than a proper and comfortable sense of fatigue'.[42] The golfing Scottish parson J. Gordon McPherson also rhapsodized about the exhilarating pleasures of 'elastic turf': 'Over the undulating course even the short-breathed veteran will walk, so absorbed is he in the game.'[43]

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[39] Darwin, *Life is Sweet*, 133. He was recalling here the journey from London to Woking.

[40] Lee, *Golf in America*, 101.

[41] Horace Hutchinson (ed.), *British Golf Links: A Short Account of the Leading Golf Links of the United Kingdom, with Numerous Illustrations and Portraits* (London, 1897), 331.

Serious golfers also paid attention to their footwear. Players were advised to wear 'well-nailed boots', to give them a firm foothold as they walked and to ensure they did not slip while taking their shots, though spikes were counselled against, as liable to damage the greens.[44] As golf developed to create a new market for dedicated equipment and attire, manufacturers also responded to meet the needs of the golfers' feet. Reviewing Scafe's Patent Golfing Boots in 1888, *The Field* attested to their combined leather and rubber construction being watertight and suitable to all sorts of demanding activities and long journeys on foot, while noting that, 'better still—and in this lies their great golfing merit—the rubber discs take a grip of the grass and cling to the hold with a persistence that entirely puts the ordinary nail or tacket-studded sole in the shade. To slip is well-nigh impossible.'[45] By the 1880s and 1890s, retailers were catering for golfers' interest in footwear designed especially for golf. The firm of Wright and Ditson of Boston, Massachusetts, was selling high- and low-cut 'golfing shoes' in 'tan grain leather', offered with or without hobnails.[46]

With their specially designed footwear, and responsive to the particular qualities of turf and terrain, did golfers find walking on the course different from walking in other contexts? In a thriller published in 1928, the Scottish writer A. G. Macdonell (writing under his pen name Neil Gordon) suggested that golf made walking palatable for people who would not have chosen to walk otherwise. When the novel's protagonist, George Templeton (a keen motorist), injures his hand at the beginning of a golfing holiday and is thus deprived of his intended recreation, he is forced to find other forms of exercise, resorting reluctantly to walking: 'Like so many men who are prepared to walk seven or ten miles so long as they are hitting a golf ball, Templeton intensely disliked walking even one mile along a country road.'[47] Golf, in this respect, was walking in disguise: players covered substantial distances over undulating, and sometimes rough ground, but without necessarily equating this with the experience of a long walk.

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[42] Ibid., 202, 153.

[43] J. Gordon McPherson, *Golf and Golfers, Past and Present* (Edinburgh and London, 1891), 61.

[44] Linskill, *Golf*, 6.

[45] Endorsements cited in advert for the Leather and Rubber Boot Company, Leeds: ibid., ii.

[46] A. H. Findlay, *Wright and Ditson's Guide to American Golf* (Boston, 1897), 64.

[47] Neil Gordon, *The Factory on the Cliff* (Stroud, 2012), 11.

There were occasional suggestions that golfers might even develop a distinctive gait as a result of their hobby. An item in the British magazine *Golf Illustrated* in 1900 recounted how this idea of a 'golf walk' was being presented on the other side of the Atlantic:

> 'There goes a girl with the Golf walk,' a man said to his companion walking on Chestnut-st. yesterday morning, and everybody within hearing turned to see the latest product of the links, says the *Philadelphia Times*. … It cannot be called a beautiful walk, and no one who lives near any of the grounds where clubs are petticoated … needs to be told what it is. That long-loose-jointed stride, those flapping arms, that 'poked' neck and head, that curious flat-chested carriage, are only too familiar.

The idea of the 'golf walk' was clearly being used here as a way to ridicule women golfers and to suggest that the game might damage their femininity, at least when taken to excess. As the article continued, having a recognizable golf walk revealed underlying problems: 'According to a famous physician, who counts many athletic women among his clientele, it is really a sign of extreme nervous over-strain. "Women", says this ungallant doctor, "are always in extremes. When they take up any sport or pastime they become saturated with it for the time being, and live for nothing else."'[48]

Alongside the physical sensations of walking like a golfer, walking on a golf course tended to be a sociable experience.[49] Golfers were rarely depicted without a playing partner, and even on those occasions when someone was playing alone, he or she would normally be accompanied.[50] Spectators were a common feature on the course, crowding to watch tournaments or exhibition matches by famous players, or simply tagging along to follow a golfing friend or relative. The presence of these non-players was the subject of many humorous depictions of the game, and they were often ridiculed or lamented as distractions, liable to talk while a player was making his stroke. Non-playing companions in the cartoons, and indeed in photographs, were often female, dressed without concession to their setting, and carrying parasols. So, as well as the many women who played golf in this period, there was also the phenomenon of women walking around the course but not playing.

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[48] 'What our Contemporaries are Saying', *Golf Illustrated*, 52 (1900), 209, quoting an article in the *Indianapolis Sentinel*.

[49] Donald M. Cameron, *Social Links: The Golf Boom in Victorian England* (Cambridge, 2010); Roland Quinault, 'Golf and Edwardian Politics', in N. B. Harte and Roland Quinault (eds), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700–1914: Essays in Honour of F. M. L. Thompson* (Manchester, 1996), 191–210.

[50] In the photographs for Hutchinson (ed.), *British Golf Links*, only the illustration for (the rather remote) Machrihanish, on the west coast of Scotland, shows a lone player, and even he still has a caddy in attendance.

The solitary player, meanwhile, was regarded as an oddity, and even a 'nuisance': H. S. C. Everard thought he had no place on the course and was 'simply in the way'. While acknowledging that nothing could be done to prevent a lone golfer from playing on a public golf course, Everard insisted that one should appeal to his sense of 'etiquette' and 'where adequate regulations exist, of course, he can be suppressed'.[51] Much of the culture surrounding golf was concerned with its competitive aspects, as witnessed by the emphasis in so much golfing literature on betting and on the rules for playing matches in fourballs or foursomes, implying that golf should be a game played with other people. Even lone players of the game rarely walked the course without company, since the almost inevitable companion of any golfer in the late nineteenth century was the caddy: carrier of the clubs but also, at least in theory, a player's guide to the course. Many of these caddies were young boys, appearing in visual images as tagging along behind their paymasters (see Fig. 8.2).[52]

Not everyone whom one encountered on the course was there to watch or play golf, and golfers' paths might intersect or conflict with those of other people. The story of the development of golf courses is also a story of land being appropriated for a new purpose. Many courses developed on common land, which was often of marginal value for cultivation and displayed some of the characteristics of the classic links to which clubs aspired: open land, free-draining, sandy, and with natural hazards, gorse or heather. But although there was often limited economic exploitation of such land by the late nineteenth century, its recreational and amenity value could be considerable. Local people, or day-trippers, took advantage of the open space offered by the commons, and their enjoyment

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[51] Everard, *Golf in Theory and Practice*, 152.

[52] On the issue of employing children in this way, see Wray Vamplew, 'Child Work or Child Labour? The Caddie Question in Edwardian Golf' (2008): http://www.idrottsforum.org/vamplew/vamplew080423.html (accessed 26 August 2015).

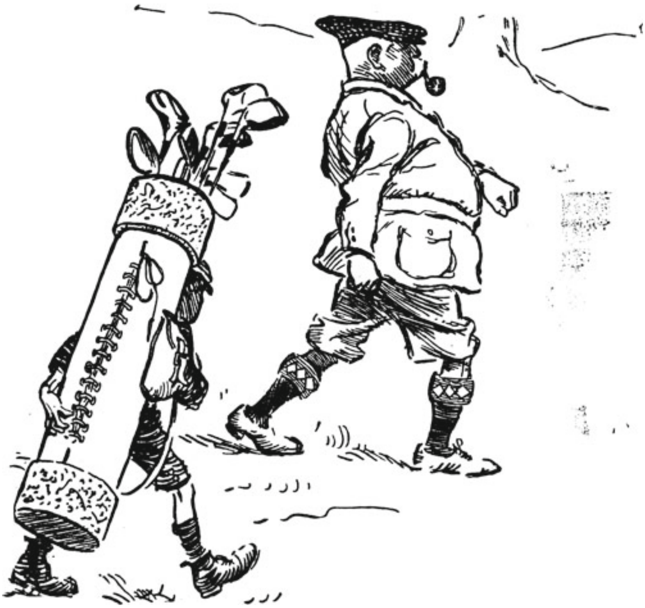

Fig. 8.2 A golfer and his young caddy walking the course, 1908. Detail from cartoon by F. H. Townsend, *Punch*, 18 March 1908, 199 (©Punch Limited)

of that space could be threatened by its alternative use as a place to play golf. Pedestrians exercising their right to cross Reigate Heath were among those who found themselves 'somewhat interfered with by golfers'.[53] The *convivencia* of local residents and golfers was one of the challenges identified by a House of Commons Select Committee on commons regulation in England and Wales in 1913, though the committee was sanguine in its conclusion that 'There is no reason why the use of commons for golf or other games should not be permitted under regulation schemes containing proper safeguards of the commoners' rights.'[54]

Golfers, of course, saw the matter from the other perspective: that non-players presented an obstruction to the game. The course at Blackheath was one of those laid out on a common, with attendant problems, as recorded in the *Golfers' Year-Book*: 'The number of people who frequent the common interferes with the play, but by careful observation of the regulations laid down friction and trouble may be avoided.'[55] People getting in the way of play provided an evergreen topic for *Punch* cartoons: a stern lady walks across the course in hat and cloak rebuking young golfers with the words, 'The whole world wasn't made for golf, sir'; golfers get mixed up in crowds of picnickers and day-trippers amid the sand dunes; and walkers enjoying a coastal path find themselves bombarded with a fusillade of golf balls.[56] As John Lowerson observed, 'the hazards of flying golf balls were generally added to the prospect of a country walk in many areas'.[57] Golf could have an impact on the experience of walking, even for those who did not play the game.

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[53] *Report from the Select Committee on Commons (Inclosure* [*sic*] *and Regulation)* (London, 1913), 54.

[54] Ibid., xiii.

Golfing Landscapes

The image of a mêlée of people, all taking advantage of the land for their disparate purposes, is a reminder of the challenge of transforming a piece of ground into something that was recognizably a golf course. The bare components of a 'ground for golf' were merely incidental features in a landscape: a marker for the teeing area, where players formed mounds of sand to support the ball, and some sort of flagstick to identify the hole. In the early days of greenkeeping, courses largely blended in with their surroundings, and landscaping interventions were limited. The act of walking itself contributed towards moulding land into a golf course. Willie Park, Jun., described how 'Walking over a green improves it very much, and consolidates it. It wears away the rough grass, which is replaced by an after-growth of short turf, and is more efficacious than cutting.'[58] As Hutchinson commented, courses became less wild and more inviting as they were played. He speculated that the fairways of the classic Scottish courses must once have been much narrower and more hazardous: 'Trampling by the human foot and attack by the golfer's niblick have worn away the whins which beset these links.'[59] A fashion for 'alpinization'

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[55] *Golfers' Year-Book 1905*, 240.

[56] *The Funny Side of Golf. From the Pages of Punch* (London [1909?]), 6, 51, 71, 13.

[57] John Lowerson, '"Scottish Croquet": The English Golf Boom, 1880–1914', *History Today*, 33(5) (1983), 26.

[58] Park, *Game of Golf*, 168.

[59] Horace Hutchinson, *Golf. A Complete History of the Game, together with Directions for Selection of Implements, the Rules, and a Glossary of Golf Terms* (Philadelphia, 1900), 11.

(the creation of small hillocks to add supposed interest to a course) and the habit of creating ugly, artificial-looking bunkers to remedy a deficit of natural ‘hazards’, provided some of the few pieces of distinctive visual evidence identifying the places where golf was being played.[60]

For the players themselves, meanwhile, the layout of the course imposed its own distinctive way of reading a landscape and navigating it, reconceiving a tract of land that might otherwise have had few claims to distinction. The partiality for leading players around circuits on a course made their walks more akin to the experience of perambulating around a park than walking with a single destination in mind. Routes that might be tedious in any other context acquired a logic and purpose through playing the set sequence of holes. The pattern of play was tracked on numerous plans as a series of straight lines from tee to green, offering an overview for players who had to learn to read these maps and appreciate what they conveyed about the course, helping them to decide whether or not they might like to play it, and indeed how they might go about doing so. Sometimes criss-crossing and doubling back on themselves, the routes were alien to ways in which one would otherwise have walked in these open areas. And of course the lines on the plan were not paths as such at all: golfers found their own way between tee and green, depending on the fortunes of their and their playing partners’ shots, each playing of the game proffering slightly different approaches to each green and giving a different experience of the course layout. Only between holing out and the next tee did golfers share a clearly defined route. The schematic representations showing each shot travelling straight and true over the shortest possible distance between the two points on every hole offered an ideal, around which golfers plotted their approach shots and spread their many subtly varied walks.

Plans recording course layouts largely obliterated the topography, and other visual representations of golf courses, whether watercolours or black and white photography, generally struggled to inject interest and particularity into their views.[61] The courses made sense as defined landscapes only as they were played. Writers referred to seeing these landscapes with ‘a golfer’s eye’—something that was obviously particularly acute among the new course architects. It is evident that some settings were considered inherently more golf-like than others. Richmond Golf Club, in southern England, while renting grassland on a dairy farm near Petersham, had a hard time reconciling the game with the landscape at its disposal. The 'moist rich grass', hedges, hay and cattle apparently 'did not much "look like golf"': 'It was altogether too pastoral, too sylvan a scene.'[62] The standard in the late nineteenth century was still the coastal Scottish 'links' courses—so much so, that all courses tended to be called 'links', however far from the sea and however far removed their character from windswept sand dunes. Golf courses encouraged imaginative connections between the landscape in which one was playing and the idealized notion of what a course should be—sometimes through deliberate intervention and remodelling, but often simply by association. Passengers on the railroad from Chicago to Santa Fe were reassured that 'the long, rolling drives and mountain background' of Riverside in California's San Bernardino Valley 'give a true Scottish air'.[63]

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[60] These approaches to landscaping were roundly criticized in Mackenzie, *Golf Architecture*.

[61] Some of the more satisfying examples are the watercolour views by Harry Rountree illustrating Bernard Darwin, *The Golf Courses of the British Isles* (London, 1910).

Walking through a landscape was an aesthetic experience as well as a physical one, but the idea of a 'golfer's eye' implied distinctive standards of scenic appreciation: a novel sensibility. Conventional ideas of what made an open space beautiful were overruled by an awareness of what made a good ground for golf—something which involved not only the lie of the land, but the quality of its soil, the types of vegetation and its exposure to the wind. Mackenzie commented that 'One often hears players say that they don't care a "tinker's cuss" about their surrounding: what they want is good golf'—though he disagreed with this personally, and wanted courses to be attractive to look at as well, and to imitate 'the beauties of nature'.[64] Some golf courses did benefit from more obviously attractive features and views, and traded on these in their adverts in course directories, appealing to tourists who might come and play. Royal St David's (1894), in North Wales, for example, had plenty of scenic attractions laid on: mountains, sea, and Harlech Castle as a backdrop. But these were downplayed as entertainments irrelevant to those with a genuine love of the game. An introduction to Royal St David's insisted that, 'All this, however, does not appeal to the true golfer so much as what he calls the natural beauties of the course.' Those beauties included sea grass, sand dunes, rushes and gorse.[65] Similarly, after giving a rapturous description of the attractive golfing setting at Shinnecock Hills, its views of the bays, rolling hills, and the 'purple colouring' that covered the ground in the fall, Lee broke off, seemingly embarrassed at his own raptures: 'But these things are not for the true golfer.'[66]

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[62] Hutchinson (ed.), *British Golf Links*, 279.

[63] Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, *Golf in California* (Chicago, 1900), 14. As well as comparing the Californian courses with Scottish ones, the booklet was at least as concerned to assert their qualities when compared to those on the east coast of America.

[64] Mackenzie, *Golf Architecture*, 35.

To the purist, it seemed, scenic beauty was not a necessary component for a golf course, and could even have its downsides. In an introduction to golf published in 1891 in an 'All-England' series of books about different sports, the author urged the importance of not getting distracted by looking at the scenery: 'The sea may be intensely blue and calm, or it may be lashed into wildest fury; the distant hills, possibly capped with snow, stand out majestically against the clear azure blue of the northern sky; but to the golfer these things for the time being must claim no part of his attention.' Looking at the view slowed down play and disrupted concentration on the game: 'Stopping in the midst of play to admire distant objects (and the more enchanting they are the worse are the effects produced) is about one of the worst forms of golfing.'[67] A. H. Findlay's 'Hints for Golfers', included in an American guide to golf from the 1890s, insisted on the importance of concentrating on the game and not getting distracted. 'Do not stop the game for the sake of admiring the surrounding scenery', Findlay advised; 'You can do that afterwards.'[68]

Golfing landscapes, then, were rated in terms of their 'sport', much as hunters assessed a landscape from the point of view of the rewards it promised for their pursuit.[69] Sometimes the sporting and the aesthetic combined: Romford Golf Club was proud that the rich undulating turf of its parkland was 'good alike from a golfer's or an artist's point of view'.[70] But many golf courses were not much to look at: they acquired a value only through being played. The description of the nine-hole course at Phoenix, Arizona in 1900 could offer only this prospect to the potential visitor: 'very flat with smooth dirt greens'.[71] The early course in Singapore (1891) was characterized as flat, so that the 'links appear rather uninteresting'.[72] Even the storied St Andrews might seem dull to an 'uninitiated looker-on': 'There does not seem to be anything very stimulating in grinding round a barren stretch of ground', admitted a reporter for *The Times*.[73]

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[65] Hutchinson (ed.), *British Golf Links*, 155.

[66] Lee, *Golf in America*, 38.

[67] Linskill, *Golf*, 32–3.

[68] Findlay, *Wright and Ditson's Guide*, 59.

[69] Some of the early golf clubs in the US actually overlapped with hunt clubs: see Kirsch, *Golf in America*, 25.

[70] Hutchinson (ed.), *British Golf Links*, 285.

[71] Josiah Newman, *The Official Golf Guide for 1900* (Garden City, 1900), 50.

In the absence of—or sometimes in spite of—scenic attractions, directories and golfers' yearbooks emphasized the quality of greenkeeping, the designer or architect responsible for the layout, and the length of time a course had been established as factors which offered players the information necessary to decide whether they might want to play a given course on the basis of its sporting merits. Particular holes, and some of the features on many courses, began to acquire names: this was a way of offering interest and was also an attempt to impose some distinction over what were often rather featureless landscapes, lacking obvious landmarks to attract and guide a visitor. But, while some golf courses attempted to create virtues for otherwise undistinguished, unattractive landscapes, others traded off their location, and golfers were in practice far from immune to the aesthetic attractions of the setting for their sport. Gazetteers often referred to scenic beauty as an enhancement of the golfing experience. Members tended to base themselves at a club which was geographically convenient, but golf soon established itself as part of the tourist industry, and visitors might well be drawn to a particular course because of the attractions of its setting, rather than the quality of the course layout itself.

Playing golf was not necessarily entirely divorced from the aesthetic sensibilities that might influence ramblers, hikers, or those simply going for a stroll. Yet the relationship between the golfer and the landscape of the course did have distinctive elements. The layout of holes determined the general route to be walked, always in a set sequence, regimenting the walker's overall progress across the site, however much wayward shots might introduce the odd diversion along the way. The routes typically followed circuits, justified by the logic of the layout, rather than plotting a walk between landmarks or with the primary goal of reaching a particular location. Moreover, golf courses challenged ways of seeing landscapes, educating players to understand topographies through a particular prism: to see with a 'golfer's eye' and to appreciate landscape not for its scenic or even its economic merits, but for how it could be played, and the tests it presented for the golfer.

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[72] *Nisbet's Golf Year-Book*, ed. John Low (London, 1910), 397.

[73] 'Medal Day at St Andrews', *The Times*, 5 October 1874.

CONCLUSION

The experience of playing golf in the late nineteenth century was also an experience of walking. Indeed it was difficult to imagine any other approach to moving around the course. In a time-travelling novel from 1892, the hero finds himself playing golf in the year 2000. Caddies have been replaced by trolleys, which automatically trail after the players at a respectful distance. But the players themselves still walk.[74] The use of transportation around a golf course remained, for a long time, highly exceptional. There are examples of motorized vehicles being used on the course from the 1930s, but it was not until the 1950s that golf carts were being produced and marketed commercially, generally as a means of improving mobility for players with physical disabilities.[75] In 1932, one golfer in California was reported to have driven 2,000 miles on the course in a specially-built electric car, but only because he was 'unable to walk the full eighteen holes'.[76] While golf was so often praised for its provision of healthful exercise through walking, there was no call to remove the need to walk, except in cases where players were too physically incapacitated to do so.[77]

Golf provided the purpose for walks that might otherwise have seemed lacking in meaning and direction. Indeed, without golf, many of these walks would not have been taken at all. This was not walking as practical necessity, tracking a route from A to B, nor was it in any straightforward way a further iteration of Romantic engagements with Nature. It seems that, in this period, it was also rarely in the tradition of walking as a method of solitary contemplation or of testing one's physical endurance.[78] Instead, golf provided a new focus for walking as a sociable leisure activity. While they walked around the artificial circuits of the course, through a landscape re-imagined as teeing grounds, fairways, hazards and greens, golfers worried about their swing and their score, bet on the outcome, gossiped and networked, sometimes even flirted. They also began to absorb and respond to new aesthetics and understandings of what a green space was and what it was for.

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[74] J. A. C. K., *Golf in the Year 2000 or What We Are Coming To* (London, 1892), 60–2, 83. The novel's characters ponder a world still further in the future, suggesting that golf will not have been perfected 'until you have a machine for walking round the green and swinging the club, while you sit here and manage it'.

[75] On the uptake of carts in the USA, see Kirsch, *Golf in America*, 133–5, which also quotes a comment from *Golf* magazine in 1962: 'the golf car [*sic*] has exploded the once common belief that Americans played golf for exercise. It isn't the exercise they enjoy, it's the golf.' (135).

[76] *Popular Mechanics*, 57(5) (May 1932), 801.

[77] There are references to golf being offered solely as a putting game in sanatoria, e.g. William Harvey, 'Recreation in the Tuberculosis Sanatorium', *British Journal of Tuberculosis*, 24(1) (1930), 13.

[78] cf. later literature that developed the contemplative playing of golf as a theme, e.g. Michael Murphy, *Golf in the Kingdom* (Harmondsworth, 1971).

By the early years of the twentieth century, the proliferation of golf courses in many countries had made them a factor in the creation of a new quasi-rural, but actually inherently suburban environment, marking a fresh chapter in the story of the appropriation of common lands and the shift away from the association of open green space with agriculture. The early courses took landscapes as they found them and tried to interpret them anew as places to play golf. By the early twentieth century however, the making of golf courses was becoming more than simply reinterpretation—a new way to appreciate a landscape by walking through it with a particular purpose. Increasingly, golf architects were prepared to take the landscape in hand and reshape it in significant ways, unlocking a potential for golf which did not necessarily conform to that older ideal of having a course as much like a Scottish links as possible. As the rival conception of the inland, parkland course developed, golfers had different kinds of landscapes to experience and to pit themselves against. Some of these functioned more effectively than the old courses as spectacle—as landscapes that the non-golfer, the trespasser, or the viewer from the road could appreciate, value and enjoy. But the key to understanding those landscapes, too, was meant to lie in that central experience of walking: following the ball, however much it might diverge from that ideal flight path as marked out on the plan of the course.

CHAPTER 9

Urban Space and Travel on the Jewish Sabbath in the Nineteenth Century

Barry L. Stiefel

For Jews who observe Jewish law, called halacha (הכלה),[1] walking (see Fig. 9.1) continues as the only legitimate means of locomotion on the Sabbath, or Shabbat (שבת), as well as major festivals, with exceptions only being made in cases of life-threatening emergencies. The Jewish Sabbath lasts from the beginning of Friday sunset until the appearance of three stars on Saturday evening, spanning a period of approximately 25 hours. Today, only a minority of Jews observe this lifestyle. In the twenty-first century it requires going without a car, bus, plane, or train. Adherents believe that they have been commanded by God *not* to use these modes of transportation on these select days, in doing so refraining from the Jewish definition of 'work' derived from the Bible, specifically the Fourth Commandment.[2]

A significant amount of walking was of course an unavoidable feature of most adult lifestyles prior to the nineteenth century, regardless of whether they were Jew or Gentile. The wealthy and politically powerful that routinely used beasts of burden as means of transport prior to this period were a numerical minority. Even for the observant-Jewish upper crust, however, Jewish law, which stems from the Pentateuch and Talmud, had important implications for horses and other domesticated animals because they were deemed as needing their rest as well. But what about electricity,

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[1] This includes Orthodox Jews as well as others, such as Conservative and 'traditional'.

[2] Walking is permitted on the traditional Jewish Sabbath, though there are many activities that are prohibited (39 in total). Examples to be discussed here include carrying an object (between private and public domains), and extinguishing or kindling a fire.

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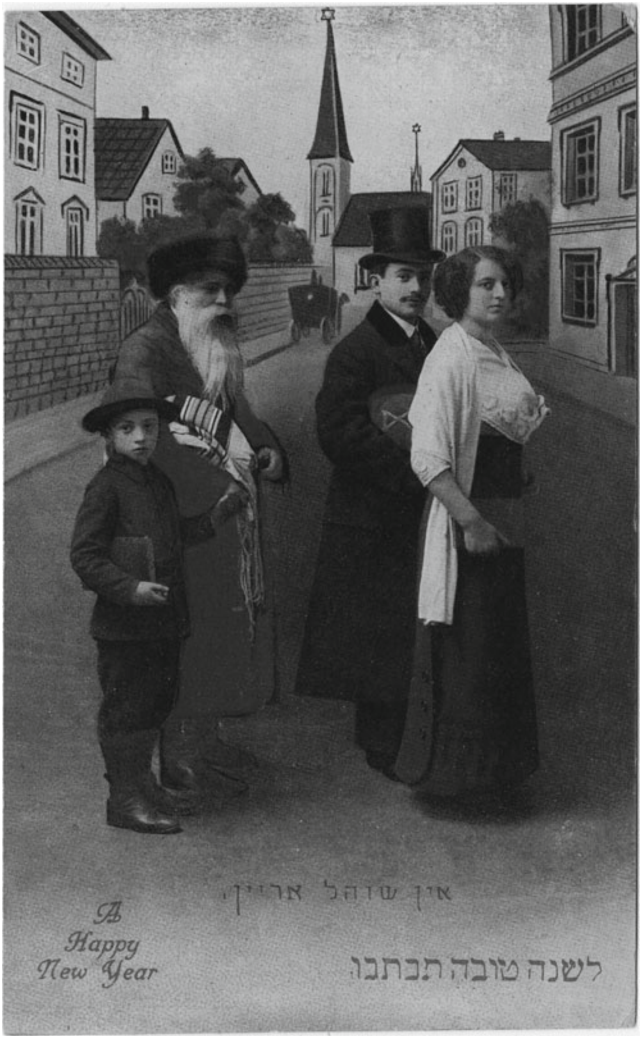
אין שוהל אריין!
A Happy New Year
לשנה טובה תכתבו

Fig. 9.1 Postcard from *c.*1900 depicting a Jewish family walking (probably to a synagogue) on the Jewish New Year (reproduced by courtesy of the William A. Rosenthall Collection, Special Collections, College of Charleston Library)

steam power, and the internal combustion engines developed during the nineteenth century? Was use of non-living inventions too prohibited on the Sabbath? By assessing technological innovations in transportation and movement together with Jewish religious responses to these inventions, we can better understand the *Weltanschauung* in which urban space and travel evolved on the Sabbath for halachic-observant Jews. Moreover, we can gain an improved appreciation of why halachic-observing Jews today continue to choose to walk, while other Jews prefer to take some form of transportation.

Prior to the First World War, innovations such as trams, underground railways, bicycles, lifts/elevators, cars and even aeroplanes raised socio-religious issues that the early Jewish sages (*c*.200 CE) could not have anticipated. Additionally, at this date Judaism was in its greatest state of internal transition in more than a thousand years, with liberal Reform Judaism attempting to define its identity against traditional Orthodoxy. Reform Judaism came to view the message of the Bible and the Talmud as needing to reflect contemporary times and circumstances, and not as a law without change. Today, most Reform and non-affiliated Jews travel on Saturday by any means convenient to them, in contrast to halachic-observing Jews who walk. Yet, within Orthodox Judaism, travel in a lift/elevator—an invention from around 1850 that revolutionized cities—is permitted on the Sabbath. How was it that this exception came to be made?

Changes to public and Jewish urban spaces during the nineteenth century had a profound impact on Jewish mobility. First, the medieval Jewish ghetto was brought to an end across much of Europe by Napoleonic reforms and the revolutions of 1848. No longer were Jews legally required to reside within an assigned district, which was often easily walkable. Second, military and urban infrastructural developments, such as the removal of city walls, the installation of electrical power and communication lines, elevated train tracks, and public parks and green spaces, created new experiences for Jews walking in urban areas. This was in addition to the nocturnal illumination that spread from the mid-nineteenth century on by gas and (later) incandescent lightbulb lamps. For halachic-observing Jews, urban walking on the eve of the Great War was quite distinct from that of their grandparents a century earlier.

Permissibility of Activities on the Sabbath

Walking on the Sabbath was a very important activity for nineteenth-century Jews, especially for travelling between home and synagogue for worship. Indeed, nineteenth-century Jewish prayer books gave detailed instructions to Jews on the proper way to walk on the Sabbath: 'And those who do not recite their prayers at home go to the Synagogue, walk there *briskly*, and return home slowly; expressive of their readiness to serve God, and reluctance in leaving his service.'[3]

While walking to synagogue, nineteenth-century Jews could not escape observing changes in their environment, especially in relation to movement. These changes gave rise to questions for religious authorities to consider regarding the permissibility of new vehicles on the Sabbath. According to Jewish law there are 39 categories of prohibitions, all of which come from the Jewish interpretation of the Pentateuch. Examples include carrying objects between indoors and outdoors (across domains), burning, and building. These prohibitions stem from the activities needed to construct the Israelite Tabernacle, which form the basis for the definition of 'work' in Jewish law.[4] The biblical definition of work was adjusted over time by rabbis as new technologies developed. Thus, for example, electricity came to be considered a type of fire in Jewish law, which led to restrictions on its use on the Sabbath due to its connotation of 'burning'. (If a light is already on at the onset of the Sabbath it may be left on. A fire, or light, may only be extinguished in the event of an emergency. The issue is proactive use on the Sabbath, such as turning a light on or off.)

Controversies concerning the way worshippers attended synagogue, and returned home again, were not unique to the nineteenth century. In eighteenth-century Willemstad, Curaçao, a significant dispute occurred regarding Jews who crossed the harbour from the Otrabanda district, in rowing boats often manned by African slaves, in order to attend the Mikve Israel (Hope of Israel) synagogue located in the Punda district. According to their rabbi, the devout Jews from Otrabanda were committing a great sin in coming to synagogue, transgressing the Sabbath by inappropriate travel and compelling their slaves to work in a prohibited manner, since slaves were also entitled to a day of rest. Resolution of the problem came with the erection, in 1746, of Neve Shalom (Abode of Peace), a satellite synagogue in the Otrabanda.[5]

[3] Levy Alexander, *Alexander's Hebrew Ritual: A Doctrinal Explanation of the Whole Ceremonial Law, Oral and Traditional, of the Jewish Community in England and Foreign Parts* (London, 1819), 15 (emphasis in original).

[4] See Aryeh Kaplan, *Sabbath: Day of Eternity* (New York, 1982).

[5] Mordehai Arbell, *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish–Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas* (Jerusalem, 2002), 153.

Loopholes in Jewish law pertaining to Sabbath observance developed over time, and some of these were closely related to technological advances. One example is 'Shabbat lamps', which feature movable parts that block or expose the light that is being emitted without their users having to switch the power on or off.[6] *Shabbat goy* (גוי של שבת), non-Jews hired before the Sabbath to conduct certain prohibited activities, were a common phenomenon in middle- and upper-class Jewish circles during this period, and are still sometimes used today.[7] The use of a *Shabbat goy* is not considered a Sabbath violation because the person carries out the prohibited acts under their own volition, and non-Jews are not bound to Jewish law. Nineteenth-century non-Jews interested in the curiosities of Judaism also observed other habits that they considered peculiar:

> No horse or carriage may be had out, and you will see none at the doors of the synagogue, though there are worshippers inside who could lend money enough to save a kingdom from bankruptcy. No fire is kindled, no candle is lighted throughout their habitations on the Sabbath day. Of course, in a climate like ours [England] the Jew cannot do without fire and candle, and the wealthy will always take care to have at least one Gentile servant to do for them what they consider unlawful to do for themselves. But even the poorest of the race would on no consideration transgress the law.[8]

The Hebrew word *goy* (גוי) is analogous to the Greek word *xeno* (ξένος), the 'other'. The concept of a *Shabbat goy* is perhaps unique to Judaism. Indeed, some Protestant denominations found the assistance tendered by the *xeno* who did not observe the Christian Sabbath on Sunday to be abhorrent. As one Wesleyan Methodist minister, the Reverend Peter McOwan (1795–1870), complained,

> Many of the cab and omnibus owners in London are said to be Jews; and it is an appalling consideration, that professing Christians should, by hiring their vehicles on the Lord's-day, teach – yea! bribe – them to treat Christianity as an uninfluential fable. Should one of their drivers at any time be seized with compunction, and express a wish to attend a place of worship, it may be

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[6] Shabbat clocks and Shabbat lamps are twentieth-century inventions. Also see Jeffrey S. Gurock, *Orthodox Jews in America* (Bloomington, 2009), 3–4.

[7] Ronald L. Eisenberg, *The 613 Mitzvot: A Contemporary Guide to the Commandments of Judaism* (Rockville, 2005), 317.

[8] 'The Jews' Sabbath in London', *Christian Witness and Congregational Magazine*, 3(2) (February 1867), 256.

> imagined with what unmeasured scorn the request would be rejected. How can we profess to love God or our neighbour? – how can we stand clear of the blood of these men's souls, whether Jews or Gentiles, unless we determine that, as far as we are concerned, their Sunday driving shall cease; and that we will no more cast a stumbling-block in their way, nor contribute to rob them of those opportunities of grace, on the right use of which their salvation is suspended?[9]

Therefore, while Jews could engage Gentiles to assist them with certain prohibited tasks on the Sabbath, the inverted situation was not necessarily the case—Jews helping Christians on Sunday. In some instances stricter Christians felt that a *xeno* assistant on the Sabbath was inappropriate.

Besides innovations in horizontal movement, significant advancements in vertical travel, in lieu of walking many flights of stairs, were made during the nineteenth century in the form of the lift/elevator, developed by Elisha Otis (1811–1861) *c.*1853. Tall buildings and skyscrapers caused logistical challenges to walking in this respect, which also necessitated the potential need for vertical walking. Notably, early lifts were non-electric, driven by a variety of different sources, such as steam power or hydraulics (though steam power often required the use of a boiler to generate steam). During this period some non-electric lifts were permitted under Jewish law.[10] For example, an 1896 advertisement in *The American Hebrew*, for the United States Hotel in Atlantic City, New Jersey, flaunted its 'new Hydraulic Elevator to street level' within the massive four-storey building.[11] Above this announcement, on the same page, is another advertisement for M. Zimmerman's kosher meats on East Houston Street, New York. The intended audience is halachic-observing Jews. The use of electricity in lifts after the 1880s posed new challenges, which were gradually met in various ways. The rabbis determined that Jewish riders could not operate electric lifts on the Sabbath because this would involve a direct use of electricity, but that they could passively 'go along for the ride' in the device. In modern-day halachic-minded buildings there is a lift with a ‘Sabbath setting’, which was developed in the mid-twentieth century. This is activated on Friday afternoon to stop the lift at pre-programmed floors (usually every one). Otherwise, the Jewish rider is at the mercy of choices made by non-Jews, because the Sabbath observer is not permitted to ask another during the Sabbath, Jewish or not, to commit a transgression on their behalf (though arrangements could be made with a *Shabbat goy* before the Sabbath).[12]

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[9] Peter McOwan, 'Several Prevailing Forms of Sabbath Desecration Exposed', in *The Christian Sabbath: Considered in its Various Aspects by Ministers of Different Denominations* (Edinburgh, 1850), 142–75, at 164.

[10] Michael Broyde and Howard Jachter, 'The Use of Elevators and Escalators on Shabbat and Yom Tov', *Journal of Halacha and Contemporary Society*, 29 (1995), 5–29.

[11] 'United States Hotel, Atlantic City, N.J.', *American Hebrew*, 59(4) (29 May 1896), 91; William H. Sokolic and Robert E. Ruffolo, *Atlantic City Revisited* (Charleston, 2006), 12.

The precursor of escalators, first called ‘revolving stairs’ by its inventor, Nathan Ames, made an appearance in 1859, though its contemporary application of moving large numbers of people vertically did not become successful until 1896, first at New York City’s Coney Island.[13] Due to its simpler design, in comparison to the lift, there have not been any halachic issues concerning escalators for Jewish use on the Sabbath, assuming that they are already activated prior to the Sabbath’s beginning on Friday evening.[14] Escalators are also dynamically different than lifts because one can walk and be transported vertically at the same time, instead of only standing still and allowing the vehicle of conveyance to conduct all of the work.

If those wanting to travel through vertical spaces of the modern city used lifts or ‘revolving stairs’, those seeking rapid movement across the horizontal cityscape in the later nineteenth century often turned to trams, whether running at street level or underground.[15] Both lifts and trams were technologies developed during the nineteenth century that profoundly affected the way people moved through cities, in many cases replacing travel by foot. The drawback of electric trams is that while fares can be purchased in advance, so that Jewish Sabbath observers need not worry about handling money (another prohibition), modern devices used to accept the pre-purchased tickets are electronic (in the past they were not), as indeed is the device that is triggered to allow access onto the vehicle. Purposely developed Sabbath-friendly trams and other modes of transportation have not yet been devised. Nonetheless, for those who observe the Jewish Sabbath, taking account of these issues is part of a complicated belief system that holds that the world will be made holier by following God’s commandments, established many generations ago.

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[12] Alan Dundes, *The Shabbat Elevator and Other Sabbath Subterfuges: An Unorthodox Essay on Circumventing Custom and Jewish Character* (Lanham, 2002), 31–7.

[13] John H. Lienhard, *Inventing Modern: Growing Up with X-Rays, Skyscrapers, and Tailfins* (New York, 2003), 97.

[14] Broyde and Jachter, ‘The Use of Elevators’, 5–29.

[15] Amiel, *Little Bits of Judaism* (Baltimore, 1907), 105–6.

Rabbinical Opinions on Sabbath Walking and Vernacular Practice

The prescriptions of Jewish law sometimes differ from actual practice when it comes to lay halachic-observing Jews, even if they intend to be sincere followers of Jewish law. The specific reasons for this are manifold, but come down to social and technological changes. Take, for example, this November 1845 account from Corfu, reported in *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, a newspaper published in Philadelphia with a wide circulation in the Jewish anglophone world:

> The name of their Chief Rabbi is Ribas; he is a native of Gibraltar, and prides himself on being an Englishman. He belongs to the old school, which observes the law most strictly. He would forbid the carrying [of] umbrellas on the Sabbath, on the ground of the fourth commandment being violated thereby. But however rigorously the Jews of Corfu keep the Sabbath in other respects, they are not prepared to go to such a length in its observance.[16]

Fashion as status symbol, in addition to desire for a more pleasant stroll, were occasionally issues of contention as technologies came to affect the way people walked—and even more so for the Jewish bourgeois when mass-produced umbrellas proliferated after mid-century.

In other instances Jewish households could not financially afford to fully observe the Sabbath. To take an entire day off from business, especially Saturday, a traditional market day in many cities and towns, was difficult for those trying to make a living, and especially for immigrants. Between 1880 and 1924, approximately 2.5 million Jews came to the United States from Central and Eastern Europe, in search of new economic opportunities as well as to escape oppression.[17] Many immigrants were poor, and for these people a roof over their heads and food on the table often took priority over religious observance. Indeed, for Jewish immigrants generally—whether well off or poor—taking such an important trading day as Saturday off from working was difficult in a largely Christian country, especially considering that many nineteenth-century Jews were involved in one way or another with the retail and manufacturing sectors of the economy in occupations such as those of pedlars, shopkeepers and factory workers. Breadwinners, who were usually the male heads of household, had to work. Jewish families also desired to improve their economic standing, as described in the *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, where it was recalled how

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[16] L' Univers Israelite, 'The Jews of Corfu', *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, 3(8) (November 1845).

[17] Simon Kuznets, E. Glen Weyl and Stephanie Lo, *Jewish Economies: Development and Migration in America and Beyond*, 2 vols. (New Brunswick, 2012), II, 226.

> every moment was occupied in seeking after treasure … [and] in vain did their anxious mother send [the children] to the house of God on Sabbaths and holy days; they saw their father totally neglect the duties which they were taught were essential to the correct observance of those days; they saw him transact his business as usual, they saw him indulge in a cigar, they saw him ride in an omnibus, and start on various journeys to neighbouring cities. Their mother taught them from their earliest infancy to join her in prayers to God morning and evening, but they saw not their father at these gatherings.[18]

The omnibus the father rode may have been a necessary form of transportation, despite the additional Sabbath violation, as nineteenth-century cities mushroomed in size and distances between points of importance exceeded what was walkable within a reasonable time. Horse-drawn omnibuses first appeared in London in 1828. They soon became popular and spread to other cities, most notably New York and Paris. Modifications were also made to place the omnibus on rails, most significantly embedding the rails within the road—an important step in the development of urban rail transit—in order not to hinder other forms of transportation and pedestrians.[19]

As mentioned previously, during the nineteenth century Judaism was in a theological state of flux due to the emergency of the liberal Reform movement, which was a product of the Jewish Enlightenment, or *Haskalah* (1770–1880). The topic of the permissibility of new technologies and modes of transportation on the Sabbath was often a subject of debate, as part of the ever-expanding rift between reformers and traditionalists. Proponents of Reform Judaism, such as Isaac Mayer Wise (American, 1819–1900) and Abraham Geiger (German, 1810–1874) had first sought to 'modernize' the religion from within until opposition from the Orthodoxy made this unfeasible; instead, the reformers ended up founding their own branch of Judaism. Both Wise and Geiger produced periodicals, *The American Israelite* (1854–present) and the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer Juedische Theologie* (1835–9) to promote their theologies. However, Wise and Geiger should not be charged with initiating their followers to ride modern modes of transportation, whether lift or tram, in lieu of walking per se. By the 1880s, 'when thousands were using streetcars [trams] on Shabbat'[20] a rabbinic decree justifying the use for Reform Jews was effectively meaningless, so great was the number. The Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, the pivotal document in nineteenth-century American Reform Judaism, states that 'We hold that the modern discoveries of scientific researches in the domain of nature and history are not antagonistic to the doctrines of Judaism, the Bible reflecting the primitive ideas of its own age.'[21]

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[18] 'Readings for the Old', *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, 9(8) (November 1851).

[19] Luc-Normand Tellier, *Urban World History: An Economic and Geographical Perspective* (Québec, 2009), 539.

Leaders of Jewish Orthodoxy did their best to stem the tide, to keep their flocks observant of tradition through reducing as much as possible what they considered Sabbath desecration. Take for instance the use of trams in antebellum New Orleans:

> A lady, very prominent and wealthy, who, from being a hater of everything Jewish or that bore that stamp, had through his [Rabbi Bernard Illowy's] sermons and his efforts become a very pious mother in Israel, who kept a strictly kosher house, observed the Sabbath in most Orthodox fashion, lights, etc. asked my father [Rabbi Illowy] at the beginning of the hot season (which sets in early in the South) whether, as she lived at a great distance from the synagogue and could not walk it in the summer months, she should remain away for that period or whether she might ride thereto on the street car. He advised her that she should attend the synagogue, that she could ride thereto in the street car, but must not make any visits after service – just ride to the synagogue and return again to her home as soon as the services were over. Though ridiculed for this by many of her friends, she observed the condition most faithfully. The grounds for the permission are not set down in writing, but besides the grounds which will suggest themselves to the Talmid Chacham [scholar of Jewish law], there was the other and the principal reason, which my father mentioned to me, that she

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[20] Walter Jacob (ed.), *American Reform Responsa: Collected Responsa of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1889–1983* (New York, 1983), xv.

[21] The Pittsburgh Platform is reprinted in William A. Link and Susannah J. Link (eds), *The Gilded Age and Progressive Era: A Documentary Reader* (Malden, 2012), 169–71.

> was so recent a Baalat Tshuvah [born again] that he did not want her to remain away from his sermons, from his admonitions for so long a period. It is also to be borne in mind that it was not necessary at that time to pay the fare in money, it could be paid in tickets which could be purchased at any time. Up to the time of the installation of electricity as a motive power for street railways, all street lines sold tickets, usually in packages of twenty-five for one dollar.[22]

While we are not given the identity or the precise date at which the 'very prominent and wealthy' lady of New Orleans sought to ride the tram on the Sabbath, we do know that Bernard Illowy (1814–1871) served as rabbi of Shaarei Chesed (Gates of Mercy) between 1861 and 1865, overlapping the Civil War years. Shaarei Chesed was located on Rampart Street, between St Louis and Conti streets, west of the French Quarter.[23] The handling of money directly, such as for purposes of purchasing anything was then (as it is now) a Sabbath prohibition; hence the observation that the tickets could have been purchased in advance. Nonetheless, the reason given for permitting this lady to ride the tram—'that he did not want her to remain away from his sermons, from his admonitions for so long a period'—is unusual. That the woman described here is a Baalat Tshuvah is significant. A Baalat Tshuvah is a Jew who has returned to halachic-observing practices—in other words one who has repented and returned to God (it is perhaps most analogous to being 'born-again' as a Christian). It seems that in these circumstances Rabbi Illowy deemed it more important for her to continue (re)familiarizing herself with the rest of Orthodox Jewish practices than violating this one Sabbath prohibition.

Illowy was one of the leading advocates of Jewish Orthodoxy in nineteenth-century America yet, as this example illustrates, he was at times a moderate when it came to ritual observance. To understand this we must appreciate his position on opposing the nascent, yet popular, Reform movement. Reform Judaism had simultaneously emerged in Central European and American cities during the 1810s and 1820s, and was now becoming common despite its lack of defined identity.[24] Prior to the 1870s, when the gulf between Reform and Orthodox Judaism was not yet fully irreparable, there was a grey area concerning the permitted use of the tram. Furthermore, the 'very prominent and wealthy' New Orleans lady was going against the tide by choosing Orthodoxy over Reform. Another reason why Illowy could chose leniency was his desire to encourage her observance of Jewish Orthodoxy in other facets of her life. Therefore, both Reform and Orthodox modes of Judaism were attempting to grapple with the social and technological changes affecting Jews, each in their own way with respect to modern modes of transportation on the Sabbath and walking.

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[22] See Bernard Illowy and Henry Illoway, *The Wars of the Lord / Sefer Milchamot Elokim: Being the Controversial Letters and the Casuistic Decisions of the Late Rabbi Bernard Illowy, with a Short History of his Life and Activities by his Son Henry Illoway* (Berlin, 1914), biography (no page numbers).

[23] Louis C. Hennick and Elbridge Harper Charlton, *The Streetcars of New Orleans* (Gretna, LA, 1965), 5.

A counter-example, again illustrating the lack of a clear distinction between Reform and Orthodox approaches to the use of nineteenth-century modes of transportation on the Sabbath, is that of the prominent Reform rabbi, Gustav Gottheil (1827–1903). He insisted on walking on the Sabbath, such as going to synagogue, regarding it as being the proper means of moving between places on the day of rest.[25] During the 1860s, Rabbi Gottheil served the Manchester Congregation of (Reform) British Jews in England; he later transferred to New York's Temple Emanu-El (God is with Us) in 1873. Gottheil did not impose his view of Sabbath walking (or abstinence from using modern transportation) on his congregations. By the late nineteenth century carriages, among other forms of transport, appear to have been common among the congregants in New York, though this had not always been so. Two decades earlier, in 1855, an eyewitness report by 'Hayim' in *The* [*American*] *Israelite* declared that 'The old story that the Israelites ride to the synagogue in their carriages, I did not see verified, as there was none bringing or taking away the worshippers, it seems they all went on nature's pedestals.'[26] The identity of Hayim is a mystery, and it is impossible to tell whether he was a supporter of Orthodox or Reform Jewish observance. Yet it remains significant in any case that Isaac Mayer Wise, the newspaper's editor, deemed it worthwhile to publish his report.

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[24] Within the United States, Reform Judaism solidified in 1885 with the Pittsburgh Platform. From the conference held in Pittsburgh, Reform Judaism was de-ritualized and decentralized, which associated the movements' actions as a reformation, but not necessarily one that was unified in all aspects since there was no central authoritative figurehead or administration: Gurock, *Orthodox Jews*, 82–3, 123.

[25] Hasia R. Diner, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820–1880* (Baltimore, 1992), 131.

[26] Hayim, 'A Visit to the Reformers', *The Israelite*, 5 January 1855, 206. From 1854 to 1874 the newspaper was known as *The Israelite*, before changing its name to *The American Israelite*.

Evolving Urban Form and Responses of Walking Jews Through Eruvin

During the nineteenth century urban form and fabric changed significantly. In particular, advances in military technology rendered stone walls obsolete for defensive purposes.[27] Napoleon had demonstrated this in his conquest of continental Europe, his armies breaking down the walls of cities—and also of Jewish ghettos. By rendering the city walls of Europe obsolete, of course, such walls everywhere were made redundant. Gradually, they were taken down to permit easier urban expansion. Oddly enough, the tearing down of walls created a hardship for halachic-observing Jews seeking to carry things on the Sabbath within their communities. Previously, many enclosed Jewish quarters had been semi-private within city and ghetto walls, but 'carrying' outside in the public domain was another activity prohibited on the Sabbath.

To allow people to carry things between home and synagogue on the Sabbath the concept of *eruv* (עירוב, translated from Hebrew as 'mixture') was developed in antiquity. This rendered demarked space between buildings semi-private in order to create a zone where carrying could take place without violating the Sabbath. Eruvin (plural) could be symbolically demarcated in addition to being physical spaces. They are documented in ancient Jewish texts, such as the Talmud, where they are attributed to King Solomon.[28] During the nineteenth century, however, they gained new significance with the removal of enclosing fortifications and ghetto walls. Ironically, nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries took an interest in the eruv since they desired to study Jews for purposes of converting them to Christianity. Their accounts are informative regarding the nineteenth-century conceptualization of eruvin:

> In conversation with ourselves the Jews attached great importance to the observance of this custom. Some of them termed it 'hiring the city', and

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[27] Peter Marcuse, 'Walls of Fear and Walls of Support', in Nan Ellin and Edward J. Blakely (eds), *Architecture of Fear* (New York, 1997), 101–12.

[28] *Talmud*, Eruvin 21b.

> said that it was done in connection with the laws of Eruv, for Sabbath observances; for that when the city is thus hired as a whole – all within its walls is considered by their law to have become as one house – within which they are then free to pass on the Sabbath from dwelling to dwelling, even though bearing slight burdens, without infringing any of the laws for keeping the holy Sabbath-day. It must be remembered that in Jerusalem the term house does not mean, as with us, a number of rooms all covered by one roof. Every house there is a cluster of rooms, each having its own roof, but all enclosed within a common wall or court; and that in passing from one to the other, it is necessary to go into the open air. Thus, by legal definition of Eruv, Jerusalem, being surrounded by a wall, is regarded as one habitation or house.[29]

The example of Jerusalem is striking when we consider in what other ways the city lagged behind in technological developments even as late as 1914. In that year, Jerusalem had 'no water system, no tram, no electric light, not even gas—not anything that is modern'.[30] Jewish urban space, as delineated by the eruv, transcended time by placing tradition on top of the palimpsest of the city fabric.

Eruvin do not necessarily need to be masonry walls, but can be any enclosing structure or barrier around a neighbourhood that meets the Jewish legal specifications. Within urban areas eruvin can even be symbolic walls, such as those delineated with cables or wire and poles—an arrangement that became more common as cities became electrified. Outsiders commented on the perceived peculiarity of such eruvin structures, as well as the whole paradigm of Sabbath carrying within an eruv, as records from the period testify:

> It was here [Safed, Ottoman Palestine] that we first observed the עירוב, 'Eruv', a string attached from house to house across a street, or fastened upon tall poles. The *string* is intended to *represent a wall*, and thus by a ridiculous fiction the Jews are enabled to fulfil the precept of the Talmud, that no one shall carry a burden on the Sabbath-day, not even a prayer-book or a handkerchief, or a piece of money, except it be within a walled place.[31]

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[29] C. Schwartz (ed.), *The Scattered Nation; Past, Present, and Future* (London, 1868), III, 47.

[30] 'Foreign News', *Reform Advocate*, 46(7) (February 1914), 852.

[31] Andrew A. Bonar and Robert Murray M'Cheyne, *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* (Philadelphia, 1843), 57 (emphasis in original).

Other examples included New York's Lower East Side eruv, established in 1905, which was partially enclosed by an elevated rail track. Jewish legal debates over its permissibility ensued in response to the creation of this eruv, especially its use of the railway as a boundary.[32] In The Hague, again, the Jews 'constructed' their eruv using the (pre-existing) surrounding dykes and the adjacent river, which more clearly met Jewish legal criteria. It was a similar story for the Jews of Venice, whose city was enclosed by a canal system and lagoon. Yet most nineteenth-century urban Jews were not as fortunate as those in the Lower East Side, The Hague, or Venice—all of whom (to a greater or lesser extent) had structural and natural features available to serve as their eruvin boundaries. Others, such as the Jewish communities in Amsterdam (1866) and St Louis, Missouri (1894) had to purposely build structural eruvin boundaries in order to facilitate a more enjoyable Sabbath walk.[33] With an eruv, Jews in St Louis and Amsterdam, among other places, were now able to carry prayer books to synagogue, place house keys inside a pocket, move food and gifts between one house and another, or push a baby in a carriage for a leisurely stroll, without violating an important religious precept.

Jewish–Christian Disputes and the Emergence of Leisure Time Among the Bourgeois

Thus far we have several times considered Christian perspectives on Jewish Sabbath observances. But what about Jewish perceptions of the way Christians observed their Sunday Sabbath, especially in respect to walking? From the second half of the nineteenth century there emerged a small, albeit important, Jewish response to the rhetoric of America's Third Great Awakening, a period of religious revival and activism between *c*.1850 and the early twentieth century. Due to contemporary divisions between Orthodox and Reform Judaism, Jews held varying opinions about the Christian Sabbath. Some Jewish commentaries could be judgmental, just as their Christian counterparts were often condemnatory of the Jewish Sabbath and its effects. Most importantly, the mode of moving on the Sabbath, whether walking or riding in a vehicle, was the subject of scrutiny concerning the proper way of observing a day of rest. For example, take an opinion-editorial published in the Orthodox-leaning *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*:

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[32] Gurock, *Orthodox Jews*, 115. See also Yosef Gavriel Bechhofer, *The Contemporary Eruv: Eruvin in Modern Metropolitan Areas* (Jerusalem, 1998), 27–40.

[33] See the groundbreaking research of Adam Mintz, 'Halakhah in America: The History of City Eruvin, 1894–1962' (PhD thesis, New York University, 2011).

> Let us instance the daily-becoming more imminent danger in some states of a compulsory recognition of the Sunday as a universal day of rest. Does any one in his senses believe that the people of any one state would be shocked in case railroad cars, steamboats, and stages, were employed to carry wayfarers on that day? It is ridiculous to maintain the affirmation, or else why do people ride to church in their own or hired vehicles? Why are ferry boats used to carry church-goers to and fro? Why do ministers permit themselves to ride on horseback or to be conveyed in coaches, when they have an engagement to preach or to attend a funeral or a wedding? If they mean to keep a Sabbath let them do it in the Jewish fashion; that is, let them abstain from labour of all sorts; but this they will not do, it is not profitable; and consequently their clamour is to force their peculiar views of Sunday rest on the public, whether they will or not; and but for the faint-heartedness, the cowardice, the meanness of their opponents, they would not dare to lift up their head.[34]

From the Jewish perspective, what was striking was the apparent hypocrisy of Christianity regarding their Sunday Sabbath observance as not a complete cessation from work, as well as forcing non-Christians to observe Sunday blue laws. The question of whether to walk or not was also an underlining issue of the Sabbath critique. Reform rabbi Samuel Schulman (1864–1955) at New York's Temple Beth-El (House of God), who was significantly more liberal than the typical Reform rabbi, also compared the hypocrisy of Christianity's insistence that 'it is permitted for men to work on the cable cars in order that pious Christians may ride to church, while a poor Jewish butcher is not allowed peaceably to sell a pound of meat on Sunday morning to those who observe Saturday as Sabbath,' was unfair.[35]

On the far end of the Jewish spectrum—beyond the perspective of reformers such as Schulman—there were radicals who, at least by the turn of the twentieth century, were prepared to go so far as to propose that the Jewish Sabbath should be changed from Saturday to Sunday:

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[34] 'The United States not a Christian State', *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, 7(11) (February 1850).

[35] Samuel Schulman, 'Jewish View of the Sunday Question', *New York Times*, 2 December 1901.

> From the year one until the invention of the steam engine walking or animal locomotion was the mode of journeying from place to place. From the invention of the engine until now men have journeyed in trains, and walking and riding are not obsolete. So with the Jew. To the present day his Sabbath has been Saturday. If he takes Sunday as the holy day will the Jewish religion vanish? Might does not make right, but ofttimes [*sic*] if the minority accede to the majority, it is for the best.[36]

Sunday Sabbath observance began among Reform Jews during the mid-nineteenth century with Rabbi Samuel Holdheim in Berlin. It was practised only by a minority of Reform Jews, but had a significant following in Europe and North America.[37] The rationale was that if the working week consisted of six days (the five-day working week, with Saturday and Sunday off, had not yet become common), with only Sunday kept free by the majority of society, then utilizing Sunday for Jewish Sabbath worship was better than nothing at all. Some Protestant denominations were also debating whether or not the Sabbath should revert back to Saturday. The best known of these groups were the Seventh Day Adventists, founded at Battle Creek, Michigan in 1863. Others groups included the Seventh Day Baptists, and the Seventh Day Church of God.

However, the manner of observing a day of rest in Christianity, even within Seventh Day Protestantism, was different from the traditional Jewish approach. Good Christians were supposed to be in church, not at work. However, how you got to church was not always a Christian concern with respect to walking or taking a vehicle of conveyance. Hence the Jewish critique, as seen above: ‘If they mean to keep a Sabbath let them do it in the Jewish fashion.’ That said, some localities, such as Georgia, had restrictive Sunday blue laws that prohibited the running of trains, with the exception being those that had already departed on Saturday and which were scheduled for arrival at their destination before 8.00 a.m. on Sunday, as well as those carrying livestock to water or feed.[38] In contrast, in the United Kingdom, railway companies during the nineteenth century had more ‘power to resist the enforcement of laws which injure them’.[39] It was up to the railway companies to decide on whether to run on Sunday, and this decision was often influenced by popular market demand from the lack or presence of Sunday Sabbath keepers, not authoritative government regulation. Thus, economics, not religious politics, was the deciding factor on the running of British trains for a good part of the nineteenth century.

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[36] Irving Mandell, ‘The Sabbath of the Israelites’, *American Israelite*, 19 June 1902, 4.

[37] Roberta R. Kwall, *The Myth of the Cultural Jew: Culture and Law in Jewish Tradition* (New York, 2015), 90.

[38] Abram Herbert Lewis, *A Critical History of Sunday Legislation from 321 to 1888 A.D.* (New York, 1888), 217; R. F. Cottrell, ‘Increasing Respect for Sunday’, *Advent Review and Sunday Herald*, 29(4) (1 January 1867), 43.

So what were Saturday Sabbath observers to do on Sunday in the nineteenth century, especially where subject to restrictive blue laws? Where permitted, Jewish businessmen, merchants and shopkeepers attempted to run their businesses on Sunday. Based on Reverend Peter McOwan’s previous testimony we know that some London Jews continued to operate their cab and omnibus services on Sunday. However, business was often slow given that most of the rest of society was engaged in their Sunday Sabbath observance. This explains why in certain radical Reform circles there was debate on changing the Jewish Sabbath to Sunday in order to not lose out on an extra day of work. Indeed, not until 1908 did the first factory, a New England spinning mill, adopt a five-day working week to accommodate its Jewish *and* Christian employees.[40]

The Jews and other Saturday Sabbath observers were not the only ones dealing with a social crisis related to working, abstinence from work, and the Sabbath. The labour movement became an additional factor, which was coming into its own during the nineteenth century, and had many Jewish leaders.[41] Beginning in the nineteenth century regulations emerged in the United Kingdom (1802) and United States (Massachusetts in the 1830s, later elsewhere) limiting the number of hours per week women and children could work in industrial factories in order to curtail occupational exploitation. These protective limitations on hours soon extended to men, and thus the entire family. Ironically, the ‘walkout’ as an expression of protesting unfair labour conditions became an important tool within the movement, beginning with women textile workers in Lowell, Massachusetts in 1834. This is when people and unions began to organize political ‘walks’ and ‘marches’ for ones’ rights, as an aspect of freedom of expression and speech.[42] On occasions when halachic-observing Jewish workers were arrested for protesting, especially when the person arrested was the woman of the household, extended members of the family and neighbours often assisted the affected family with pre-Sabbath preparations.[43]

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[39] Arthur T. Hadley, *Railroad Transportation: Its History and Its Laws* (London, 1885), 154.

[40] Witold Rybczynski, *Waiting for the Weekend* (New York, 1991), 141.

[41] See the very informative scholarship of Stephen Bird and Christine Collette, *Jews, Labour and the Left, 1918–48* (Aldershot, 2000).

Opportunities for leisure time were in consequence increasing—opportunities of which initially only the bourgeoisie could readily take advantage, but which later became available to the working classes as the two-day weekend became more common.[44] In nineteenth-century urban society the question arose as to how the emerging bourgeois class was to spend its leisurely weekend time. Part of the response was to create open green space in the form of parks for purposes of recreation. The stereotypical city during this period, such as nineteenth-century London portrayed by Charles Dickens (1812–1870), was dirty and unhealthy. Thus, Hyde Park in London, New York's Central Park, and the Bois de Boulogne in Paris were, metaphorically and literally, trailblazing examples of open public green space, and had a lasting effect on contemporary urban environments.[45]

Jewish enjoyment of municipal parks could take place on Sunday as well as Saturday. On the eve of the American Civil War, the Parisian Salomon James de Rothschild (1835–1864) remarked in his diary on 'the construction and the establishment of a garden or park' by the City of New York at a proposed cost of $10 million that was to be more 'beautiful than the Bois de Boulogne'.[46] When Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) and Calvert Vaux (1824–1895) completed Central Park in 1873, the cost to the city was approximately $15 million, indicating the importance of this green space to New Yorkers.[47] In response several Jewish congregations built synagogues near Central Park, including

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[42] Dorceta E. Taylor, *The Environment and the People in American Cities, 1600s–1900s: Disorder, Inequality, and Social Change* (Durham, NC, 2009), 158.

[43] Beth S. Wenger, *New York Jews and the Great Depression: Uncertain Promise* (Syracuse, 1999), 115.

[44] See Priscilla Murolo and A. B. Chitty, *From the Folks Who Brought You the Weekend: A Short Illustrated History of Labor in the United States* (New York, 2001).

[45] Anthony S. Travis, *Planning for Tourism, Leisure and Sustainability: International Case Studies* (Cambridge, MA, 2011), 253–4.

[46] Salomon de Rothschild, *A Casual View of America: The Home Letters of Salomon de Rothschild, 1859–1861* (Stanford, 1961), 17–18.

[47] Louise Chipley Slavicek, *New York City's Central Park* (New York, 2009), 9.

Temple Beth-El in 1891 (see Fig. 9.2) on Fifth Avenue and 76th Street, and Shearith Israel (Remnant of Israel) in 1897. Indeed, Shearith Israel's relocation to Central Park West Avenue and 70th Street (formerly 19th Street) was partially due to it being 'too far down town for those who have scruples about riding on the Sabbath',[48] since many of the affluent congregants already resided in the area, desiring to be around Central Park for purposes of walking and recreation. Within London, the New West End Synagogue was built a short distance from Hyde Park in 1879. Elsewhere, Mickve Israel in Savannah, Georgia, built their 1876 edifice across the street from Montgomery Square, a park whose origins begin with the Oglethorpe Plan of the 1730s. Many more urban congregations chose to place their synagogues within close proximity to a municipal green space.

For congregations not immediately close to parks, organized picnic excursions were a common activity, though these did not necessarily take place on Saturdays. Picnics are recorded in *The American Israelite* as having been held by Temple Sinai at New Orleans's City Park (attended by 50 young Jewish ladies and gentlemen), as well as Baltimore's Har Sinai (Mt Sinai) at Schuetzen Park, and Temple Emanu-el of Dallas at Oak Cliff Park.[49] Jews could thus be flâneurs in the parks and streets of the nineteenth-century city during their leisure time. Walking was a leisure activity for halachic-observing Jews on the Sabbath, both in the New World and the Old. In the villages and shtetls of Europe Jews were observed as 'permitted to take a stroll into the fields on our Sabbath-day, whatever they may choose to do on their own'.[50] To Jewish immigrants living within densely urbanized cities, the opportunity to stroll in a park would have appealed on the Sabbath as well as other days, being reminiscent of activities in which they had partaken in their countries of origin.[51]

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[48] 'New York Letter', *American Israelite*, 1 February 1884, 3.

[49] A. H., 'New Orleans Notes', *American Israelite*, 18 June 1880, 2; Pickwick, 'Baltimore', *American Israelite*, 25 June 1886, 5; Schirhaschirim, 'Dallas, Texas', *American Israelite*, 3 August 1888, 1.

[50] James Silk Buckingham (ed.), 'An Essay on a Common-Place Topic', *Oriental Herald and Journal of General Literature*, 2 (1825), 477.

[51] Rochl Leichter Weysman, 'Autobiography of a Jewish Daughter', in Berl Kagan (ed.), *Luboml: The Memorial Book of a Vanished Shtetl* (Hoboken, 1997), 131–5.

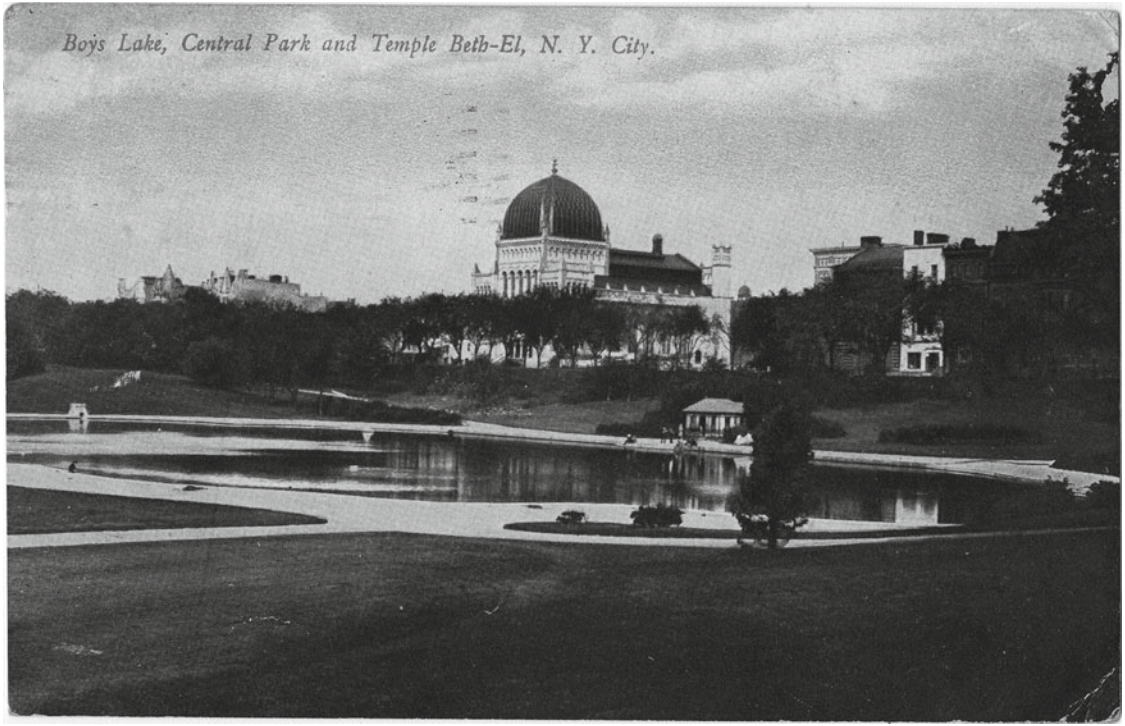
Boys Lake, Central Park and Temple Beth-El, N. Y. City.

Fig. 9.2 Postcard of Central Park, New York City, with Temple Beth-El in the background (reproduced by courtesy of the William A. Rosenthall Collection, Special Collections, College of Charleston Library)

CONCLUSION

As Jews walked through the nineteenth century, their world changed physically, religiously, culturally and socially. Technological advances, social movements, economics and urbanization were all significant factors that had lasting effects. Today, most halachic-observing Jews are urban, residing in, for example, New York, Jerusalem, London, Toronto, Paris and Buenos Aires. They use all forms of modern technologies, especially those related to transportation, just not on the Sabbath. On Saturday they continue to walk to synagogue and enjoy the green spaces of their neighbourhoods in the same fashion as their nineteenth-century forebears. For Jews within urban areas, where tall buildings are prevalent, some are fortunate to have automated lifts or escalators to overcome this weekly socio-religious restriction.

While formalized Jewish ghettos, such as those that developed in sixteenth-century Venice and Rome, are a phenomenon of the past, most Jews continue to live in clustered communities within metropolitan areas as either urbanites or suburbanites—a trend dating from the nineteenth century. The city and ghetto walls are, for all practical purposes, gone, with a few remnants surviving as historic relics and landmarks. However, new purpose-built structures have come to replace them, such as the eruv. Eruvin, often in the symbolic form of poles and wires, are significant for those who decide to depend upon them for the Sabbath. For most of society during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, eruvin merely blended into the background of the electrified city street.

While the changes just described had a profound impact on a very small section of Western civilization, Jews—in partnership with the nineteenth-century labour movement—also made an important contribution to the context of walking in contemporary society through the creation of the two-day weekend. The question of where to go and what to do with this extra free time was closely related to the proliferation of municipal parks. As more and more such amenities were made available, increasing numbers of people, from all social classes, came to enjoy walking within the city during the nineteenth century—whether to escape urban squalor for a moment of tranquillity, or to share a leisurely afternoon with family and friends.

Acknowledgement I am indebted to Jeffrey S. Gurock of Yeshiva University for reviewing an earlier version of this chapter.

PART IV

Walking, Thinking, Looking

CHAPTER 10

The Saints Who Walk: Walking, Piety and Technologies of Circulation in Modern South Asia

Iqbal Sevea

The *samadhi*[1] of the Udasi saint, Tehal Dass, in the village of Bhitiwala, Punjab, attracts devotees from different religious and caste backgrounds. For many of these devotees, the saint's spirituality and religious authority seems to be linked largely to his corporeal being. Images and idols of Tehal Dass portray him as clothed in a loincloth and with his body largely covered in ash (see Fig. 10.1). He is popularly remembered and venerated for never using any form of transportation, denying himself bodily comforts and for braving extreme temperatures by not entering into buildings or taking any form of shelter. Perhaps most reflective of the extent to which bodily practices are linked to his spiritual authority is the fact that he is known to his devotees solely as 'Baba Tehal Dass'. It is said that upon being initiated into the Udasi sect, the 'Baba' (saint) was bestowed the title of 'Tehal Dass' or the 'The Slave Who Walks' in recognition of his ascetic nature and renunciation of the luxuries of the world.

This chapter examines discourses and practices of walking and spirituality that emerged in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century South

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[1] It is worth noting that the term *samadhi* can refer both to a tomb or shrine devoted to a spiritual figure and to an elevated meditative state having been achieved by the spiritual figure.

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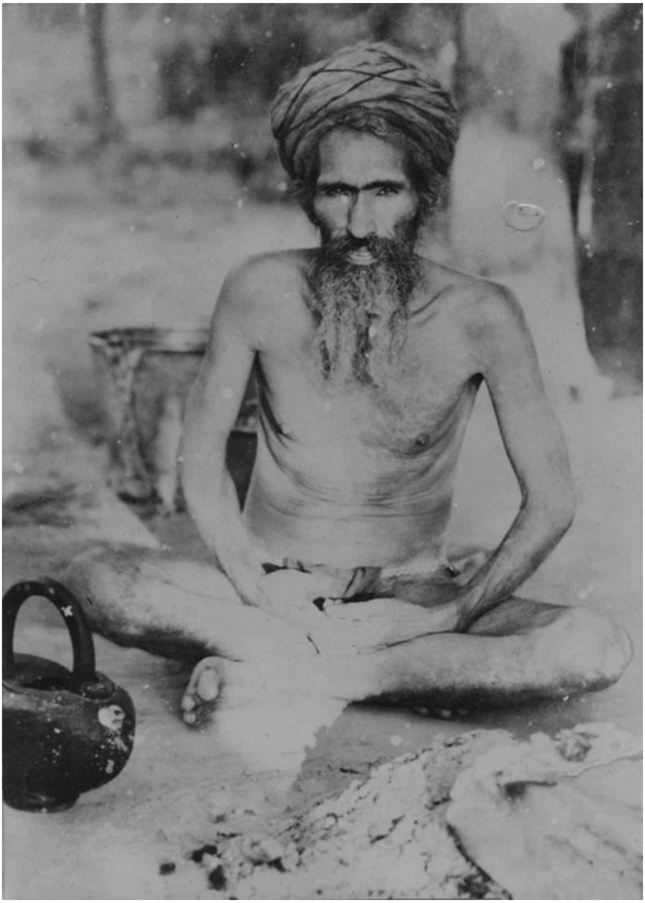

Fig. 10.1 Tehal Dass of Bhitiwala (photograph reproduced courtesy of Manjit Singh s/o Kartar Singh)

Asia. It argues that this period witnessed the emergence of a novel discourse that linked walking, physical culture and spirituality. At the juncture at which transportation networks were expanding, a number of religious figures promoted walking as a technology of the self or a means by which individuals effect operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a state of happiness, purity and wisdom.[2] One should guard against assuming that the acquisition of titles like Tehal Dass or the link between walking and spirituality, more broadly, reflected long-established ascetic practices. Such an assumption would, to draw from Alain Corbin's work on the history of senses, impose a 'non-historicity' and uniformity both on walking and ascetic practices.[3] Instead this chapter locates this phenomenon firmly within the context of the corporeal experience of modernity and the emergence of modern scriptural interpretations of religion.

Modernity is here approached in terms of everyday forms of technology, especially those of circulation, such as trains, buses, steamships and bicycles. The chapter begins by demonstrating that modern forms of transportation emerged as metaphors for modernity, and were anticipated not only to impact upon the physical body, but also to usher in radical changes in worldviews. In particular, the impact of modern forms of transportation upon religious practices and discourses is noted. It then goes on to examine how the transportation revolution gave rise to concerns over 'self-control' and 'control over the senses'. It is shown that religious leaders began to grapple with issues including whether one could pray on a train, or if travelling in cars disrupted the ability to meditate. A broad review of the writings of figures like Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghose on meditation, physical movement, exercise and the senses illustrates how walking, like other corporeal practices, including breathing and posture, was theorized in the light of the socio-political and technological facets of modernity. It is imperative to note from the outset that this chapter approaches walking, and the reassertion of a corporeally experienced religious authority, as a response to technologies of circulation broadly understood, and not just transportation. Thus the expansion of print technology and the concomitant emphasis on scripturalist interpretations of religion, which sought to displace both 'unorthodox' practices and the need for personalized transmission of religious knowledge, are studied in the later sections of the chapter. Overall, it is asserted that the adoption of the title Tehal Dass not only reflected an attempt to control one's senses through walking, but was also a reassertion of the corporeal experience of piety and religious authority set against modern technologies of circulation.

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[2] Michel Foucault, 'Technologies of the Self', in Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton (eds), *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Amherst, 1988), 18.

[3] Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, MA, 1986).

Gods, Trains and Steamships: Religion in the Age of the Transportation Revolution

Reflecting in 1868 on the impact of steamships and railways on India, Captain Edward Davidson, an engineer working for the government of Bengal, stated that '[t]hirty years ago India was practically stationary'.[4] It is worth noting that forms of transportation and travel (or the absence thereof) in pre-colonial India were a prominent theme in colonial writings and depictions of the country. Generally, these highlighted how slow and uncomfortable it was to travel by means such as the *ekka* (bullock cart) and *dak gharry* (horse-drawn carriage).[5] The lack of speed and accompanying discomfort, it was believed, only accentuated a lack of desire on the part of the people of India to travel. In fact, there was a prevalent view, both in colonial writings and historiography concerning travel in South Asia, that the colonial period had itself ushered in a new kind of travel; one that centred around pleasure and personal experience instead of merely the performance of religious duties in the form of pilgrimages.[6] The transportation revolution of the nineteenth century was also heralded to have the potential to reform social, cultural and religious life in India. Like a number of his contemporaries, Davidson employed the term 'stationary' not only to imply immobility, but also to suggest a perceived state of cultural, physical and intellectual paralysis. Modern forms of transportation were described as 'mighty agencies' that were 'overturning prejudices, uprooting habits, and changing customs', thus forcing Indians to forsake their hatred of physical exertion.[7]

As technologies of circulation emerged as markers and metonyms of modernity, the railway in particular came to be heralded as the vehicle of modernity. In an engaging study of the history of the railway in India,

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[4] Edward Davidson, *The Railways of India: With an Account of their Rise, Progress, and Construction. Written with the Aid of the Records of the India Office* (London, 1868), 1.

[5] See, for instance, 'The Perils of Dawk Travelling in India', *Illustrated London News*, 25 December 1858; 'Modes of Travelling in India', ibid., 19 September 1863.

[6] See discussion in Velcheru Narayana Rao and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Circulation, Piety and Innovation: Recounting Travels in Early Nineteenth-Century South India', in Claude Markovits, Jacques Pouchepadass and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (eds), *Society and Circulation: Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia 1750–1950* (New Delhi, 2003), 306–57; Kumkum Chatterjee, 'Discovering India: Travel, History and Identity in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century India', in Daud Ali (ed.), *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia* (Delhi, 1999), 192–227.

[7] Davidson, *Railways of India*, v, 2–4.

Marian Aguilar has highlighted how modernity and mobility are closely connected, and that statesmen, artists, travel writers and novelists mapped the linear narrative of progress onto the expansion of the Indian railway network.[8] The railway was not only a symbol of colonial political, military and civilizational supremacy; it was also celebrated as an agent of change in India. It was generally felt that there was something about the collapse of time and space that would jostle the country out of its perceived stagnation and immobility.

This belief in the railway as an agent of civilizational transmission is perhaps best reflected in an article published in *The Economist* in 1857, which praised the railway as the pathway to English science, religion, arts and opinions for a people that were 'miserably poor and wretched' and 'like young children'.[9] For our purposes, it is particularly important to note that technologies of circulation like the train were believed to pose a challenge to traditional religious beliefs and practices. Announcing the construction of the first railway line in 1853, the London-based *Railway Times* stated that 'In a few weeks, therefore the iron road that is probably destined to change the habits, manners, customs and religion of Hindoo, Parsee, and Mussulman will commence its work in the Indian Peninsula.'[10] It has already been noted that the colonial state's development of modern transportation was seen to have ushered in a new form of 'secular travel'. Moreover, the train was also championed as a space that broke caste and religious barriers by bringing various people into proximity.

For some, the speed and modalities of modern transportation would also challenge archaic religious principles and doctrines. Commenting on Governor-General Dalhousie's push for the expansion of the railway in India,[11] the poet and journalist Edwin Arnold (1832–1904), evidently underplaying the strategic and economic benefits of the railway system, asserted that the train was the 'most persuasive *missionary* at work that ever preached in the East'. 'Thirty miles an hour', he went on to argue, 'is fatal to the slow deities of paganism; and a pilgrimage done by steam causes other thoughts to arise at the shrine of Parvati or Shiva than the Vedas and Shastras inculcate.'[12] Such would be the rupture caused by the progress in forms of transportation that Indians would have to grapple with their own worldviews and belief-systems. It is important to note here that the collapse of time and space was seen to have already given rise to anxieties, new hopes and disoriented worldviews in Europe. In the words of Wolfgang Schivelbusch, the railway resulted in 'a revolutionary rupture with [all] past forms of experience'.[13]

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[8] Marian Aguilar, *Tracking Modernity: India's Railway and the Culture of Mobility* (Minneapolis, 2011).

[9] Quoted in Amit Sharma, '"Fire Carriages" of the Raj: The Indian Railway and its Rapid Development in British India', *Essays in History* (2010). This article offers a succinct summation of political and military arguments made by colonial officials in support of the expansion of the railway in India.

[10] Quoted in Aguilar, *Tracking Modernity*, 15.

[11] For discussion, see ibid.; Sharma, 'Fire Carriages'.

The train was seen simultaneously as a 'rational utopia' and an object of wonder, albeit one that displayed the power of scientific advancement. It would force Indians, Hindus especially, to question the validity of their 'irrational' beliefs and 'superstitions'. The scholar and bureaucrat, J. Talboys Wheeler (1824–1897), for instance, asserted that the British had contributed to the decline of 'idol worship' in India in two ways: by drastically changing the economic structure, and by building railways. In the case of the former, the British had fostered a rational and meritocratic economic system in which wealth was 'more generally diffused' and 'is obtained by steady industry rather than by lucky speculations'.[14] In the case of the latter, the railway, much like science, forced its traveller to approach the religious sites he or she visited through a rational perspective and in the process to 'interpret the various national legends and local traditions of the places he visited in such a way to disabuse the mind … of the superstitious ideas which are at present connected with many of the localities'.[15]

In reality, however, far from being a secular rational utopia, the train in India became the means for religious practices. Ian Kerr has shown that the expansion of the railway resulted in pilgrimage becoming a more popular practice.[16] In fact, the lament that Indians had extended domestic and religious practices into the supposedly secular space of the railway emerged as an important trope in colonial writings on the railway.[17]

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[12] Edwin Arnold, *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India*, 2 vols. (London, 1865), II, 241 (my emphasis).

[13] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Railway: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Leamington Spa, 1986), xv.

[14] J. Talboys Wheeler, 'Introduction', in Bholanauth Chunder, *The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India*, 2 vols. (London, 1869), I, xvii–xix.

[15] Ibid., xix.

[16] Ian Kerr, 'Reworking a Popular Religious Practice: The Effects of Railways on Pilgrimage in 19th- and 20th-Century South Asia', in Ian Kerr (ed.), *Railways in Modern India* (New Delhi, 2001), 304–27.

[17] See Aguilar, *Tracking Modernity*, 31–3.

Likewise, forms of circulation like the steamship, bicycle, buses and printing presses became important means through which individuals performed religious duties. An interesting instance of this is the pilgrimage to Mecca or the *hajj* undertaken by Muslims. The introduction of steamship routes from Bombay to the Middle East led to increasing numbers of pilgrims undertaking the *hajj*.[18] Such was the magnitude of their numbers that, in an effort to grapple with the quantity of individuals flooding into Bombay, the government introduced a law in 1904 requiring all pilgrims to have a return railway ticket from Bombay. The aim was to ensure that the pilgrim went home after the pilgrimage and did not remain in the city.[19] Thus, the use of the railway became a requisite for the trip to Mecca.

More pertinent to our purposes, however, is the fact that modern forms of circulation found a place in religious discourses and emerged as metaphors and imagery for deities. Such was the 'marvel and miracle' of the railway and steamship's ability to collapse time and space that Bholanauth Chunder, in the account of his travels between 1845 and 1866 entitled, *The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India*, stated that the 'author of the Railway in India' was as worthy of being celebrated as Bhagiruth, the mythological figure who is credited with bringing the Ganges to earth after a thousand years of penance and meditation.[20] The train occupies a central place in Chunder's writings. In fact, his travels are often recounted in the form of arrival at various railway stations. Beyond this, the train is employed as a symbol of progression and regeneration, and contrasted with the conditions he witnesses in various parts of India. More interestingly, it is compared to and associated with various Hindu deities and sages, including the Ganges and Kalki. At one stage the train is described as the vehicle of Kalki, the incarnation of Vishnu who is prophesized to return at the end of *kalyug* (the fourth and last stage in Hindu cyclical conceptions of time). Tradition has it that Kalki will return riding a white horse. This substitution of the horse by a train reflects Chunder's grappling with aspects of Hindu mythology in the light of modern technologies. At one level, he is trying to modernize Hindu gods by associating them with modern forms of transportation, which as noted above had come to be seen as metonyms of modernity. At another level, Chunder attempts in various parts of the travelogue to dismiss what he sees as irrational aspects of the Hindu religion, and to represent 'its truths' in a modern progressive manner.[21]

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[18] See William Roff, 'Sanitation and Security: The Imperial Powers and the Nineteenth Century Hajj', *Arabian Studies*, 6 (1982), 143–60.

[19] 'India: Reports from Bombay. Cholera, Plague, and Smallpox. Preventive Measures Relative to Pilgrimage to Mecca', *Public Health Reports, Formerly Abstract of Sanitary Reports, Issued by the Supervising Surgeon–General M.H.S.*, Government Printing Office, Washington, XIX, no. 51, 16 December 1904, 2580.

[20] Chunder, *Travels of a Hindoo*, 140.

The broader point here is that trains, steamships, aeroplanes and even bicycles came to be associated with gods and goddesses, and sometimes were incorporated into prayers. For instance, by the early twentieth century, technologies such as cars and motorbikes, along with worktools like chisels, ploughs and hammers, were being venerated during the festival of Ayudha Puja (Worship of Implements) and dabbed with sacred ash.[22] Modern forms of transportation also emerged as important metaphors in religious discourses. It was commonplace to find doctrines, religious texts and even spiritual leaders being described as 'trains', 'ships' and 'aeroplanes'. Muhammad Ilyas (1885–1944), the founder of the Tablighi Jamaat, a movement for which motion and travelling were fundamental to the process of spiritual development, for instance, equated the spiritual quest to a struggle between differing 'passengers' (referring to desires, senses and thoughts) for 'control of the moving train'.[23]

Thus modern technologies of circulation impacted upon religious discourse and practices, with forms of transportation like trains used as religious metaphors and finding a place in religious imagery. More importantly, the speed of and wonder associated with modern forms of transportation had an impact upon religious beliefs and worldviews. Before going on to explore the ways in which concerns over the impact of machines led some religious figures to postulate that modern forms of transportation disrupted the pursuit of piety, we can illustrate the preceding arguments through the religious discourse of the Sikh reformist movement Singh Sabha, which emerged in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Punjab.

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[21] See, for instance, Chunder's discussion on the imagery of Kali: ibid., 31–9.

[22] This has been noted as an example of ways in which modern technologies were incorporated and adopted at an everyday level: David Arnold, *Everyday Technology: Machines and the Making of India's Modernity* (Chicago, 2013), 7.

[23] Muhammad Ilyas, *Malfuzat-i-Hazrat Muhammad Ilyas Kandhelvi*, compiled by Muhammad Manzoor Numani (Karachi, n.d.), 214. For an introduction to the history and theology of the Tablighi Jamaat, see Yoginder Sikand, *The Origins and Development of the Tablighi Jamaat (1920–2000): A Cross-Country Comparative Study* (Hyderabad, 2002).

The Singh Sabha movement set out to define orthodox Sikhism and rejected what it described as ‘superstitions’ and ‘idol worship’.[24] Through the extensive adoption of print technology it attempted not only to give shape to a corpus of Sikh devotional literature, but also to define Sikh practices, prayers and rites. As will be discussed in greater detail below, the Singh Sabha movement would inspire opposition to the Udasi sect and figures like Tehal Dass. Its religious discourse can be located within the context of the expansion of modern forms of circulation in just the ways set out above. The movement employed print technology extensively to promote a scripturalist conception of the Sikh religion. Moreover, in its attempts to delegitimize groups like the Udasis, it argued that ascetic practices were beyond the pale of orthodox Sikhism. The canonization of scripture and rejection of asceticism essentially targeted figures like Tehal Dass who asserted the centrality of the body to piety.

The Singh Sabha movement sought to present Sikhism as a rational and modern religion in line with the socio-economic and intellectual milieu of the late nineteenth century. This included the adoption of Western religious terminology like ‘scripture’; but here, I would like to draw attention to vocabulary used by the movement to refer to God. The movement’s vociferous opposition to anything that could resemble idolatry, and its modernist stance, is perhaps most interestingly reflected in the fact that it inspired the association of *Waheguru* (supreme being or God) and the first Sikh guru, Nanak (1469–1539), with a steamship. A popular religious recitation, which emerged from the writings of Sikh reformers, features the following stanza:

Waheguru naam jahaz hai,
chadhe so utre paar,
Jo sharda kar sevde,
gur paar utaran haar.

Waheguru’s name is a ship,
Those who board will complete the journey.
Those who have devotion and humility,
The Guru will Himself guide across the waters.[25]

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[24] See Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Delhi, 1994).

[25] All translations are my own unless stated. In some instances, the term ‘Nanak’ is used instead of *Waheguru*.

PIETY, SELF-FASHIONING AND WALKING

On 12 March 1930 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) set off with 78 followers from his ashram in Sabarmati, Gujarat, on a 240-mile trek to Dandi, a village by the sea, where he proceeded to produce salt illegally. In the 24 days that it took Gandhi to reach the coast, numerous supporters joined his march.[26] As the number of supporters travelling to Dandi increased, Gandhi appealed to those joining him to avoid using vehicular transportation, particularly motorcars. At a speech at Bhatgam, on 29 March, Gandhi asserted that '[t]he rule is, do not ride if you can walk'.[27] Gandhi's emphasis on walking was in part symbolic. The image of Gandhi, staff in hand, leading his people into confrontation with the British Empire, was compared by some, including Gandhi's associate, P. C. Ray, to the legend of Moses leading the exodus of the Israelites out of slavery.[28] Moreover, it was important for him to transcend class and caste barriers and to assert the equality of his supporters. He repeatedly warned that the struggle for independence was 'not a battle to be conducted with money', and that it was important for all to embrace poverty.[29] The act of walking together presented a means of levelling everyone regardless of class, gender, religion and caste. Here Gandhi seemed to be attempting with walking precisely what many colonial writers and modernists had felt would be achieved by the train.

More crucially, Gandhi's emphasis on walking and his critique of modern forms of transportation reflected the fact that he upheld walking as a means of developing oneself spiritually and gaining control over one's senses. A 1934 article by Gandhi in his newspaper, *Harijanbandhu*, illustrates this link between walking and spiritual development:

> All the great reformers of the world who have from time to time effected religious revolutions have eschewed the use of vehicles and walked thousands of miles for delivering their mission. Yet, by the intensity of their faith and the strength of their realization, they were able to achieve what we,

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[26] For the Dandi march, see Thomas Weber, *On the Salt March: The Historiography of Mahatma Gandhi's March to Dandi* (New Delhi, 2009).

[27] Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 98 vols. (New Delhi, 1999), XLVIII, 498.

[28] Homer Alexander Jack (ed.), *The Gandhi Reader: A Sourcebook of His Life and Writings* (London, 1958), 238.

[29] Ibid.

> in our aeroplane age, with all the gee-gaws at our command, could hardly aspire to. *Not mad rush, but unperturbed calmness brings wisdom.*[30]

Walking was essentially a technology of the self that allowed the individual to gain control over the senses and develop piety. Gaining control over one's senses and desires was in turn an essential element of gaining *swaraj* or self-rule.[31] In approaching Gandhi and his contemporaries' views on the body, self-control and piety, it is important to note that in the late nineteenth century the body had emerged as the site of social, political and moral experimentation. Thus bodily functions like sex, breathing and walking must be studied in the light of facets of modernity such as scientific epistemology, imperialism and transportation.[32] I draw here from the work of Nile Green, who has warned against approaching practices like breathing and meditation as neutral spheres of human activity, stressing the political dimensions of physical and psychological acts of conditioning and control that comprised the full variety of Indian meditative systems and breathing practices.[33]

According to Gandhi, the 'mad rush' of modern transportation, especially the railway, disorientated the individual, resulted in a loss of self-control and accentuated 'the evil nature of man'.[34] Indeed, a host of 'evils' came to be associated with the railways—profiteering, illicit sex and even religious hypocrisy. It is interesting here to pick up on the expression 'mad rush', as it reflects how the collapse of time and space ushered in by modern transportation, so celebrated by the Victorians, was not necessarily welcomed. Rather it was perceived as something that was disturbing and disorienting. The speed of modern transportation was seen as disruptive of the 'rhythm of the body'—this in turn, it was feared, led to a loss of self-control. Walking, on the other hand, allowed for contemplation and meditation. The discussion below will highlight how the body, mobility and breath were at the centre of the socio-religious views and writings of figures like Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) and Aurobindo

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[30] Ghandi, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, LXV, 69 (my emphasis).

[31] See Gandhi's expansion on his concept of *swaraj* (self-rule) in Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, ed. Anthony J. Parel (Cambridge, 1997).

[32] See, for instance, Joseph S. Alter, *Gandhi's Body: Sex, Diet, and the Politics of Nationalism* (Philadelphia, 2000).

[33] Nile Green, 'Breathing in India, *c.*1890', *Modern Asian Studies*, 42(2–3) (2008), 283–315.

[34] See, for instance, Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, 24–5.

Ghose (1872–1950). It is pertinent to note first, however, that far from returning to traditional or 'authentic' South Asian notions of meditation or spirituality, these figures were drawing from the work of Western thinkers like Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) and Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) who argued that, to be able to contemplate and achieve spiritual development, one had to leave both the disorienting sights and locomotives of urban centres.[35] Also influential were the works of figures like the Swiss physician, Arnold Rikli (1823–1906), and the German naturopath, Louis Kuhne (1835–1901), who stressed the importance of 'atmospheric cures', breathing fresh air and 'sun baths' or walking in the sun. Such was the popularity of Kuhne's writings that the English edition of his book, entitled *The New Science of Healing*, was published in Calcutta in 1892 and translated into various Indian languages including Hindi, Urdu and Telugu.[36]

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed a profusion of literature discussing bodily rhythms. This was the result of a new discourse that connected physical development and purity. Yogis and Sufis alike formulated the view that the body had a rhythm which was crucial for physical, mental and spiritual well-being. Inayat Khan (1882–1957), the South Asian musician and Sufi who travelled extensively in America and Europe, for instance, stressed that every body had its own particular rhythm which maintained its physical and mental harmony. This rhythm could, he argued, be affected by external factors such as the food one ate, the way one lived and the work one did.[37] Likewise, Gandhi felt that the soul adopted the rhythm that the body moved in.[38] With the expansion of modern forms of transportation, there was debate over whether these impacted upon the rhythm of the individual, whether it was permissible to pray while travelling on trains, and whether it was possible to perform yoga and meditative techniques while travelling. With regard to the latter, it was advised by some that yoga should never be practised while on a train as it was impossible to control one's breathing and the senses.

This link between morality, health and breathing is key to understanding the importance of walking as a self-fashioning technique. For his part,

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[35] See, for instance, Henry David Thoreau, 'Walking' [1862], in Edwin Valentine Mitchell (ed.), *The Pleasures of Walking* (New York, 1979).

[36] Louis Kuhne, *The New Science of Healing* (Calcutta, 1892).

[37] Inayat Khan, *The Sufi Message of Hazrat Inayat Khan*, 4th revised edn (London, 1911), 64.

[38] Ghandi, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, XXXVII, 147.

Gandhi repeatedly stressed that 'morals are closely linked with health'.[39] An exploration of ideas on physical culture that emerged in this period reveals that the aim of exercise was not necessarily or solely to build up muscles or a physique. Rather, exercise was important as it stimulated breathing and developed physical strength, both of which fostered the development of character and enabled the individual to control his or her senses. Instead of bodybuilding and sport, walking and manual labour were promoted by many as the best forms of exercise. Gandhi, for instance, described walking as the 'prince of all exercises'.[40] Of course, those who advocated walking as the best form of exercise were responding in part to the emergence of a new form of physical culture developing in India in this period, one that was influenced by the popularization of bodybuilding in particular.[41] Concerns over the impact of industrialization and urbanization in the West had resulted in an emphasis on 'manly sports' and the emergence of bodybuilding as a means of preventing physical—and moral—decline. In India, such concerns were compounded by imperial discourses about the physical and moral weakness of Indians.[42] In response, a number of Indian intellectuals and nationalists wrote extensively on the issue of physical culture in India. Vivekananda, for instance, asserted that the power dynamic between Britain and India could be redressed by realizing that Hinduism was a 'man making religion' that aided spiritual and physical development.[43]

As a result, walking came to be integrated into yoga and Muslim meditative practices. Yoga itself was essentially reconfigured in this period from a set of still techniques, focused upon the metaphysical, transcendental and otherworldly, to a system that aided physical training and was an alternative form of healing. In its reconfigured form, yoga centred upon *asanas* (postures), *kriya* (purificatory practices) and *pranayama* (breathing exercises).[44] Figures like Aurobindo Ghose were central to shaping this shift in yoga. Reading his letters and notes recording his experiments with various *asanas* and meditative techniques we find that Aurobindo experimented with walking as an *asana*, and documented the impact that it had on his breathing, physical development and—most importantly—control over the senses. Trying to reconcile classical yoga's emphasis on stillness with the modern emphasis on physical exercise, Aurobindo formulated a conception of walking as a form of exercise that aids the process of regular breathing. This in turn achieves *nadishuddhi* (purification of the nerve system) which 'has great virtues. It has a wonderfully calming effect on the whole mind and body, drives out every lurking disease in the system, awakens the yogic force accumulated in former lives and, even where no such latent force exists, removes the physical obstacles to the wakening of the Kundalini shakti.'[45] In fact, in the records of his own experiments with yoga, Aurobindo states that it is possible to achieve *sanyama* (annihilation or total absorption into the object of meditation) through walking.[46]

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[39] Ibid., II, 50.

[40] Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *Non-Violent Resistance* (New York, 1961), 248.

[41] For an insightful analysis of the impact of the rise of bodybuilding and new conceptions of physical culture in South Asia, see John Rosselli, 'The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal', *Past and Present*, 86 (1980), 121–48.

[42] See, for instance, Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, 1995); E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800–1947* (Cambridge, 2001).

[43] Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, 8 vols. (Calcutta, 1983–6), V, 116–17, 374–5, 434–6.

Given the centrality of walking to health, breathing and morality, there was much written and said about how, where and when to walk. Generally, there seemed to be a consensus that walks were to be brisk, substantial and in a spotless environment. It is revealing here to look at Gandhi's list of rules governing the practice of walking that can be gathered from his various writings. Firstly, one should walk at least six miles daily but preferably 10–12 miles, both in the morning and in the evening, and avoid walking in the sun.[47] Secondly, one should walk after eating; and one should only eat food that was easy to digest. Thirdly, one should hold ones arms firmly, have the body erect and the face looking down while walking.[48] One should only breathe through the nose.[49] Reading was to be avoided while walking as it was solely a moment for thinking.[50] Lastly, one should walk in the open air and in an environment that was clean and hygienic. And relating to this, one should not walk in narrow lanes, but go out into the fields and groves.[51] The emphasis on walking in the open air and in hygienic environments sometimes led to the ironic situation of Gandhi being driven, during his political engagements in cities, out of the city streets to places where it was suitable to walk.

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[44] For an excellent study of how the 'rediscovery' of yoga in the modern period resulted in fundamental changes in its nature, see David Gordon White, *The 'Yoga Sutra of Patanjali': A Biography* (Princeton, 2014).

[45] Aurobindo Ghose, *The Complete Works of Shri Aurobindo*, 37 vols. (Pondicherry, 2003), I, 508.

[46] Aurobindo Ghose, *Records of Yoga*, 2 vols. (Pondicherry, 2009), II, 50.

[47] See, for instance, Ghandi, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, LXXXVI, 135.

[48] Ibid., LXXXXVII, 203, 291; LIX, 349.

[49] Ibid., LIX, 288.

[50] Ibid., LXXXXVI, 354.

In sum, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, walking emerged as a practice that, unlike modern forms of transportation and exercises like bodybuilding, aided the spiritual development of individuals. It was particularly important because it did not disrupt the rhythm of the body, cleansed the heart and mind, and aided the individual to achieve control of his or her senses. Indeed, Gandhi championed walking as a means of overcoming the sexual urge, preventing wet dreams and curbing the urge to masturbate; walking along while eating easily digestible food (and generally keeping oneself busy!) helped to control one's sexual desires. The negation of the sexual urge was, of course, for Gandhi central to spiritual and political development.

In closing this section, it is important to reassert that modern forms of transportation were not seen as agents of change or reform by figures like Gandhi, Vivekananda and Aurobindo. Instead they asserted that modern forms of transportation—the train in particular—were 'non-intelligent' machines incapable of ushering in moral, civilizational or religious uplift. Vivekananda, for instance, wrote: 'The huge steamer, the mighty railway engine—they are non-intelligent … There is no manifestation of will in the machine.'[52] Instead of being championed as a 'missionary' or 'agent of change', the train was bemoaned as an automaton that was characterized by unintelligent passivity. It was feared that those enraptured by such machines would lose the agency of self-government.[53] By championing walking over modern forms of transportation, they were self-consciously positioning nature and creativity against machinery, and in the process questioning the supremacy of Western scientific development.

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[51] This is a theme related throughout much of Gandhi's writings and reflects not only his position on hygiene and breathing, but also his view that it was difficult to maintain morality and equilibrium of mind in cities.

[52] Vivekananda, *Complete Works*, V, 490.

[53] See Aguilar, *Tracking Modernity*, 61–3.

The Saints Who Walk: The Phenomenon of Tehal Dass

I want to return now to explore the phenomenon of spiritual leaders associated with the sect of the Udasis adopting the title of Tehal Dass or The Slave who Walks. Building upon my earlier discussion of the emergence of a discourse on the body that linked piety and walking, this section examines how spiritual authority came to be asserted through the act of walking. It relates the emphasis on walking and bodily piety on the part of groups like the Udasis to wider debates about spiritual authority in Punjab—debates which were themselves spurred by the expansion of modern forms of circulation.

As highlighted at the outset, the saint, Tehal Dass of Bhitiwala, continues to attract popular veneration for having clothed himself only with ash (apart from the loin cloth), never using any forms of transportation, braving extreme heat and cold, and never entering into buildings or taking shelter. The place of walking and other forms of mobility in spiritual discourse surrounding the Udasis is further attested to by the miracle stories associated with a more recent Tehal Dass, the Tehal Dass of Sahowala, Sialkot (b.1946). It is important to note that prior to joining the Udasi sect, the Tehal Dass of Sahowala was educated at the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College (DAV College) in Jalandhar, Punjab. This college was part of a wider system of educational institutions established by the Arya Samaj. Founded in 1875, the Arya Samaj is a Hindu reform movement that asserts that orthodox Hinduism can be located in the Vedas. This stress on the Vedas as the 'scriptures' of Hinduism reflects an emphasis on textual authority and leads directly to the movement's rejection of what it describes as later accretions into the fold of Hinduism. These accretions include the use of idols and mystic practices.[54] The DAV colleges were established both to provide a rationalist education and to infuse students with a scriptural approach to Hinduism.[55]

The story goes that while the Tehal Dass of Sahowala was in college, a yogi appeared to him in a dream. The next morning he immediately set off in search of this yogi. He boarded a bus to an undetermined location, and alighted at a bus stop feeling disoriented and not knowing where to go. Miraculously, he saw a friend at the bus stop who told him that the yogi had sent him, and that the 'bus will not take him to the yogi'. Instead they 'had to walk'. On seeing the yogi, he immediately placed his head at his feet. After remaining at the ashram for a number of years, he was officially initiated as the successor of the yogi and given the title of Tehal Dass.[56]

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[54] For a history of the Arya Samaj movement that compares it with contemporaneous reformist movements that arose in the Punjab, especially the Singh Sabha, see Bob van der Linden, *Moral Languages from Colonial Punjab: The Singh Sabha, Arya Samaj and Ahmadiyahs* (New Delhi, 2008).

[55] See Kenneth Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (New Delhi, 2006), 67–93, 224–52, 322.

In order to understand the significance of walking and the symbolism attached to the title Tehal Dass, it is necessary to briefly discuss the position of the Udasi sect in Sikh orthodoxy and intra-Sikh debates that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Specifically, it is important to problematize the emphasis by the Udasis on bodily piety, asceticism and worldly renunciation. The Udasis are a sect of Sikhism that traces its roots from Sri Chand (d.1629), the son of Nanak, the first guru of Sikhism. 'Orthodox' Sikh tradition has it that Sri Chand did not pursue the path of the householder like the 'legitimate' gurus of Sikhism, and instead opted for the path of asceticism. The Udasis promote themselves as ascetics who remain celibate. However, the Udasis have not been a mendicant order. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they established important religious centres, acquired large tracts of land through state patronage, and essentially administered major Sikh religious institutions. Indeed, a legal battle that ensued after the death of Tehal Dass of Bhitiwala attests to the fact that he legally owned property in Bhittiwala, Sheikhan, Govind Garh, Kararwala, Rampura and Dhuri in Punjab, and also property in Hardwar. In addition to this he had overseen the installation of tube wells and oil engines in the agricultural properties held by his *dera* or religious centre.[57]

The hold of the Udasis over religious sites and property was displaced by the rise of Sikh reformist movements like the Singh Sabha and Gurdwara Reform Movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the former movement primarily sought to define orthodox Sikhism by producing religious literature in Punjabi, the latter sought to gain control over Sikh religious sites. Such efforts to define orthodox Sikhism were founded on delegitimizing groups like the Udasis. In their efforts to purge Sikhism of ‘accretions’, the Singh Sabha extensively employed printing presses to print books, tracts and pamphlets through which they defined both legitimate and illegitimate doctrines and practices.[58] Furthermore, like the Arya Samaj, they asserted the importance of textual/scriptural religious authority over inter-personal religious mediation. Both the Singh Sabha and Gurdwara Reform Movement called for the removal of images and icons from the *darbar sahib* or the main prayer hall of the Sikh gurdwara. In line with their assertion of scriptural authority, Sikhs were called on to regard the Guru Grant Sahib, the key Sikh religious text, as the perpetual guru and bow only to this.

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[56] See the official website of the Shree Ram Vichar Ashram, http://shreeramvicharashram.org/index.html (accessed 6 August 2015).

[57] Details of the property held can be ascertained from legal records pertaining to a property dispute in 1968 between rivals who claimed to be successors to Tehal Dass. See http://indiankanoon.org/doc/123777/ (accessed 13 July 2015).

It was precisely at this stage of the early twentieth century that the Udasis seem to have begun reasserting their asceticism. Especially important to them were their journeys to various villages and cities of northern India to emphasize the importance of physical relations of religious transmission between the spiritual master (*pir*, *baba*, *sant*) and disciples. The body and bodily access were thus self-consciously promoted as a challenge to the modernist discourses of Sikh reform movements and to modern forms of technology. Here I find the emphasis on nakedness, walking and not utilizing modern forms of transportation particularly revealing. In their self-representation—including in visual sources—they depicted themselves as ascetics who only walked. In fact, the term ‘Udasi’ itself, which essentially refers to a spiritual journey, is often described as a spiritual journey on foot. Devotional images of Udasi saints, especially of Sri Chand, which depict them as ascetics, are in contrast to images of a number of Sikh gurus who are generally portrayed in royal paraphernalia and riding horses. The tenth guru, Gobind Singh (1666–1708), for instance, is almost always depicted in Mughal noble regalia and often riding his horse.

It should be emphasized that in approaching self-representations such as those of the Udasis, one should not assume that there are no hierarchies and consequent protocols within and between ascetics. In South Asia, ascetic and Sufi orders often have formalized norms regulating how they travel, and ceremonies marking their departure and arrival at religious festivities. These norms mark and symbolize status within the community.[59] In relation to the Udasis, hierarchies within orders are sometimes mapped on to forms of transportation and access to feet. For instance, access to the feet of the spiritual master (in the form of touching his feet and drinking water that has washed them) signifies initiation and marks a formal relation between the master and the disciple. It is also often the case that the further up the spiritual hierarchy one is, the less one's feet actually touch the ground. This implies that spiritual masters may be carried in palanquins or ride on horses. This is actually the case within the Udasis as well. There is a formalized protocol amongst Udasi orders that regulates their arrival and departure from religious gatherings like the Kumbh Mela, a mass gathering of ascetic groups and pilgrims that takes place once every three years. It may seem ironic that the hierarchical structures within the Udasis are themselves mapped onto forms of transportation. For instance, those higher up in the spiritual hierarchy are more likely to arrive at important religious ceremonies like the Khumbh Mela riding a horse ahead of those who walked.

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[58] For the history of the Singh Sabha movement, see van der Linden, *Moral Languages*; Harjot Singh Oberoi, ‘Bhais, Babas and Gyanis: Traditional Intellectuals in Nineteenth-Century Punjab’, *Studies in History*, 2 (1980), 33–62. The latter provides an interesting engagement with the ideology of the Singh Sabha movement in the context of competing strands of ‘Sikh’ religious practice.

CONCLUSION

Ek baba Nanak si jihne tur-ke duniya gah-ti
Ek ajj-kal babeh-ne betti lal gadhi te la-li
Ek baba Nanak si jihne tur-ke duniya gah-ti

Kar sewa de naa te, mange rask nota-a di tehli
Kar sewa de naa te, mange rask nota-a di tehli
Main sunaya babeh-ne ajj kali Audi lai-li
Ain unparh bibi-an ne bande de gal rab di takht-i pati

There once was a baba Nanak who covered the world on foot
Today there is baba who has fixed a red siren to his car
There once was a baba Nanak who covered the world on foot

---

[59] For an insightful discussion on the existence of canons marking status and precedence amongst ascetic groups, see Katherine Ewing, 'Malangs of the Punjab: Intoxication or Adab as the Path to God?', in Barbara Metcalf (ed.), *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley, 1984), 357–72.

In the name of service to mankind they ask for doles of money
In the name of service to mankind they ask for doles of money
I hear that a baba today has bought a black Audi
These uneducated women have given men the stature of God

Babbu Mann[60]

In 2009, a song by the popular Punjabi singer Babbu Mann, critical of 'fake godmen', stirred an unexpectedly heated public debate over the link between piety and wealth. In the song and accompanying music video, Mann juxtaposes Nanak, represented as a mystical figure travelling the world on foot, against fake godmen who are depicted with all the trappings of wealth and power. Particularly controversial was a reference to the purchase of a black Audi by one of these 'babas'. This was read by many as a direct reference to the influential Sikh preacher and leader, Ranjit Singh Dhadrianwale (b.1983). Dhadrianwale, who had gained a huge following in the previous decade, had also reportedly acquired a black Audi. As could be expected, Dhadrianwale responded sharply to the song. Of particular relevance is his rejection of the link between piety and modes of transportation. He asserted that the world had gone through 'historical eras' delineated on the basis of modes of transportation: in the time of Nanak, 'everyone walked'; then came the era of horses and chariots; and finally the era of cars. Spirituality was not reflected in or affected by modes of movement. Dhadrianwale further stressed that 'when the whole world including the Sikh community travels in cars, including when they come to listen to the preachers, it was unreasonable to expect that the preachers themselves should only walk'.[61] Dhadrianwale was supported by some other religious figures who publicly critiqued Mann for linking piety with poverty and asceticism, which in turn came to be linked with walking. A contemporary of Dhadrianwale, Tarsem Singh Moranwali, for instance, berated Mann for insinuating that religious preachers 'should all die of hunger', 'beg for their food' and, most interestingly, 'walk and not drive'.[62]

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[60] Babbu Maan, Baba Nanak, 'Ek Baba Nanak Si', from the album *Singh is Better than King* (Point Zero Music, 2009).

[61] See Ranjit Singh Dhadrianwale responding to Babbu Maan's song during a religious lecture, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1T-DzAx6Y4Y (accessed 25 August 2015). The statements by Dhadrianwale in this clip spurred further debate.

[62] Tarsem Singh Moranwali, in 'bhai tarsem singh ji moranwali vs babbu mann', http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eEQ7J3ZrObY (accessed 25 August 2015).

I end with reference to this song and the controversy that accompanied it because the image of Nanak walking was employed in the song as a trope for sanctity and religious authority. Punjabi newspapers and television channels, blogs and even YouTube became sites through which people debated the link between spiritual development and wealth. For many of those partaking in this debate, walking—or the lack of a car—came to be associated with spiritual development and piety. Beyond this, the song also opened up a debate over *why* Nanak was walking. Here it is worth noting that the song was also opposed by some who, while not rejecting the link between spirituality and walking, felt that the use of the expression '*tur-ke duniya gah-ti*' (covered the world on foot) was disrespectful and misrepresented why Nanak chose to walk in the first place. Instead of '*gah-ti*' (covered), they asserted—keeping the rhyming pattern in mind!—that the proper expression should have been '*tur-ke duniya tar-ti*', or 'walked and saved the world from drowning'. Such an assertion implies that walking had nothing to do with the spiritual development or awakening of Nanak, and all to do with his attempt to save the world by making himself accessible, in a corporeal manner, to disparate non-elite groups. This leads to a question that has been crucial to this discussion: why is a spiritual being walking in the first place?

The public debate that erupted in the wake of Babbu Mann's song about Nanak essentially hinged around differing views over the naturalness of the link between piety and asceticism as represented by walking. This chapter has argued that the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the emergence of a new discourse that linked piety, spiritual authority and walking. In extolling the virtues of walking, figures like Gandhi, Vivekananda, Aurobindo and the Udasis were not merely reflecting long-established ascetic traditions. Instead, the emergence of modern technologies of circulation coupled with burgeoning ideas on health and physical culture led to novel ideas on the control and cultivation of the senses. Walking was presented as means through which to gain control over the senses and thus to develop oneself morally and spiritually. By examining the link between walking and piety, this chapter seeks to contribute, more broadly, towards an understanding of the relationship between the body, bodily practices and the soul in the modern and contemporary period. Even with the ascendancy of scripturalist interpretations of religion and the expansion of technologies of circulation, the body continues to be an important site through which spiritual authority is asserted and disputed. Indeed an examination of the body as a historical source and bodily practices as technologies of the self provides a deeper insight into religious life and experience. In closing, it is tempting to consider if it is the very focus on the body and the miracles associated with his body—rather than theology or scripture—that ensures that the Tehal Dass of Bhitiwala's *samadhi* continues to attract devotees from different religious and caste backgrounds.

CHAPTER 11

Walking in Andrei Bely's *Petersburg*: Active Perception and Embodied Experience of the City

Angeliki Sioli

It is the 'last day of September' of 'the year nineteen hundred and five' in St Petersburg, Russia, as narrated in Andrei Bely's novel *Petersburg* (1922).[1]

> 'Where are you going?' asked Nikolai Apollonovich, so that he might walk along the Moika with the officer.
>
> 'Home.'
>
> 'That means we're going the same way.'

---

[1] Andrei Bely, *Petersburg*, trans. Robert A. Maguire and John E. Malmstad (Bloomington, 1978), 12, 32. All subsequent citations of the novel are to the same edition. For reasons of convenience and economy they are followed only by a page indication next to an abbreviation that signifies the title of the novel: *P*. The novel was originally published in book form in 1916. As Robert A. Maguire and John E. Malmstad point out in the introduction to their translation, however, Bely was dissatisfied with this first complete edition, and began tinkering with it immediately. 'Working more by massive cutting than by actually rewriting, he subjected the text to such changes that the result was virtually a new novel, which appeared in 1922. The 1922 text represents the last version of the novel that Bely himself created before censorship intervened' (ibid., xxiv).

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> Above the two of them, alternating with rows of windows on a yellow building, were rows of lion faces, each over a coat of arms entwined with a stone garland.
>
> As if trying not to touch on something that was past, the two of them, interrupting each other, talked about how the disturbances of recent weeks had affected Nikolai Apollonovich's philosophical labors.
>
> Above the two of them, alternating with rows of windows on a yellow government building, were rows of lion faces, each over a coat of arms entwined with a garland.
>
> There's the Moika, and that same light-colored, three-storied, five-columned building; and the narrow strips of ornamented moulding above the third story: ring after ring; inside each ring was a Roman helmet on two crossed swords. They had already passed the building. And there's *the* house. And there are *the* windows …
>
> 'Goodbye. Are you going further?'
>
> Nikolai Apollonovich's heart began to pound. He was on the verge of asking something. But no, he did not ask. He stood all alone before the door that had just been slammed. He was gripped by memories of an unhappy love affair, or rather, of a sensual attraction.
>
> That same light-colored, five-columned building with a strip of ornamental moulding: inside each ring a Roman helmet on two crossed swords. (*P*, 30–1)

Nikolai Apollonovich and officer Sergei Sergeyevich walk across the Moika canal, and the city's buildings 'walk with them'—an unfolding of scenery that follows their slow pace. As their bodies move along the buildings' facades, the repetitive character of the action of walking (progress in space and time one step after the other) is subtly recorded through the repetitive language of the narrative. It seems to describe the features of the buildings once again; but small details are either added or altered in each subsequent description. Elements of the urban environment become more prominent as the walkers approach a building (or an area) and features of the surrounding architecture seem to fade as they draw away. The yellow building that showed only its rows of windows and lions at the very beginning is understood, after a few more steps, as a government building with its rows of windows and lions; and the three-storied building is perceived again with fewer details at the end of the passage as Nikolai is left on his own. Small details like these,[2] absorbed as a walker's attention falls on the city, are not immediately relevant to the topic of discussion—'And there's *the* house. And there are *the* windows … .' Like elements in a dream they abide by the emotional state the interlocutors are in while walking. The windows upon which Nikolai's gaze stumbles are Sofya's windows. Sofya is the wife of his fellow walker officer Sergei Sergeyevich and a woman with whom Nikolai is, unbeknown to her husband, desperately in love—feelings she no longer reciprocates. The door that gets slammed leaving Nikolai standing all alone belongs to her house—the house that Sergei enters.

Near the point where the two men part lies the city's most prominent street, Nevsky Prospect, along which Nikolai continues his peregrination:

> Of an evening the Prospect is flooded with fiery obfuscation. Down the middle, at regular intervals, hang the apples of electric lights. While along the sides plays the changeable glitter of shop signs. Here the sudden flare of ruby lights, there the flare of emeralds. A moment later the rubies are there, and the emeralds are here. (*P*, 31)

Nevsky Prospect appears paradoxically obscure, despite the fact that it is filled with both streetlights and illumination provided by the shop signs. The abundance of both public and private light sources seems to blur the vision, creating a spatial atmosphere of a bright obscurity—one experienced as the character walks through it, firstly approaching the ruby lights and then leaving them behind to meet the flare of the emeralds. Following the earlier reference to Sofya's windows the novel once more foregrounds the fact that our perception of space is affected (blurred or distracted) not only because of existing 'objective' spatial qualities of a place, but also because of our co-emerging emotional state. The obscure atmosphere of Nevsky is also Nikolai's (mental) preoccupation, characterizing reciprocally the urban environment. It will soon become evident how Nikolai's emotional state plays a central role in his reasoning:

> Nikolai Apollonovich was not seeing the Nevsky; before his eyes was that same house; windows and shadows behind the windows; perhaps merry voices … and *her* voice, *her* voice. (*P*, 31)

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[2] Bely was the originator of what later became a school of 'ornamental prose', a prose that concentrates the reader's attention on small details as independent smaller units: Konstantin Mochulsky, *Andrei Bely: His Life and Works*, trans. Nora Szalavitz (Ann Arbor, 1977), 7.

Desperate because of the misfortunes in his personal life caused by Sofya's indifference, Nikolai is incapable of 'seeing' anything else but the darkness of his soul. *Eros* is experienced in its most hopeless form; the knowledge that the object of his desire does not anymore desire him obscures every 'prospect'.

The Particular Walks of *Petersburg*

The urban walk described above is only one among many found in Bely's *Petersburg*—a novel of particular interest for architects and urban planners as it depicts one of the most remarkable urban environments of early modernity, the new Russian city of St Petersburg. Founded *ex nihilo* in 1703, this wonderful obsession of Peter the Great—driven by both rationalism and geometry—became an urban design paradigm for later centuries. Bely's fiction draws heavily upon the cartographic, topological and topographic reality of the city as experienced in the action. Through manifold descriptions of walking in the city, it reveals how urban place can be understood as a bodily-sensed perceptual sphere with the power to influence the course of our actions and have an impact on our consciousness.

The city's streets, parks, public spaces, and the activities that emerge in and because of them, are captured between 30 September and 9 October 1905. It is an eventful time for St Petersburg, marked by strikes and public protests manifesting the political tension between the middle class and the aristocracy—a tension which eventually forced the tsar in power, Nicholas II, to grant the country a constitution and led to the first revolution of St Petersburg in December 1905. The novel is particularly distinctive in its attempt to get the historical events of the time exactly right, as argued in Elaine Blair's study *Literary Petersburg, A Guide to the City and its Writers.* In some chapters Bely even records the political events reported in the newspapers of the day.[3] It was a time when 'Arguments in the Streets Became More Frequent' (*P*, 51) and everyone 'feared something, hoped for something, poured into the streets, gathered in crowds, and again dispersed' (*P*, 51).

On account of these particularities the nonetheless fictional plot and characters disclose how the geometry and urban layout of the city is lived, how public spaces are experienced by the characters, and what impact they have on them—whether as places allowing interaction with fellow citizens or as vehicles for political messages and social norms. They reveal, moreover, how important city landmarks are perceived and understood by the protagonists, how they orientate the walkers in the urban net, and what role they play in the political and social scene of the place. The characters are described walking in the city, perceiving the space through an active embodied interaction, fully immersed in the place itself. The literary descriptions of walking that are portrayed are remarkable in capturing the essentially active nature of perception and cognition, with respect to the urban environment.

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[3] Elaine Blair, *Literary Petersburg: A Guide to the City and its Writers* (New York, 2006), 71–2.

Active Walking Perception

Arguing for the primacy of embodied perception at the roots of being and understanding was Maurice Merleau-Ponty's seminal contribution to the development of Edmund Husserl's line of thought. In his *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945) Merleau-Ponty explains how both perception and emotion are dependent aspects of intentional action—our engaged bodily, sensorimotor knowing of the world. Francisco Valera, Evan Thompson and Eleanor Rosch further elaborated on Merleau-Ponty's argument on the active role of perception. According to their work *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience* (1993), embodied perception leads to a cognition that is not the representation of a pregiven world by a pregiven mind, but is rather the enactment of a world and a mind on the basis of a history of the variety of actions that a being in the world performs.[4]

More recent studies like Alva Nöe's *Out of Our Heads* (2009) and *Action in Perception* (2004) further urge that we should not think of consciousness as something that goes on inside us, as it is not neural activity on its own that constitutes consciousness.[5] Nöe argues that consciousness of the world around us is something that we do, something that we enact, with the world's help, in our dynamic living activities. Perceptual experience acquires content thanks to our possession of bodily skills; our capacity for perception is not only dependent upon, but also constituted by, our

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[4] Franscisco J. Varela, Evan Thompson and Eleanor Rosch, *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience* (Cambridge, 1993), 9.

[5] Alva Nöe, *Out of Our Heads: Why You Are Not Your Brain, and Other Lessons from The Biology of Consciousness* (New York, 2009), 40, 47.

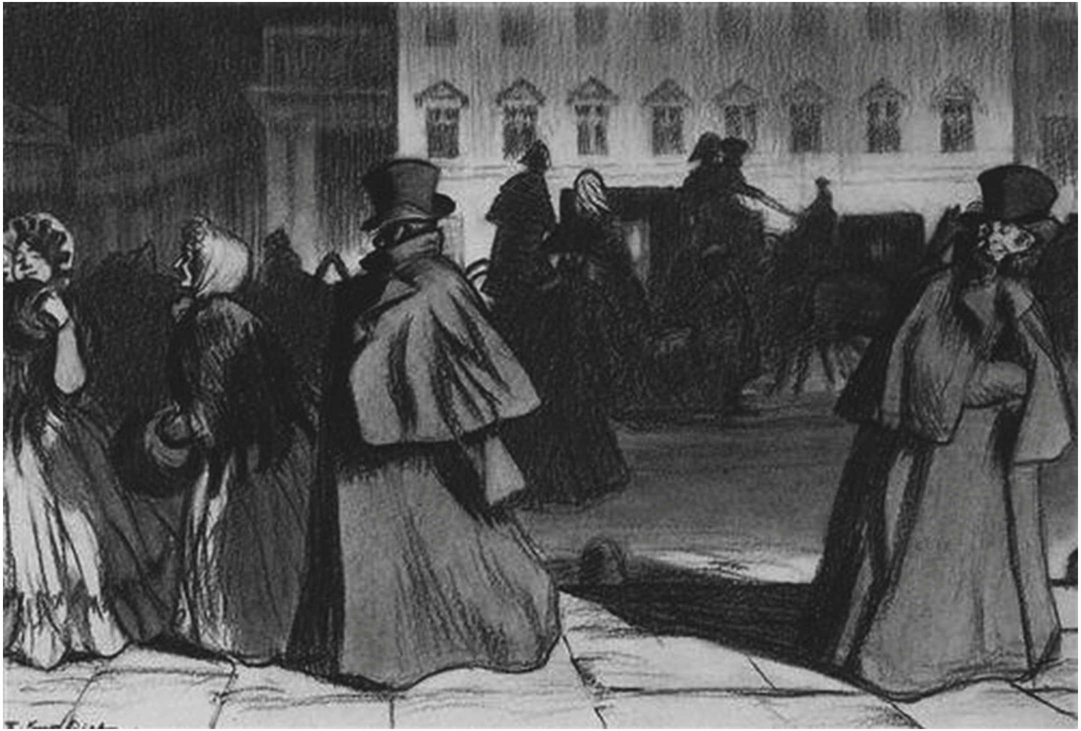

Fig. 11.1 Boris Kustodiev, *Akaky Akakiyevich on Nevsky Prospect* (1905). The painting depicts a scene from Nikolai Gogol's short story, 'The Overcoat' (1842), one of the many fictional stories of the time narrated through the protagonist's walking. In this particular scene the main character, Akaky Akakiyevich, takes a nocturnal walk gazing at the well-dressed ladies and the coachmen in their velvet caps

possession of sensorimotor knowledge.[6] These philosophical positions are an important underpinning of my argument.

This active perception of the urban place, materialized through the bodily action of walking as conveyed in *Petersburg*, is distinct from the walking experience captured by European literature in the wake of Baudelaire. The nineteenth-century type of the flâneur, which Walter Benjamin explores in great depth through a tremendous accumulation of publications from that period as well as through Baudelaire's writings, seems to keep a clear distance from the city: he is an observer of the urban environment much more than he is a participant in it. The flâneur is interested in and intrigued by the phantasmagoria of the city, as the city of Paris (in particular) is presented in front of his eyes, with the electrical lights illuminating the streets and the arcades.[7] The city remains at the level of a retinal experience. Contrary to the figure of the flâneur, the characters in *Petersburg* show how perception of urban space is realized through an engagement that can be fully embodied, subliminal and open to the changes an urban environment may engender in any walking experience.

Bely's *Petersburg* is actually not the only novel to record the city as an environment that allows for an active walking engagement with it—a place to be experienced, understood and sensed by the body. During the nineteenth century 'the "leisurely discursive practice" of the stroll was a widely used strategy in fictional texts, in which, instead of defining the temporal sequence or narrative through a fixed point of view, the flow of the text came to be informed by the observer's movement', as Ulla Hakanen's article, 'Panoramas from Above and Street from Below' (2010) documents (see, in this context, Fig. 11.1).[8] This observation is in accordance with Robert Alter's position in his *Imagined Cities: Urban Experience and the Language of the Novel* (2005), where he argues that, through the late decades of the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth, narrative in many European novels came to be conducted increasingly through the moment-by-moment experience—sensory, visceral and mental—of the main character or characters.[9]

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[6] Alva Nöe, *Action in Perception* (Cambridge, MA, 2004), 1–2.

[7] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 416–55.

[8] Ulla Hakanen, 'Panoramas from Above and the Street from Below', in Olga Matich (ed.), *Petersburg/Petersburg: Novel and City, 1900–1921* (Madison, 2010), 199.

[9] Robert Alter, *Imagined Cities: Urban Experience and the Language of the Novel* (New Haven, 2005), 129.

Following the Plot

The plot of *Petersburg* weaves around two main figures, Apollon Apollonovich and his son Nikolai Apollonovich—the Ableukhovs—who live in the city. Apollon Apollonovich Ableukhov is a 68-year-old senator who has 'a fear of space' (*P*, 52) and rarely walks in the city. He prefers to stare at St Petersburg through the windows of his office and move through it, safely sitting in his carriage. Despite his detached attitude to the urban environment, the city nevertheless has a calming influence on him because of the pristine, geometric clarity of its design:

> Proportionality and symmetry soothed the senators' nerves …
>
> His tastes were distinguished by their harmonious simplicity. Most of all he loved the rectilinear prospect; this prospect reminded him of the flow of time between two points of life. (*P*, 10)

In his imagination, the whole planet should be a configuration of linear prospects. His fascination with the linearity of the prospects springs from the fact that Petersburg's prospects—the city's main streets or 'streets of the first class'—were the epitome of the city's urban plan.[10] Solomon Volkov, author of a cultural history of St Petersburg, has pointed out that Tsar Peter the Great—with the help of the French architect Jean-Baptiste Alexandre Le Blond—plotted Petersburg with ruler in hand, designing broad, straight *pershpektivy*, a word deriving from the Latin *pro-specto*, which means 'to look into the distance'.[11] The intention behind such a design choice was that the streets would offer clear unobstructed views into the distance and the city would present a clear geometrical pattern,[12] one that would also facilitate surveillance for purposes of political control, as has been often pointed out by historians and urbanists.

Nikolai Apollonovich, whom we have already encountered walking the city, is the senator's son and a student of philosophy. For Nikolai, the city is not a frightening place, but rather an excuse to be away from home[13]—'the past few nights Nikolai Apollonovich had been out Lord knows where' (*P*, 48)—away from the awkward relation he holds with his father, with whom he barely speaks after his mother abandoned them and left for Italy with another man. Early on in the novel the reader realizes that Nikolai has given the revolutionary party some sort of imprudent promise to kill a high-ranking officer. His fellow student Alexander Ivanovich visits him in order to deliver a sardine tin for safekeeping. As the plot unfolds Nikolai realizes that the tin contains a bomb with a time mechanism, which he sets in motion—an action that will torment his consciousness throughout the novel. The provocateur Lippanchenko tosses him a letter stating that the revolutionary party demands that he blows up his own father.[14] After this moment, the narrative mainly explores the changes in the consciousness and emotions of the main characters. As the time bomb keeps ticking, the Winter Palace, one of the city's most renowned buildings and residence of Russia's ruling family, appears to bleed. This metaphor hints at Tsar Paul I's actual murder, an assassination in which his own son Alexander was involved, and reminds the reader how the city's history has been haunted by such atrocities.[15]

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[10] According to the 1914 edition of Baedeker's handbook for travellers, there are three main categories of streets in Petersburg. 'Streets of the first class are called *Prospékti*, or Perspectives. Among them there are the Nevski and Voznesénski Prospékts. Streets of the second rank are called *Úlitzi* while streets of the third rank are called *Pereúlki* (lanes)': Karl Baedeker, *Baedeker's Russia 1914* (London, 1971), 101.

[11] Solomon Volkov, *St. Petersburg: A Cultural History*, trans. Antonina W. Bouis (New York, 1995), 10–11.

[12] Ibid.

Petersburg and Walking

In his study *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than-Human World* (1997), the philosopher David Abram explains that stories (in this case literary stories) with a profound and indissoluble place–specificity can reveal that 'each place has its own dynamism, its own patterns of movement, and these patterns engage the senses and relate them in particular ways, instilling particular modes of awareness'.[16] This intrinsic relation between place and patterns of movement explains why specific and sometimes repetitive ways of walking in the streets and public spaces of Petersburg are narrated in Bely's novel, while distinct modes of awareness along with important self-realizations are related alongside them. On the one hand, the novel portrays solitary walks, which usually take place when Petersburg 'vanishes' into the night. In these walks, the urban place appears calm, manifesting no evidence of political upheaval and social tension. As is the case with Nikolai's peregrination, inner thoughts or personal fears are in dialogue with the darkness and mystery of the night, while the emerging modes of awareness are primarily related to personal, ethical or moral questions. The other mode of moving in the city takes place during the daytime and seems usually to happen amid crowds of people who populate and walk Petersburg's grandest circulation arteries, like the prominent Nevsky Prospect or the streets by the river's embankments. The city is frequently depicted as deluged with masses of people.

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[13] Many walks in *Petersburg* are triggered by the characters' wish to avoid the usually suffocating atmosphere of their domestic environments, longing for the soothing comfort of being at home in the city: Peter I. Barta, *Bely, Joyce and Döblin: Peripatetics in the City Novel* (Gainesville, 1996), 116–17.

[14] The topic of patricide was common among the turn-of-the-twentieth-century authors who looked at it as both a natural childhood wish for a parent to be dead, seen in Freudian terms, and as a metaphor for breaking with the past, seen in the context of Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Both Freudian and Nietzschean influences have been traced in Bely's *Petersburg*. See Judith Wermuth-Atkinson, *The Red Jester: Andrei Bely's Petersburg as a Novel of the European Modern* (Berlin, 2012), 119–20.

[15] Peter Barta, 'Symbolization of Urban Space in *Burges-la-Morte* and in Andrei Bely's *Petersburg*', in Philip Mosley (ed.), *Georges Rodenbach: Critical Essays* (Madison & London, 1996), 164.

It is important to point out that the novel's notable emphasis on walking is another element bearing a strong connection with the city's actual urban life. Walking was a practice particularly associated with Petersburg during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Ulla Hakanen explains, 'the stroll gained greater popularity in the early nineteenth century, as the upper classes followed the example of Alexander I, who took daily public walks'; 'The visibility of popular forms of walking increased toward the end of the century, as more and more leisure activities expanded into public spaces; and parks, which previously had been restricted to the aristocracy, were now transformed into commercial facilities that attracted the growing middle classes.'[17]

WALKING ACROSS COLUMNS OF CONVERSATION

As I have already suggested, *Petersburg*'s main narrative focus centres on the seemingly unavoidable bomb explosion. The suspicion of the bomb's existence is communicated to the reader at the very beginning of the narrative through the description of a walker (an unidentified citizen belonging to the revolutionary party), catching fragments of words while passing by people who stand on the pavement. The experience of walking and the body in motion are represented through sound as Bely renders the acoustic presence of the city streets; he shows in effect how consciousness is constituted from a meaningfully ordered configuration of sensations, and how perceptual consciousness involves a sensuous relationship with the world, effected through embodied interactions with it:[18]

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[16] David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than-Human World* (New York, 1997), 182.

[17] Alexander I (1777–1825) was tsar from 23 March 1801 to 1 December 1825 and tried to introduce liberal reforms during the first half of his reign. The quotes are from Hakanen, 'Panoramas from Above', 199.

> Cutting across columns of conversations, he caught fragments, and sentences took form.
>
> 'Do you know?' was heard from somewhere on the right. And died away
>
> And then surfaced:
>
> 'They are planning …'
>
> 'To throw …'
>
> A whisper from behind:
>
> 'At who?'
>
> And then an indistinct couple said:
>
> 'Abl …'
>
> They passed by:
>
> 'At Ableukhov?!'
>
> The couple completed the sentence somewhere far away:
>
> 'Abl-ution is not the sol-u-tion for what …'
>
> And the couple hiccupped
>
> And the stranger stopped, shaken by all he had heard:
>
> 'They're planning …'
>
> 'To throw…?'
>
> Whispering began all around:
>
> 'Probable … proof …'
>
> The stranger heard not 'prob' but 'prov', and finished it himself:

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[18] Nick Crossley, *The Social Body: Habit, Identity and Desire* (London; 2001), 73.

> 'Prov-ocation?!'
>
> Provocation began its revelry all along the Nevsky. Provocation had changed the meaning of the words that had been heard. (*P*, 15–16)

The walker of the passage is able to distinguish only shards of the conversation; the phrases that reach him get scrambled, and thus ambiguities proliferate.[19] He is aware of the bomb and the revolutionary party's intention to deliver it to Nikolai, and is already anxious at the prospect of the explosion and 'in utter confusion' (*P*, 15) because he has just coincidentally encountered Senator Ableukhov's carriage at one of the city's crossroads—an unexpected meeting that spontaneously made him break 'into a run' (*P*, 15). As Nick Crossley, in his work *The Social Body: Habit, Identity and Desire* (2001) explains, emotions are ways of-being-in-the-world, ways of making sense of and acting in the world; to be in a particular emotional state entails perceiving the world in a particular way—noticing things that one might not usually notice, and being affected by what one hears or sees in ways that one may not normally be affected.[20] The passer-by's anxiety about the forthcoming explosion, and all of its political consequences, merges with the reality of the street, is confused with the fragmented words overheard while walking, and creates a different reality for him—his own inter-subjective reality in which the frightening news has already spread all over the city. The city is at any rate a place where words get spread—from gossip to public speeches—and these words intervene with the external world that receives and distributes them. As Bely himself argued in his 1909 essay 'The Magic of Words', 'the word creates a new, third world: a world of sound symbols by means of which both the secrets of a world located outside me and those imprisoned in a world inside me come to light. The outside world spills over into my soul. The inside world spills out of me into the break of day and the setting sun, into the rustling of trees.'[21]

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[19] Alter, *Imagined Cities*, 93.

[20] Crossley, *Social Body*, 85.

[21] Andrey Bely, 'The Magic of Words', in Steven Cassedy (ed.), *Selected Essays of Andrey Bely* (Berkeley, 1985), 94. The Russian name of Andrei Bely (Андрéй Бéлый) appears in different transliterations in the various English translations of his novels and theoretical work: Andre*i* and Andre*y* for the first name, Bely and B*i*ely for the last. Throughout the chapter I use the transliteration 'Andrei Bely' but whenever the name appears as 'Andrey' or 'Biely' in titles of cited works, the footnote references respect the different transliteration.

The exchange of words heard through high interference is, moreover, the auditory equivalent of the field of visual perception that often prevails throughout the novel. Auditory as well as visual space is too crowded—there are multiple 'columns of conversations'—and everything around the unidentified walker is in flux.[22] The city is indeed already a carrier of immense political tension, a receptacle of turmoil and intensity, with its social configurations poised in a delicate balance. Its political history, crowded with incidents and stories of conspiracies (implemented in many of the tsars' own lives), colours the atmosphere in advance. In Bely's narrative this richness is embraced in full and is in constant dialogue with his characters' interactions with space. Bely explores immediately the interweaving of an urban environment already embedded with tension and the ebullient inner world of Petersburg's dwellers. Walking is the bodily action that weaves the two together, allowing new meanings to come into being. Elaborating on Husserl's understanding of walking, philosopher Edward Casey explains how in walking we move into a near-sphere of our own choosing, if not of our own making, and in this sphere we encounter places as much as we enliven them. 'The result is thus a place-world that is the correlate of the ambulatory body—a world constituted by the same body that depends on it for its ongoing localization.'[23] This understanding of *walking* (whether pacing in a slow, relaxing rhythm, strolling, running, or even marching) is ever-present in the novel; it is manifested in the inhabitants' active perception and creative relationship with the city.

DRIFTED AWAY BY THE SEDIMENT

There are moments in the novel when the reader has the impression that the city almost possesses its inhabitants.[24] Even this state of possession is, rather than just passive, a form of engagement with the city: it requires a full submergence in the urban environment, and still manifests, through Bely's literary language, a participatory and active perception. The example of Alexander Ivanovich, Nikolai's fellow student who delivered him the bomb in the sardine tin, is a characteristic manifestation of this non-dualistic relationship of the city walker with his world. Alexander, who was initially not aware that the bomb he delivered to Nikolai is destined for Nikolai's own father, is deeply upset when he comes to this realization. The fear of the impending explosion drives him out into the city, in an attempt to find the revolutionary party's leader and elicit clarifications:

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[22] Alter, *Imagined Cities*, 93–4.

[23] Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: a Philosophical History* (Berkeley, 1998), 228.

[24] John Cournos, 'Introduction', in Andrey Biely, *St. Petersburg* (New York, 1959), xii.

> All the shoulders formed a viscous and slowly flowing sediment. The shoulder of Alexander Ivanovich stuck to the sediment, and was, so to speak, sucked in. In keeping with the laws of the organic wholeness of the body, he followed the shoulder and thus was cast out onto the Nevsky.
>
> What is a grain of caviar?
>
> There the body of each individual that streams onto the pavement becomes the organ of a general body, an individual grain of caviar, and the sidewalks of the Nevsky are the surface of an open-faced sandwich. Individual thought was sucked into the cerebration of the myriapod being that moved along the Nevsky.
>
> And wordlessly they stared at the myriad legs; and the sediment crawled. It crawled by and shuffled on flowing feet; the sticky sediment was composed of individual segments; and each individual segment was a torso.
>
> There were no people on the Nevsky, but there was a crawling, howling myriapod there. The damp space poured together a myria-distinction of voices into a myria-distinction of words. All the words jumbled and again wove into a sentence; and the sentence seemed meaningless. (*P*, 178–9)

Alexander is drawn beyond his will into a mass of walkers. Bely does not even talk about bodies in their totality, but focuses only on shoulders, both a fragmentation of the modern city metaphorized this time by the body, and a focus of attention for Alexander, whose own shoulder seems to be the connecting joint with the 'viscous sediment' formed by the other shoulders. The shoulders are described to slowly flow, rather than walk or stand: dregs on the street's pavements, settling at the very bottom of a city understood as an immense container filled with elements more important than the shoulders themselves. Alexander's very body, in interaction with this urban mass that seems to lack value and dictates his movement—'he followed the shoulder'—is forcefully thrown into the Nevsky Prospect. The moment he encounters Nevsky, he finds himself wondering what a grain of caviar is. The thought is provoked by the prevailing mood and activities taking place in the street—'there the body of each individual … becomes the organ of a general body'—a street populated by a mass of people, metaphorically portrayed as an open-faced caviar sandwich: to be eaten, consumed, devoured. The images of both caviar sandwich and myriapod suggest the imposed annihilation of any individual walking or standing on the Nevsky—'There were no people on the Nevsky.' They also hint at the fact that individual will and personal desire have always been perceived in Petersburg's history as subaltern to the common good and social progress. This is an ethos, even a myth, which has haunted the city since its very foundation, when thousands of people died as a result of the harsh construction conditions, obeying without complaint the authoritarian demands of the tsar and his engineers.[25] After this moment of encounter with Nevsky, Alexander's individual thoughts are not his own. Consciousness is 'outside of his head', as Alva Nöe would argue, describing the now current belief in cognitive science that mind or consciousness is also in the physical environment[26]—'Individual thought was sucked into the cerebration of the myriapod being that moved along the Nevsky.'

Once more Bely focuses on the acoustic qualities of the space, and space is this time portrayed as responsible for gathering the numerous voices. The space is felt to be damp, meaning diffused with moisture through the air, and this wet condensation seems to bring the voices together—'the damp space poured together a myriapod distinction of voices'. But this time the words that seem to emerge from the human mass of the city are rearranged in meaningless yet expressive sentences: a public speech almost of the city itself. The words of this speech, each coming from a small fragment of people's bodies—'each individual segment was a torso'—do not add up to intelligible discourse; rather, they are like gestures of anguish and fear. The emphasis on the individual body-parts also could be read as referring to the coming explosion, the dispersing of bodies into pieces which is Alexander's constant thought and fear as he merges with the myriapod. Sunk into his thoughts of guilt, he sees the space of the city as entirely constituted of fragments of attire or bodies:

> Rolling toward them down the street were many-thousand swarms of bowlers. Rolling toward them were top hats, and the froth of ostrich feathers.

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[25] The literary production of the nineteenth century in Petersburg portrays the city as a menacing presence, a hostile environment; its inhabitants believe that the city is cursed by the fact that it was built at the expense of so many human lives. Authors like Pushkin and Dostoyevsky based the plots of their stories on this perception of the city. It was at the turn of the century that ideas about Petersburg began to shift and that an admiration for the city and its cosmopolitan spirit developed among authors and poets like Alexander Block, Anna Akhmatova and, of course, Bely: Blair, *Literary Petersburg*, 12.

[26] Nöe, *Out of Our Heads*, 15–32.

> Noses sprang out from everywhere.
>
> Beaklike noses: eagles' and roosters'; ducks' and chickens'; and – so on and on – greenish, green, and red. Rolling toward them senselessly, hastily, profusely. (*P*, 178)

It is not surprising that these thoughts occur to Alexander while walking among the crowd. The experience of being drawn in to the crowd silences his own thought, as described by Bely; instead of his mind hastening to its next mental preoccupation, as is our tendency in everyday life,[27] he is fully present among his fellow-walkers and thus fully conscious and mindful of his own walking. The city's words do not distract him this time: the sound of sentences woven together is meaningless. This enactive engagement is augmented by the fact that walking enables an intense awareness in relation to the bomb's devastating effect on human bodies. Walking, we confront others, come face-to-face with them, and see them recede behind us, becoming faceless and even bodiless.[28] This is an integral and primary aspect of the walking experience, which unavoidably magnifies in Alexander's consciousness the dreadful outcome of someone's literal disappearance, someone's actual death caused by the explosion of a bomb.

This important realization takes place on Nevsky Prospect. (After his experience with and within the myriapod, Alexander actually assassinates the leader of the party, Lippanchenko, overwhelmed with aversion to the idea of a political organization demanding the assassination of one's own father.) St Petersburg and its long prospects have always been perceived as non-Russian in the context of the country, while Nevsky Prospect in particular has always been correlated in Russian people's minds with an important path towards the Westernization of traditional Russia, towards a different future that will lead to the overturning of the current state of things, and that will allow for another set of choices, and actions to take place. Indeed, throughout the novel, Nevsky Prospect's spatial qualities oscillate between those of a place that seems to impose social conformity, turning people into a mass, and of one that reminds them of the possibility of different moral or ethical choices. As Michel de Certeau has suggested in his article 'Walking in the City' (1984), people in cities are put *in motion* by the remaining relics of meaning related to streets; these insinuate other routes that can be drawn out of the functionalistic and historical order of movement.[29] It is worth dwelling on Bely's very first depiction of Nevsky Prospect in the novel's prologue:

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[27] Varela, Thompson and Rosch, *Embodied Mind*, 25.

[28] Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Bloomington, 1993), 87.

> Nevsky Prospect possesses a striking attribute: it consists of a space for the circulation of the public … Nevsky Prospect, like any prospect, is a public prospect, that is: a prospect for the circulation of the public (not of air, for instance) …
>
> Nevsky Prospect is rectilineal (just between us), because it is a European prospect; and any European prospect is not merely a prospect, but (as I have already said) a prospect that is European, because … yes. …
>
> For this reason, Nevsky Prospect is a rectilineal prospect.
>
> Nevsky Prospect is a prospect of no small importance in this un-Russian-but nonetheless-capital city. Other Russian cities are a wooden heap of hovels. (*P*, 2)

The street is understood as an important non-Russian place—differentiating Petersburg from the heap of hovels—that primarily serves the circulation of the public, a quality that Bely characterizes as striking. It is important to understand why this is so. Shouldn't indeed all streets serve this circulation? Beyond its conventional meaning in planning and architecture, 'circulation' is a word that also signifies the public availability and knowledge of something. With his literary image of 'a prospect for the circulation of the public', Bely hints at the fact that Nevsky (along with other prospects) will at particular moments in the novel emerge bearing qualities of what Hannah Arendt referred to as the 'space of appearance': a space allowing people to raise their own voice and pursue their ethical quests. 'The space of appearance comes into being wherever men are together in the manner of speech and action, and therefore predates all formal constitution of the public realm. … Its peculiarity is that unlike the spaces which are the work of our hands, it does not survive the actuality of the moment which brought it into being, and disappears … with the disappearance or arrest of activities themselves.' Yet, as Arendt also explained, public spaces in European cities that truly fulfil this role (a role originating in the Greek *polis*) became rare during the eighteenth century.[30] If a

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[29] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendhall (Berkeley, 1984), 105.

[30] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago, 1998), 199.

'space of appearance' is one where people become human through speech and action, one would be hard-pressed to interpret Nevsky as such, where the crowds are described as caviar or a 'myriapod'. And yet, through Alexander's 'awakening' inside the 'myriapod' and the description of Nevsky's European character, the novel also suggests Nevsky's potential as a site of political protest, as a space of problematic yet effective communication, perhaps hitting upon its contradictions and its potential role as a true public space characteristic of the modern city.

Marching in the Strike

As the plot unfolds, this quality to emerge as the 'space of appearance' seems to characterize other major streets in the city's centre, like the ones by the embankments of the Neva, where important political demonstrations take place:

> Shaggy Manchurian fur hats were pouring onto the streets and melting into the crowd. The crowd kept growing. Shady types and Manchurian fur hats were moving in the direction of a gloomy building with becrimsoned upper stories. By the gloomy building the crowd consisted of nothing but shady types and Manchurian fur hats.
>
> And they pushed and shoved through the entryway doors – how they pushed, how they shoved! But how could it be otherwise? A worker has no time to bother with manners. A bad smell hung in the air.
>
> At the intersection near the pavement a small detachment of policemen were sheepishly stamping their feet in the cold. Their commanding officer looked sheepish. Gray himself in a gray coat, the poor fellow kept shouting and deferentially hitching up his sword, with downcast eyes. And from behind there came at him rude remarks, rebukes, laughter and even, my, my, obscene abuse … And the officer kept shouting:
>
> 'Keep moving, folks, keep moving!' (*P*, 62–3)

The 'gloomy building with becrimsoned upper stories' in front of which the strike takes place is presumably, as literary research has maintained, the city's University. The individuals—workers in their majority—who pour into the area to join the rest of the citizens *melt* in the crowd, get absorbed by it, become part of it and subsequently cease to stand out. Their bodies act purposively and both seek out, and reply to, meanings within their environment.[31] The crowd of the city seems to consists only of 'fur hats' and 'shady types' for Bely; shady because of their indignation at the political regime on the one hand, but also shady in a way that implies they cannot be clearly distinguished in the mass, either by the policemen that attend the scene or by the buildings of the Admiralty area. The urban experience presented is distinct from the one embodied by Alexander earlier: all the people coming together on this occasion share the same intentionality, that of political protest, and this is clearly expressed in their interactions with the city. Policemen are depicted as standing by discreetly, unable or unwilling to react. The occupation of the big, linear University Embankment by a massive amount of people weakens the policemen's control, in terms of their power to know who the people walking in the street are. It is an interesting reversal that contradicts the image of the city's urban plan captured by the author earlier in the plot, one resembling an almost panoptic view of the space, indicating how the austere urban plan can acquire an oppressive presence for the city's walkers:

> The wet, slippery prospect was intersected by another wet prospect at a ninety-degree right angle. At the point of intersection stood a policeman.
>
> And exactly the same kind of houses rose up, and the same kind of grey human streams passed by there, and the same kind of yellow–green fog hung there.
>
> But parallel with the rushing prospect was another rushing prospect with the same row of boxes, with the same numeration, with the same clouds. (*P*, 11)

The contrasts and contradictions between the former description of the city—plain-looking and uniform—and the massive occupation of the University Embankment reveal how the embodied engagement with the urban environment is not only a mode of political action, an active expression of the citizens' collective awareness, but also a way of changing the city; its image, its physical state, its spatial features, even its odour—'A bad smell hung in the air.' It is a 'refiguration' of space as defined by the philosopher Paul Ricoeur, an inhabiting as *response* to the built environment, where the act of inhabiting is understood as a focus not only of needs, but also of expectations;[32] the expectation that Petersburg and its prospects will walk traditional Russia to its European future.

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[31] Crossley, *Social Body*, 89.

Conclusion

The novel finishes with the explosion of the bomb, which doesn't physically hurt anyone, apart from damaging a small part of the Ableukhov's house. Despite the minimal damage, the threat of the bomb and the political reality it expresses trigger a new set of relationships among the characters, lead them into the streets, and transform their perception of the city and their understanding of themselves.

It could of course be argued that the use of the city in Bely's narrative is really particular to the historical changes that took place in Petersburg during the autumn of 1905 (with the exception of Nikolai's nocturnal peregrination), and does not relate to a more general shared use of the place offering meaningful architectural lessons about the appropriation of space and interaction with the urban environment beyond this historical frame. To this claim, I would answer with Merleau-Ponty that history is not the succession of discreet events, past and present, but their cumulative penetration in an unfolding process, and it is habit, as the sedimented effect of the past within the present, that allows this penetration and unfolding to occur.[33] Despite the particular historical circumstances of Petersburg in the year 'nineteen hundred and five', peoples' interaction with the city, the elements of the urban environment that influence and affect their walking, decisions and self-realizations, are all characteristic of the place that Petersburg was and still is: a city with broad, wide streets 'for the circulation of the public', from which began the revolution that overthrew the long established political regime—a revolution which most probably could not ever have started in Moscow. Through the enactive walking engagement with the urban place, moreover, the experiences captured and described transcend the strict time boundaries of the plot and are resonant with more universal and trans-historical concerns about urban and architectural space.

The novel starts with this *sui generis* classification of Nevsky Prospect and all the prospects, and through moments of unordinary or unanticipated use of space reveals an understanding of the city that first and foremost contradicts the general, common urban planning assumption regarding orthogonal and strictly geometrical environments. Instead of a place of control, designed for smooth and efficient traffic flows, the long, linear prospects become spaces for political protest and awareness, places that incite people to embody their ethical decisions and experience personal, emotional maturation and growth. They are also transformed into the erotic space of desire (obscure and blurry during Petersburg's nights), where the architecture of the city appears as the manifestation of our perennial lack—of that desire forever unfulfilled for our beloved ones—and the city's small details work as a constant reminder of the reciprocity of love and death, of our mortal human condition and of our ephemerality as inhabitants of this world. This outcome anticipates the spaces that emerged from the use of similar geometries in urban design during the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While ostensibly undertaken in the name of hygiene and intentionally deployed for the purposes of surveillance and military manoeuvres—as was the case with Haussmann's Paris for example—these modern interventions in the city resulted in wondrous places for the public to stroll, and contributed to the eventual growth of the urban space.

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[32] Paul Ricoeur, 'Architecture and Narrative', trans. Huw Evans, in *Identity and Difference: Integration and Plurality in Today's Forms: Cultures between the Ephemeral and the Lasting* (Milan, 1996), 67.

[33] Merleau-Ponty develops this argument in his attempt to contradict Jean Paul Sarte's view as expressed in *Being and Nothingness* that any event is equally possible at any time. Quoted in Crossley, *Social Body*, 135.

In addition, Bely's way of transcribing empirical experience[34] and his focus on fragmented details enlarge our understanding of our perception of space: how it is heavily based on emotions, feelings and thoughts already dwelling within us, as well as dialogues with the city's physical appearance—dialogues of different content and nature emerging in different urban places. The novel thus reveals an architecture of the city that invites an embodied dialogue and an attunement through walking, one capable of overriding other meanings arising from rational preconceived ideas or prejudices imposed on its physical fabric.

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[34] Bely was associated with the symbolist literary movement but, as scholars like Alexander Woronzoff and Steven Cassedy have pointed out, he developed a personal and particular interpretation of Symbolism. In 1930 Bely wrote in his memoirs that 'I am a symbolist. My sensory organs are measuring instruments': quoted in Christa Boris, *The Poetic World of Andrey Bely* (Amsterdam, 1977), 12. The statement idiosyncratically combines two contradictory notions of perception under one common belief. The metaphorical and suggestive approach to reality advocated by the symbolist writers, and an active, engaged, embodied interaction with the world that values direct perception and the immediateness of the body as a measure of its surroundings, seem to merge. Indeed in many of the novel's urban descriptions the two seemingly contradictory approaches merge poetically, revealing both symbolic and sensorial elements of the city.

CHAPTER 12

Walking and Environmentalism in the Career of James Bryce: Mountaineer, Scholar, Statesman, 1838–1922

Paul Readman

> *Even in these days of easy travelling, and with every temptation to ride, walking has never been so popular.*
> Thomas E. Hammond, President of the Surrey Walking Club, *Cairngorm Club Journal* (July 1911).

In Victorian and Edwardian Britain, walking became increasingly popular as recreation. Whether exploring the Lake District landscape made so popular by Wordsworth and Coleridge (whose own pedestrian exertions had passed into folklore), rambling across bog and heather in the Scottish Highlands, or simply taking a Sunday excursion to Epping Forest, the British walked for fun more than ever before.[1] Shorter working hours and more holidays (Bank Holidays were introduced in 1871) helped popularize the activity with all social classes. Walking societies flourished, ranging from Sir Leslie Stephen's 'Sunday Tramps', a highbrow group of metropolitan intellectuals, to G. H. B. Ward's Clarion Ramblers, a working-class group based in Sheffield which by 1914 was probably the largest

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[1] For a useful survey, see H. Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside: A History of the British Outdoor Movement* (Edinburgh, 1997).

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rambling club in the country.[2] Walking literature proliferated to meet this new desire, as one popular guidebook writer put it, 'to get off and away from the beaten track, to take to the field-paths and woodlands, to enjoy panoramic glimpses of the surrounding country and of the glistening sea from the vantage of out-of-the-way hillside paths'.[3] And aside from utilitarian publications giving details of particular walks and tours, many belletristic publications devoted to the pleasures of pedestrianism were also produced, Hilaire Belloc's 1911 anthology *The Footpath Way* being one prominent example.[4]

Belloc's book was aptly named, as the British public increasingly prized footpaths as amenities worth preserving. In the context of mounting criticism of the British land system as having caused mass rural–urban migration and the excessive concentration of real property,[5] the maintenance of public access to revivifying draughts of nature seemed imperative to many, conservatives as well as liberals and radicals. Organizations were set up to protect pedestrian rights of way, commons and open spaces. The most important of these was the Commons Preservation Society (1865), which in 1899 merged with the National Footpaths Preservation Society (1884), but there was also a host of smaller local-level groups, testifying to the depth of grassroots feeling.[6] Indeed, footpath-stopping and commons enclosure could generate stormy public protest, as at Knole Park in Kent in 1883–5.[7] Predictably enough, the blocking of footpaths in Wordsworth's Lake District brought out the crowds: in autumn 1887, 2,000 people walked the route of one disputed track to the summit of Latrigg near Keswick, removing any obstructions they encountered as they went up the hill.[8] But feelings could run high even in less celebrated places, such as at Swaffham in Norfolk where, in May 1890, the obstruction of two old paths led to demonstrations by hundreds of agricultural labourers intent on defending the routes of their regular Sunday afternoon perambulations.[9]

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[2] David Prynn, 'The Clarion Clubs, Rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain since the 1890s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 11(2) (1976), 65–77; Melanie Tebbutt, 'Rambling and Manly Identity in Derbyshire's Dark Peak, 1880s–1920s', *Historical Journal*, 49(4) (2006), 1123–53; William Whyte, 'Sunday Tramps (*act.* 1879–1895)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[3] E. S. Taylor (pseud. Walker Miles), *Field-Path Rambles*, Eastbourne Series (London, 1904), 2.

[4] Hilaire Belloc, *The Footpath Way* (London, 1911).

[5] See Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman, 'Introduction', in Cragoe and Readman (eds), *The Land Question in Britain, 1750–1950* (Basingstoke, 2010), 1–18.

[6] Within its first year the National Footpaths Preservation Society (NFPS) received 124 reports of footpath-stopping, and filed 530 newspaper cuttings on the subject: NFPS, *First Annual Report, 1884–85* (London, 1885), 1–8. The merger of the NFPS and the Commons Preservation Society resulted in the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society. In 1910 it became the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society; at the time of writing it is known as the Open Spaces Society. For the sake of simplicity, it will be referred to throughout this chapter as the Commons Preservation Society (CPS).

[7] David Killingray, 'Rights, "Riot" and Ritual: The Knole Park Access Dispute, Sevenoaks, Kent, 1883–5', *Rural History*, 5(1) (1994), 63–79.

James, later Viscount Bryce (1838–1922) (see Fig. 12.1) was one of the leading lights in the campaign for the preservation of footpaths, open spaces and pedestrian access to landscape. Politician, diplomat, jurist, political scientist, historian and indefatigable globetrotting traveller, Bryce was a man of many parts. The Liberal prime minister Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman described him as 'the most accomplished man in the House of Commons … He has been everywhere, read almost everything, and known everybody'; for the historian A. G. Gardiner, he was of 'indisputable greatness'.[10] These encomiums were well justified. In addition to sitting as Liberal MP for the London constituency of Tower Hamlets and later Aberdeen between 1880 and 1907, and serving as Cabinet minister in three Liberal governments, Bryce was a polymath intellectual. He wrote a celebrated *History of the Holy Roman Empire* when aged just 26, co-founded the *English Historical Review*, became Regius professor of Civil Law at Oxford University in his early thirties, and in 1888 published what for at least half a century was the standard work on the constitution of the United States, the *American Commonwealth*, a three-volume blockbuster which had sold 212,288 copies by 1938.[11] In later life, he served as one of the most successful British ambassadors to the US (1907–13), endearing himself to the American public (to whom he was already known as author of the *American Commonwealth* and for his contributions to E. L. Godkin's influential periodical *The Nation*); and during and immediately after the First World War he contributed materially to the establishment of the League of Nations.

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[8] *English Lakes Visitor and Keswick Gazette*, 8 October 1887.

[9] *Lynn News and County Press*: 24 May 1890, 5; 7 June 1890, 8; 21 June 1890, 5, 8.

[10] G. P. Gooch, 'Lord Bryce', *Contemporary Review*, 121 (1922), 304; A. G. Gardiner, 'Mr. James Bryce', in Gardiner, *Pillars of Society* (London, 1913), 309.

[11] Francis G. Wilson, review of R. C. Brooks (ed.), *Bryce's American Commonwealth: Fiftieth Anniversary* (New York, 1939), in *Review of Politics*, 2(2) (1940), 226–7.

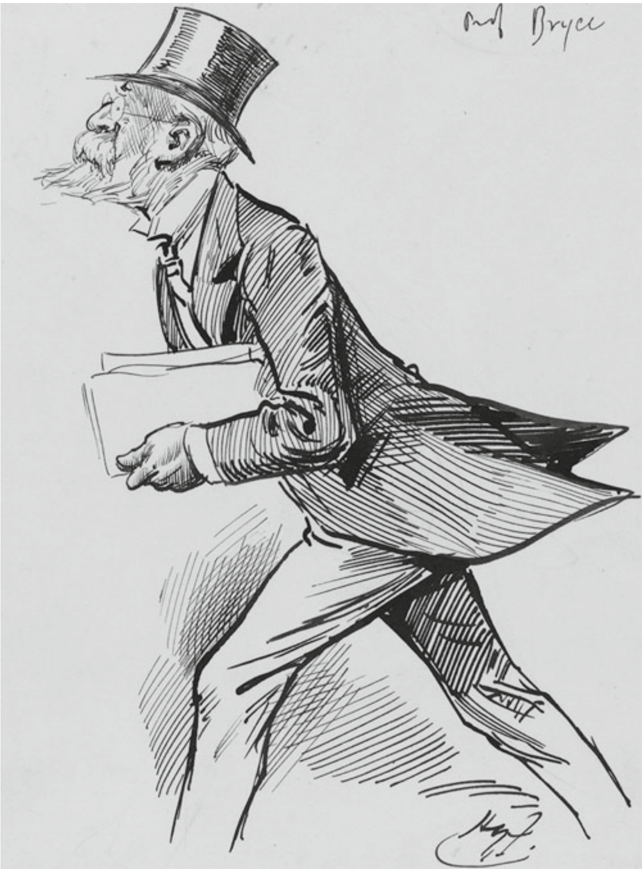

Fig. 12.1 'James Bryce, First Viscount Bryce', Harry Furniss, pen and ink drawing (©National Portrait Gallery, London)

As this summary of his accomplishments suggests, Bryce was a man of great energy. In his journal of a trip that he had taken with friends when at university, the jurist A. V. Dicey recorded that 'He stirs us all up, rushes about like a shepherd's dog … makes us meet, leads us into plans and adventures, and keeps everything going'; more than 50 years later, encountering Bryce on his return to Britain from the US after his ambassadorial term, Dicey observed that he 'was as usual constantly on the rush, now writing a note, now rushing up to shake hands with some friend'.[12] Throughout his long life, Bryce's activity was prodigious and—appropriately for a man who campaigned for the preservation of footpaths and open spaces—one of its chief outlets was walking. Bryce was one of the era's great walkers, and what follows will examine his pedestrian passions as a means of inquiring into the intellectual significance of walking—and the associated activity of mountaineering—in Britain between the mid-nineteenth century and the First World War. In doing so, it also aims to shed light on the motivations of walkers and climbers, Bryce's well-documented life providing ample materials for such an investigation.

I

Bryce's pedestrian passions were formed early in life. Born of Ulster–Scots parentage in Belfast, he climbed his first mountain, Trostan, near Cushendall in County Antrim, in the summer of 1849 when he was 11 years old. After his family moved to Glasgow—his father having been appointed rector of the High School of Glasgow—he spent happy holidays in the Scottish hills, a trip to the rocky island of Arran in 1853 being especially important in developing his attraction to mountain walking and climbing, as well as stimulating a keen interest in botany.[13] By the time he arrived as an undergraduate at Oxford walking was an important part of his life. Indeed, it is the single most frequently noted activity in his intermittently-kept diaries of this time; he seems to have taken significant walks almost every day, even in winter, and even when ill.[14] On Sunday 24 January 1858, for example, we find that 'A cold prevented me from going to Church', but not from having 'a delightful walk in the country' with a friend.[15] After graduating from Oxford, Bryce moved to London to practise at the Bar, but his pedestrian habits continued. Eschewing omnibus and cab, he walked to work from his home in the West End, toiling down via Oxford Street to his chambers at Lincoln's Inn; and judging by his diary he evidently took longer walks in and around the metropolis every Sunday.[16]

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[12] Robert S. Rait, *Memorials of Albert Venn Dicey* (London, 1925), 39, 221.

[13] H. A. L. Fisher, *James Bryce*, 2 vols. (London, 1927), I, 26–33.

[14] In his sparse and laconic diary for Lent Term 1859, Bryce recorded 26 separate walks between 30 January and 23 March 1859, despite there not being an entry for every day: Papers of James, Viscount Bryce, 1826–1958 [hereafter Bryce papers], Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bryce 334.

[15] Ibid. An entry three days later reports that he 'Began to be annoyed by a very sore throat', but still 'walked in the country with Alex. Brown' (ibid.).

By this time, however, Bryce had found a particularly important outlet for his compelling interest in travelling by foot: mountaineering. One key influence on Bryce here was Leslie Stephen, fellow intellectual, first editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and lifelong friend. An accomplished mountaineer and member of the Alpine Club, Stephen had accompanied Bryce on a summer holiday to Transylvania in 1866, during which they had climbed some significant if not overly challenging peaks.[17] This whetted Bryce's appetite, and more serious expeditions to the Swiss Alps followed. Perhaps the most notable of these was made in 1871 when Bryce, again in Stephen's company, climbed the Schreckhorn (the first ascent of which having been made by Stephen 10 years earlier), a considerable achievement for the time and a justifiable source of pride to any aspirant alpinist.[18] Later in the 1870s, Bryce further burnished his credentials with climbs in Switzerland, the Pyrenees, Norway, Iceland and elsewhere. Most famously, in 1876 he reached the 16,854-foot summit of Mount Ararat in the Caucasus, fabled as the resting place of Noah's Ark after the Flood. Bryce did not find any relics of the Ark, and his was not the first ascent, but his feat was remarkable for the fact that he made the last part of the climb alone (his companion and porters having dropped out), under time pressure, and in very poor visibility. His ascent was hailed as 'a singular piece of endurance and indomitable pluck',[19] and the polished account of it that Bryce published in his book *Transcaucasia and Ararat* garnered much attention in the press.[20] Two years after its publication in 1877, Bryce was elected to the membership of the Alpine Club, remaining closely associated with that organization all his life and serving as a notably active president between 1899 and 1901.[21]

Bryce's mountaineering feats do not compare well with those of the more accomplished alpinists of the era—men such as Stephen,

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[16] Bryce, Diary, 1873: Bryce papers, MS 339.

[17] Fisher, *Bryce*, I, 119 ff; L. Stephen, *The Playground of Europe* (London, 1871), 228–62.

[18] For Bryce's pride, see letter to father, 12 September 1871: Bryce papers, MS 422.

[19] D. W. F[reshfield], 'In Memoriam. Lord Bryce', *Alpine Journal*, 34 (1922), 307.

[20] See, for example, 'An Ascent of Ararat', *Chambers's Journal*, 8 June 1878, 364–6; 'An Ascent of Ararat', *Sunday at Home*, 22 November 1879, 745–9.

[21] 'Mr. Bryce had been a record President in his attendances at the meetings of the Club': *Alpine Journal*, 21 (1902), 75.

Edward Whymper, W. Cecil Slingsby and J. Norman Collie—but his was a respectable record nonetheless; and as evident from his meticulous recording of the timings and vicissitudes of expeditions, he was from the outset a competent climber in the established Alpine Club style. In 1898, Collie saw fit to name a newly identified mountain in British Columbia after him.[22] Throughout his life Bryce remained closely associated with mountaineering and was one of the sometimes controversial activity's more noted advocates, contributing an essay to the third edition of Clinton Dent's landmark Badminton Library volume on mountaineering, and defending the sport from imputations of unjustifiable risk in the pages of the *Nation*.[23] While in later years he did not attempt especially challenging ascents, he climbed and walked less demanding mountains into middle and old age. His repute as an alpinist certainly seems to have been apparent to American opinion on his arrival in Washington DC in 1907, judging by one cartoon depiction of an imaginary encounter between Ambassador Bryce and the famously athletic President Theodore Roosevelt (Fig. 12.2).

While there is no reason to believe that Roosevelt would have had difficulty in matching what H. A. L. Fisher called the 'extreme rapidity' of Bryce's gait,[24] we know that others certainly struggled. An obituary notice by Frederick Pollock recalled how 'In his old age he could set a pace to many younger pedestrians which they found it hard to keep up with', this being apparent not least 'in his excursions among the hills of New Hampshire, where he spent one or two of his summer vacations as ambassador, [and where] he went near to reducing a British consular officer to complete exhaustion'.[25] Pollock's was an assessment confirmed by the consular officers themselves. One of them, Eustace Percy, confessed that 'At seventy-five he could outwalk me on any mountain, frisking, into the bargain, hither and thither after botanical specimens that caught his eye';[26] while another, like Percy a young man at the time, recalled of Bryce that

> Up to the last in the United States he could never see a mountain or hill of any kind without wanting at once to climb it and, having little or no sense

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[22] Frederick Pollock, 'James Bryce', *Quarterly Review*, 237 (April 1922), 403.

[23] C. Dent (ed.), *Mountaineering*, 3rd edn (London, 1911); James Bryce, 'The Deaths of Professors Balfour and Jevons', *Nation*, 35 (14 September 1882), 218.

[24] Fisher, *Bryce*, II, 310.

[25] Pollock, 'James Bryce', 402.

[26] Eustace Percy, *Some Memories* (London, 1958), 24.

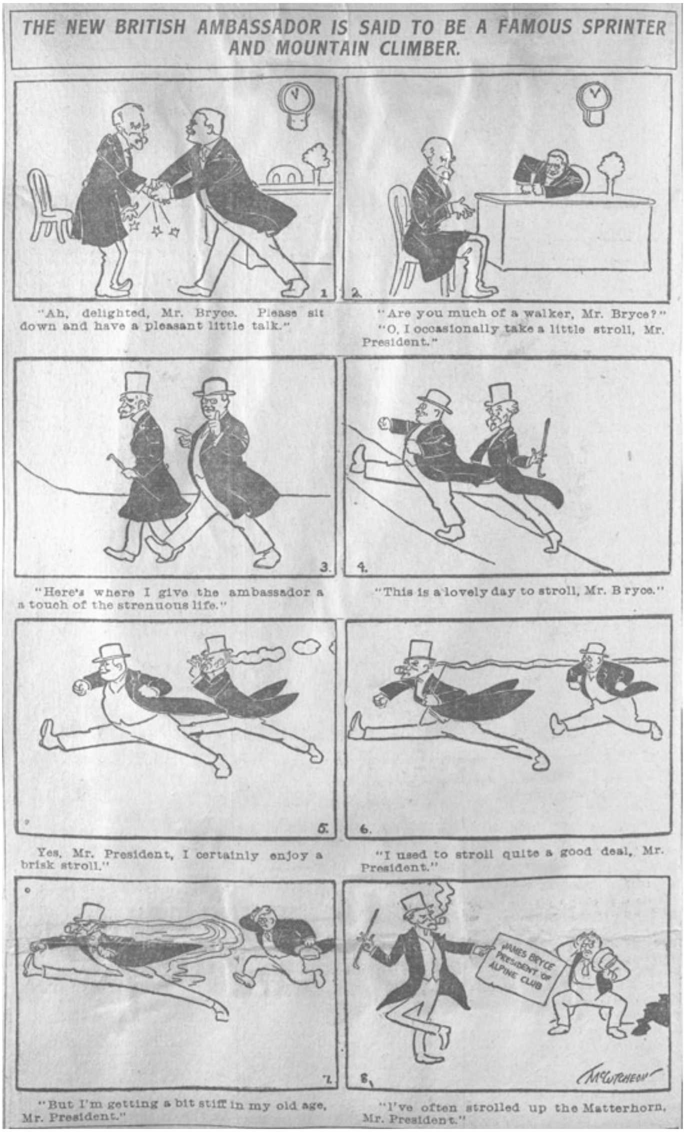
THE NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR IS SAID TO BE A FAMOUS SPRINTER AND MOUNTAIN CLIMBER.
1
"Ah, delighted, Mr. Bryce. Please sit down and have a pleasant little talk."
2.
"Are you much of a walker, Mr. Bryce?"
"O, I occasionally take a little stroll, Mr. President."
3.
"Here's where I give the ambassador a a touch of the strenuous life."
4.
"This is a lovely day to stroll, Mr. Bryce."
5.
Yes, Mr. President, I certainly enjoy a brisk stroll."
6.
"I used to stroll quite a good deal, Mr. President."
7.
"But I'm getting a bit stiff in my old age, Mr. President."
8.
JAMES BRYCE PRESIDENT OF ALPINE CLUB
McCutcheon
"I've often strolled up the Matterhorn, Mr. President."

Fig. 12.2 Cartoon by John T. McCutcheon, *Chicago Tribune*, 25 February 1907 (MSP 14, Scrapbooks of John T. McCutcheon cartoons, courtesy of Karnes Archives and Special Collections, Research Center, Purdue University)

> of time or of what could be accomplished in a given time, he would often, to the despair of Mrs. Bryce, start off to climb some hill which would take at least four or five hours only two hours before dinner when guests were coming to dine.[27]

Walking, then, especially but not exclusively up hills and mountains, was of profound importance to Bryce, being central to his settled sense of self. He preferred it to any other mode of locomotion: the travel writer John Foster Fraser recalled how in 1915 'I once spent two days with Lord Bryce in the mountains near Monastir [in modern-day Tunisia] … and whilst I kept my horse, Lord Bryce persisted in walking, simply because he liked it.'[28] He became deeply unhappy when unable to walk strenuously, as was the case in Tenerife in April 1889 when he was banned from doing so on doctor's orders. This restriction, he complained in a letter to his mother, sank him in such gloom that he found himself unable to read or smoke (probably Bryce's two favourite occupations, after walking). Unwittingly repeating Dicey's canine analogy (when not likened to a mountain goat, Bryce was often compared to dogs of various kinds, West Highland Terriers most frequently), he lamented that, 'I have sacrificed one of the oldest wishes of my heart—to ascend the Peak of Tenerife, & have merely looked at it out of the corner of my eye as [his sister] Kath[arine] says Chem [a Bryce family dog] does at the sheep on the Common.'[29]

As to answering the question of why walking was so important to Bryce, it may be easier to begin by disposing of some seemingly plausible explanations. First, Bryce did not walk or climb for reasons of physical health. This was in common with many of his contemporaries, not least Stephen, for whom the physical side of walking and even mountaineering was properly subordinate to the mental.[30] As Stephen put it in an essay 'In Praise of Walking', 'The true walker is one … to whom the muscular effort of the legs is subsidiary to the "cerebration" stimulated by the effort.'[31] Indeed, for Bryce as for Stephen, any understanding of walking or mountaineering as primarily a physical pursuit was positively distasteful. It put what was rightly an intellectually as well as often altitudinally elevating activity on a level with heroic if seemingly mindless endurance feats of competitive pedestrianism, such as those pioneered by the famous Captain Barclay (1779–1854), who sought to cover hundreds of miles within specified and deliberately challenging periods of time.[32]

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[27] Lord Howard of Penrith, *Theatre of Life*, 2 vols. (London, 1936), I, 122.

[28] John Foster Fraser, 'Peeps in Parliament', *Cheltenham Looker-On*, 11 December 1915.

[29] Bryce, letter to mother, 21 April 1889: Bryce papers, MS 416.

[30] Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1993), 195.

[31] Leslie Stephen, 'In Praise of Walking', *Monthly Review*, 4 (August 1901), 99.

But Bryce went further than Stephen in resisting any suggestion that walking and mountaineering could rightly be considered athletic pursuits. Unlike Stephen, who had been a keen university oarsman and rowing coach, Bryce disdained the organized team sports so popular among the Victorian and Edwardian middle and upper classes, indoctrinated as they had been in the public school cult of muscular athleticism.[33] At school in Scotland, and also as a young man at the universities of Glasgow and Oxford, Bryce ignored sports such as rowing, rugby and cricket, then hugely popular with his fellow students as an index of virtuous manliness.[34] This was not just, as his biographer later observed, because Bryce was 'always of the opinion that the overdevelopment of athletics at school, by leading boys to neglect natural history and the cultivation of their powers of observation out of doors had inflicted a real injury on education'.[35] It also reflected a personal distaste for the competitive ethos deliberately inculcated on river and sports field. Hence, in part, the attraction of mountaineering, an activity which offered challenges to overcome rather than human adversaries to defeat. As Bryce told the members of the Aberdeen-based Cairngorm Club—an organization devoted to mountain walking and climbing and of which he was founding president—when it came to scaling the heights, '[t]he pleasure of striving with an antagonist … is wanting … Nature, and not a rival player, is the antagonist to be overcome, but to some of us this rather increases than diminishes the satisfaction.'[36] Indeed, Bryce felt that rather than bringing men into a coarsening competition with each other, mountain climbing

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[32] Leslie Stephen, 'Allardice, Robert Barclay [Captain Barclay] (1779–1854)', revised by Dennis Brailsford, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[33] See J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge, 1981).

[34] Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, 2005).

[35] Fisher, *Bryce*, I, 45.

[36] James Bryce, 'Some Stray Thoughts on Mountain-Climbing', *Cairngorm Club Journal*, 1 (July 1893), 1–2.

> has the advantage over rowing and other forms of athletics that there is nothing vulgarizing or brutalizing in it, that it is not liable to be corrupted by betting, that it brings men into the best company – that of the grandest and most inspiring scenes of nature – and make them seek success, not by defeating others, but by overcoming physical obstacles.[37]

Assisted by the fellowship fostered by organizations such as the Alpine and Cairngorm Clubs, mountaineering also brought men into collaborative company with each other, this 'sense of companionship, and the sympathy which arises from and strengthens the feeling of reciprocal reliance', being 'a feeling unlike that rivalry which is the note of most of our games, and one which touches deeper springs of emotion'.[38]

Bryce was a sociable man, and walking and climbing were for him intimately connected with friendship. Many of his friends, such as Stephen, the lawyer C. P. Ilbert, or the Harrow schoolmaster Edward Bowen (remembered by Bryce as 'a pedestrian of extraordinary force … tireless in his activity'), were keen and proficient walkers.[39] His Oxford strolls as a student were usually taken in company, offering opportunities for conversations both deep and trivial, and helping to cement lifelong attachments.[40] Similarly, many of the friendships he made in America in later years were sustained in part through walking, that with the historian John Franklin Jameson being a case in point.[41] He rarely went on serious mountaineering expeditions unaccompanied by friends.

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[37] Bryce, 'Deaths of Professors', 218.

[38] James Bryce, 'An Address to the Alpine Club', *Alpine Journal*, 21 (1902), 8.

[39] F. W. Maitland, *The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen* (London, 1906), 95; James Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography* (London, 1903), 355. For Bowen, see also George M. Trevelyan, 'Walking', in *Clio: A Muse, and other Essays Literary and Pedestrian* (London, 1913), 67.

[40] Bryce's diary entries for January 1859 record, for example, that he 'Went out on a walk with Dicey, and discussed the Italian question and Bright's agitation' (5 January), and that he 'Walked with Ellis around Magdalen Walls – discussing College and University Reform' (12 January): Bryce papers, MS 334.

[41] Bryce got to know Jameson well during his term as ambassador, taking many walks with him in and around Washington, DC. Jameson was bereft after Bryce left in 1913, writing to him of his 'sadness that you are here no more. I go by the embassy with a little pain each time, and wish ardently that I could have another walk with you'; five years later, he was still recalling pre-war conversations during 'those walks which were of so great a pleasure to me': Jameson to Bryce, 2 October 1913, 6 February 1918, in Leo F. Stock, 'Some Bryce–Jameson Correspondence', *American Historical Review*, 50(2) (1945), 266, 274.

Bryce, of course, was not alone in prizing walking and mountaineering for their homosocial camaraderie. Mountain climbing in particular allowed Victorian and Edwardian men to escape the softer and more 'feminized' conventions of civilian life, and the company of women, and enjoy a rugged male fellowship in adversity. Indeed, some historians have claimed that mountaineering presented an opportunity to perform an imperialist masculinity, the conquest of peaks being congruent with the wider British project to overmaster territory and geography.[42] The extent to which nineteenth-century British alpinists really did see themselves in these terms is questionable, however. An examination of the career of Cecil Slingsby, one of the leading Victorian mountaineers, suggests that aggressively imperialist motivations mattered less than some scholars have argued.[43] Slingsby, who would have known Bryce through a shared interest in Norway (both were members of the London-based Norwegian Club, of which Bryce was also president), was a Tory imperialist in politics, but his mountaineering exploits were not so much connected—even tangentially—with empire as they were bound up with an appreciation of nature, landscape and the alpine sublime. And while Slingsby enjoyed the opportunities for manly comradeship that mountain climbing could offer, he did not see it as an activity suited only to men; he went on many expeditions with women and was a vocal proponent of female mountaineering.[44]

Bryce's attitudes were similar. Though a Liberal not a Conservative, he was no opponent of empire or British world dominance; yet for him, comradeship counted for more than 'conquest' when it came to mountaineering. In his published writings and private correspondence on mountaineering, Bryce did not adopt an aggressive masculine–imperialist idiom; indeed, far from bragging of his triumphs he tended to downplay them, typically minimizing the risks and difficulties.[45] The language of conquest was absent. He was also clear that climbing mountains was a recreation fit for women. As a young man, he took it upon himself to instil in his younger sisters Katharine and Mary his own liking for strenuous alpine adventure. In 1871 they accompanied him, Ilbert and others on a summer vacation to Switzerland (the same trip that saw Bryce and Stephen climb the Schreckhorn). Bryce's letters to his parents during the time away were full of enthusiastic reports on the young women's participation in mountain excursions.[46] Relatively early in the holiday he told his father that his sisters now 'walk & climb much better than we could have looked for', acquitting themselves well on glaciers and in scrambling, and learning how to glissade; by its end, he was happy to relate that they had enjoyed themselves thoroughly.[47]

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[42] See, for example, P. H. Hansen, 'Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 34(3) (1995), 300–24, esp. 303–4, 312, 322–3.

[43] Paul Readman, 'William Cecil Slingsby, Norway, and British Mountaineering, 1872–1914', *English Historical Review*, 129(540) (2014), 1098–128.

[44] Ibid.

[45] As in a letter to his father (12 September 1871) recounting his ascent of the Schreckhorn: Bryce papers, MS 422.

Later in life, Bryce was similarly keen to encourage Marion Ashton, whom he married in 1889, to accompany him on alpine walks and climbs—and indeed she went with him on all his travels thereafter.[48] Predictably enough, mountainous landscape featured heavily on their honeymoon itinerary, which took the newlyweds through the Dolomites, the Austrian Alps and the mountains of Carinthia (in modern-day Slovenia) before finally arriving in the more conventional postnuptial destination of Venice.[49] Judging from Bryce's diary, the couple undertook quite demanding mountain excursions whenever circumstances permitted, Bryce recording his pleasure at Marion's proficiency in negotiating 'steep bits' and her hardihood on tough ascents. 'M climbs with a very steady foot,' he noted approvingly.[50]

One reason why Bryce encouraged women to mountaineer was because he wanted them to experience something like the pleasure he derived from contact with wild nature. This pleasure was deep-seated in Bryce, being evident in him even as a young boy: the earliest letter to his mother extant in the Bryce papers at Oxford begins with the observation that 'The Falls of Clyde are very pretty indeed, there is a great deal of water and the day was beautiful.'[51] In part it was as simple as this juvenile observation suggests: Bryce took an unaffected delight in natural landscape, and his interest in walking and climbing directly related to this. His correspondence, journals and published travel writings are studded with commentary on attractive scenery, the vistas afforded from mountain summits rarely failing to elicit appraisal. Views, indeed, were especially important to Bryce, being a major part of the reason why he liked not only walking per se, but getting to the top. When he visited the White Mountains of New Hampshire on his first US visit in 1870, Bryce timed his hike up the 5,000-foot Mount Lafayette so as to enjoy from its summit the sight of the sun setting over the New England landscape. He was pleased by the view, feeling it to have merited the consequent tricky moonlit descent.[52] By way of contrast, five years later Bryce was disappointed in the panorama from the far loftier Mount Ararat which, while extensive and 'wonderfully grand', was too high in altitude 'in point of beauty and picturesqueness', the colour and detail of the landscape below being lost to the extent that it appeared 'stern, grim, and monotonous'.[53]

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[46] See, for example, Bryce to his mother, 22, 27 August, 5, 8 September 1871 (Bryce papers, MS 413); and to his father, 28 August, 3–5 September 1871 (ibid., MS 422).

[47] Bryce to his father, 28 August, 3–5 September, 7 October 1871: Bryce papers, MS 422. Katharine seems to have been especially enthusiastic, persuading Ilbert and Bryce to take her on a serious mountain expedition involving more than five hours of climbing, much of it over snow fields and glaciers: her 'delight was inexpressible' and 'she climbed extremely well' (to mother, 14 September 1871, ibid., MS 413).

[48] A. L. Mumm, *The Alpine Club Register 1877–1890* (London, 1928), 45.

[49] Bryce, Diary, 1889: Bryce papers, MS 335.

[50] Ibid., entries for 16, 17, 19 August.

[51] Undated: Bryce papers, MS 411.

Bryce's negative remarks here reveal the extent to which his engagement with nature was conditioned by aesthetic judgments: not all natural landscapes, even high mountainous landscapes, were created equal. In this regard Bryce followed firmly established patterns of taste, the mainstream of Victorian visual sensibility continuing to valorize the picturesque idiom that had first emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century. In step with this sensibility, Bryce prized variety and irregularity of form and colour over monochromatic monotony and flatness of line, seeking out such attributes in his on-foot activities. He was particularly enamoured of the contrast presented by rocky peaks and their adjacent valleys, thinking it much in evidence in European mountain ranges such as the Alps and the Dolomites, the juxtaposition of 'lofty dolomitic walls … and trees & pastures' striking him forcibly on his honeymoon tour of 1889.[54] These contrasts could not be found everywhere, he discovered. When he visited South America in 1911, he found the Andes 'awesome' in scale, but—at least at close quarters, viewed from the perspective of a mountaineer—they seemed ‘unlovely heaps of gravel and stones or ash’. It was only when seen from afar that the mountains presented to him any ‘variety of position and contrast of form’.[55] He had a similar opinion of the peaks of South Africa, reflecting after his visit there in 1895 that

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[52] Edmund Ions, *James Bryce and American Democracy 1870–1922* (London, 1968), 54–5.

[53] James Bryce, 'On Armenia and Mount Ararat', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 22(3) (1877–8), 169–86, at 183; James Bryce, *Transcaucasia and Ararat*, 2nd edn (London, 1877), 279–84, at 279, 284.

[54] Bryce, Diary, 1889, Bryce papers, MS 335 (7, 10 August 1889). For earlier observations on the contrasts offered by Swiss alpine scenery, see letters to mother, 29 August 1868, 8 September 1871 (ibid., MSS 412, 413).

> One feels no longing to climb then, as one would long to climb a picturesque mountain in Europe, because one knows that upon their scorching sides there is no verdure and that no spring breaks from beneath their crags. Beautiful as they are, they are repellent; they invite no familiarity; they speak of the hardness, the grimness, the silent aloofness of nature.[56]

For Bryce, the asperity of the high mountains attracted only when offset by the softer forms of upland scenery, it being ‘the happy combination of the various constituents of beauty or grandeur that make a really perfect landscape’.[57] In 1893, he told the Cairngorm Club that ‘There are thoughts and emotions that thrill through one upon the windswept mountain top, with the contrast between its stern barrenness and the smiling plains in the far distance beneath, which nothing else can rouse.’[58] These sentiments reflected the character of his pedestrian passions. Unlike Slingsby, for example, Bryce was not attracted to the exploration of the unknown (it was only late in life that he was made a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, an honour granted more in recognition of his status and public profile than anything else).[59] Months, weeks or even nights spent out in uncharted mountain wastelands did not appeal to him. But trips made in a single day did, the excursions beginning and terminating in the comfort of hotel or chalet. Such practice allowed the enjoyment, combined in one outing, of rocky grandeur together with the softer benisons of verdant valleys. And this was only possible where the climb to the top was not the culmination of a long expedition, where the mountains were of a scale that made this possible—as was the case in the Alps or the Scottish Highlands. Indeed, despite his globetrotting, Bryce remained convinced that nothing compared to Europe when it came to mountain landscape. The Himalayas might be more majestic, he conceded, but the Alps afforded more aesthetic pleasure to the walker or climber: their dimensions were 'small enough to bring every element of landscape beauty into juxtaposition with pasture and woods', it not being 'size' but 'variety of form and colour that made the beauty of mountain scenery'.[60]

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[55] James Bryce, *South America* (London, 1912), 273, 276.

[56] James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (London, 1897), 314.

[57] James Bryce, ‘Mountaineering in Far-Away Countries’, in Dent (ed.), *Mountaineering*, 325.

[58] Bryce, ‘Stray Thoughts’, 4.

[59] Bryce was made an honorary fellow of the R.G.S. in 1917: Mumm, *Alpine Club Register*, 40.

Bryce's sensitivity to the factors conducive to landscape beauty did not stem from any very intense engagement with art or literature, for all that his sensibilities and aesthetic vocabulary were influenced by prevailing cultural tastes. As with all men of his generation and background, he would have been familiar with the works of Ruskin, Wordsworth and other mountain-valuing writers and artists. But his was not an artistic temperament. Unlike some other alpinists—again Slingsby springs to mind—Bryce did not draw or paint, and he does not seem to have been especially interested in or moved by imaginative literature (excepting that of the Icelandic sagas and ancient Greece).[61] Intellectually, Bryce was an empiricist, and his bent was towards the collection of facts and the careful use of what H. A. L. Fisher called his powers of 'intelligent observation'.[62] More than anything else, perhaps, it was this acute strength of sensory perception that conditioned his response to landscape and nature. This is well illustrated by his reaction to the forests of central Europe on a trip with Stephen in 1878. Departing from the entrenched British view of coniferous forests as dreary and monotonous, Bryce was enchanted by his walks in the woodland of the Tatra Mountains, which revealed charms invisible except at close quarters—and on foot:

> Seen from a distance, a forest of conifers is no doubt less beautiful, though perhaps more austere in its dark monotony, than one where the more varied tints of deciduous trees predominate, but when one saunters hither and thither through these pine and fir woods, nothing lovelier can be imagined … We never tired of these woodland landscapes, for every step disclosed a new picture. The elements of beauty were always the same; but they were so numerous that the combinations were endless.[63]

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[60] James Bryce, 'Types of Mountain Scenery', *Cairngorm Club Journal*, 3 (July 1900), 134, 137.

[61] Fisher, *Bryce*, I, 18, 145, 189.

[62] Ibid., 119 ff.

[63] James Bryce, 'The Tátra, 2, The Mountains of Hungary', in Bryce, *Memories of Travel* (London, 1923), 109–14, at 112, 114.

Walking thus allowed Bryce to get close to nature, to observe it carefully, and through this to appreciate the various beauty he prized, which could be discovered in small as well as large things. Losing himself in the dense forests of the Tatra, he was delighted to see stones and fallen tree trunks 'furred with brilliant mosses and lichens', flowers such as gentians, and wild strawberries and bilberries growing in abundance.[64]

That Bryce's eyes should have been drawn to the detail of nature in this way reflected the schooling he had received from his father James Bryce the elder, and his uncle William Bryce. Both were keen amateur scientists, and in the course of long walks over Scottish and Irish mountains they instilled a lasting interest in geology and botany in the young James, and with it habits of precise observation.[65] His father was a particularly important influence. An accomplished geologist, he, like many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish natural scientists, combined a love of mountain climbing with scholarly inquiry (geology, after all, required fieldwork on foot).[66] His book on the geology of Arran and Clydesdale (1859), to which our James Bryce contributed his first published work, a chapter on botany, neatly encapsulated this perspective.[67] By means of descriptions of walking excursions that felicitously intermingled scientific purpose and the pleasures of mountain landscape, the book fused learned geological commentary with enthusiastic appraisal of the island's scenery (a climb to the summit of Goatfell, Arran's highest point and affording splendid views, came in for special commendation).[68]

Thus educated by his father and uncle, Bryce remained interested in geology and botany throughout his life, and this interest was inseparably bound up with his walking activities. His friend and fellow Alpine Club luminary Douglas Freshfield remembered that 'On his walks round his Sussex home he would frequently halt to pounce on some insignificant flower which had strayed from a more northern habitat.'[69] On his more adventurous travels, too, Bryce routinely took note of the geology and botany of the terrain he traversed on foot. A visit to Spain and Portugal in 1875 generated many pages of detailed geological observations.[70] Indeed, even on serious mountaineering ventures, Bryce found time for scientific observation. Close to the summit of Mount Ararat, his attention was diverted by 'a violent sulphurous smell' and 'patches of whitish and reddish-yellow stuff efflorescing from the ground'. Despite being tired, alone and in potentially very dangerous misty conditions, he stopped to investigate: '[t]his was delightfully volcanic', he recalled, 'and I began to look about for some trace of an eruptive vent'. His search was unsuccessful, but he was able to conclude—having observed similar phenomena on Mount Hekla in Iceland—that the smell and coloration was due to the natural decay of iron-rich rock.[71]

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[64] Ibid., 112–13.

[65] Ibid., preface by E. M. Bryce, vii.

[66] D. B. Horn, 'Natural Philosophy and Mountaineering in Scotland, 1750–1850', *Scottish Studies*, 7 (1963), 1–17.

[67] James Bryce, 'The Flora of Arran', in J. Bryce [the elder], *The Geology of Arran* [1859], 4th edn (Glasgow, 1872), 228–51.

[68] Ibid., esp. 50, 58–9, 84–92.

[69] D. W. Freshfield, 'Obituary: Viscount Bryce, O.M., F.R.S., etc., etc., etc.', *Geographical Journal*, 59(4) (April 1922), 317.

II

For Bryce, then, walking was educational. It provided a means of observing nature at close quarters, and by so doing enriched one's knowledge and understanding. This perspective reflected the importance he attached to the educational value of observation generally. Throughout his life, Bryce was involved in educational reform, serving on official commissions of inquiry into the British school system and actively campaigning for improvements.[72] In his writings and speeches on the issue, he emphasized the importance of learning through observation. In December 1892, for example, he told the London Association of Head Masters of Public Elementary Schools that 'The old maxim ... about eyes and ears ought never to be forgotten by the teacher either of geography or of history, or of elementary politics. An ounce of personal observation is worth a pound of facts gathered from books.'[73] Geography, in particular, struck Bryce as providing a useful 'training in the art of observation'—so long as it was taught as a practical, fieldwork-based subject. As he declared in 1902,

> All competent teachers of geography have now begun to feel that they ought to start out by giving the scholar a direct personal knowledge and

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[70] Bryce, Diary, 1875: Bryce papers, MS 340.

[71] Bryce, *Transcaucasia*, 274–5.

[72] See Gary McCulloch, 'Sensing the Realities of English Middle-Class Education: James Bryce and the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1865–1868', *History of Education*, 40(5) (2011), 599–613.

[73] James Bryce, 'The Teaching of Civic Duty', *Contemporary Review*, 64 (1893), 19–20.

> not a mere book knowledge of the meanings of geographical terms, and the elementary data of physical geography; that he ought to be taken around the place in which he lives; that he ought to be shown hills, or mountains, if he is fortunate enough to have mountains in his neighbourhood, and notice the rocks they are made of; that he ought to be taught to observe the courses of rivers and brooks; that he ought to be led to study the inclination of hills and the structure and features of an undulating country, or of plateaus or of riverine plains; that he ought to be taught to observe the trees and the vegetation generally which appertain to particular kinds of soil, or to particular exposures; and to keep his eyes open and his memory alert to watch the winds and the rainfall and to acquire a knowledge of the climate of the region in which he lives.[74]

The importance Bryce attached to learning through on-foot observation thus had policy implications. But it was of political consequence too. By the time of his election to parliament in the mid-1880s, Bryce was convinced that the opportunities ordinary people had for developing 'direct personal knowledge' of the natural world were increasingly circumscribed. It was not only that the day-to-day lives of most Britons were now led in towns and cities; their ability to enjoy wild nature at first hand was further hindered, he felt, by the selfish actions of landlords, who enclosed commons, stopped footpaths and denied public access to mountains and moors on the pretext of game preservation. Bryce's perception of these evils led to his involvement in the Commons Preservation Society and, later on, the National Trust. More specifically, it also motivated his campaign to promote pedestrian access to the mountainous landscape of his own Scottish Highlands. It was with the object of legalizing public rights to walk these lands that Bryce introduced his Access to Mountains (Scotland) Bill in 1884. The measure, which Bryce would repeatedly (though unsuccessfully) urge before parliament into the twentieth century, reflected his emphasis on walking as a means of enjoying and learning about nature. Such was made clear in the wording of the proposed legislation, its stated intent being the guaranteeing of free access to 'uncultivated mountain or moor lands in Scotland' for 'the purposes of recreation and scientific or artistic study'.[75]

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[74] James Bryce, 'The Importance of Geography in Education. I', *Journal of Geography*, 1 (1902), 145, 148.

[75] Access to Mountains (Scotland) Bill, 47 Vict. 122.

This emphasis on self-improvement in combination with enjoyment was congruent with Bryce's personal motivations, but it was also consistent with his political ideology. The encouragement of 'rational recreation' was closely associated with the mainstream of Victorian Liberalism, finding expression in the introduction of Bank Holidays, support for the improvement of public access to museums, libraries and art galleries, and also, of course, the movement for the preservation of open spaces and footpaths.[76] But the impress of Liberalism on Bryce's access campaign was evident in other ways too, and perhaps most obviously in his stress on the sense of personal freedom gained by wandering over open uplands. As Bryce told the House of Commons in moving an access to mountains resolution in 1892,

> we are by no means content to be kept to a specified limited path in the centre of a mountain. If, for instance, I were going to the top of a mountain, and saw in the distance the cliffs overhanging a loch, I am not to be prevented from going to that loch because it happens to be in a deer forest and off the footpath. That destroys all the sense of joyous freedom which constitutes a great part of the enjoyment of fine scenery.[77]

His supporters agreed. The *Daily News*, a great organ of Liberal opinion, reckoned that 'The very name of a mountain brings with it a breath of freedom'; while correspondence received by Bryce about the issue was replete with well-documented complaints about 'the iron hand of despotism' and 'want of Liberty' in the Highlands.[78] Writing to Bryce of his experience on holiday in Dunoon in Argyll, for example, James Hart claimed that the walker could not go very far without seeing notices threatening trespassers with prosecution, 'and on more than one occasion I was turned back just as I was getting far enough up to enjoy the glorious view of the forth; & one felt, even when not so turned, the unpleasantness or being prevented [from] freely enjoying the mountain air, & seeing from the vantage height those elevating views of our dear native land'.[79] Another letter writer, perhaps judging that Bryce would be particularly moved by the example, cited the case of one young man, an Oxford student, who 'was so annoyed by the treatment he received' at the hands of bumptious ghillies 'as to decline all further attempt at mountaineering'.[80]

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[76] See M. J. D. Roberts, 'Gladstonian Liberalism and Environment Protection, 1865–76', *English Historical Review*, 128(531) (2013), 292–322.

[77] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser. 2 (4 March 1892), col. 101.

[78] William Fisher to Bryce, 10 March 1884; James Hart to Bryce, 29 February 1884: Bryce papers, MS 169.

[79] James Hart to Bryce, 29 February 1884, Bryce papers, MS 169.

The restrictions on personal freedom in the Highlands were novel; the great upper-class passion for deer stalking there had only got going in the early nineteenth century. And the problem was getting worse: as Bryce told parliament in 1892, while two million acres had been held as deer forests in 1884, a further 386,000 had since been added to the total.[81] This exclusion of the 'nation' from large tracts of countryside was intolerable to Liberals like Bryce, not least because it was an affront to that liberty which was vaunted as a British birthright; it was an insult to Liberal ideas of patriotism, suggestive of retrogression to feudal bondage rather than the onward march of progress.[82] It seemed a pernicious anachronism in an age supposedly advancing towards evermore representative—even democratic—government (under the terms of the Third Reform Act of 1884, approximately two-thirds of adult men received the parliamentary vote). More particularly, it ran counter to increasingly influential understandings of there being, in this progressively democratic context, a national stake in landed property that ought not to be sacrificed to selfish interests.

Such a perspective inspired various projects of land reform,[83] but it also affected views on land use more generally and was certainly much in evidence in the access to mountains debate. Beginning from the legal axiom that real property differed from other forms of property, since it was held on condition of its exclusive use being conducive to the public good (through cultivation of the soil, for example), Bryce and his supporters argued that the exclusion of a now predominantly urban-dwelling people from invigorating access to the Highlands was detrimental to the public interest. 'Land is not property for our unlimited and unqualified use', Bryce told parliament, 'Land is necessary so that we may live upon it and from it, and that people may enjoy it in a variety of ways'; and in the context of late nineteenth-century industrial modernity, those ways included the 'inexhaustible … enjoyment and delight' offered by access to wild nature, which did so much to offset 'the dull monotony of every-day life' in crowded towns and cities. 'The time has come', he thought, 'when we must assert what we believe to be the paramount rights of the nation', to 'declare that the people have the right and ought to have the power to go freely over the mountains and glens of their own country.'[84]

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[80] James Martineau to Bryce, 16 February 1884, Bryce papers, MS 169.

[81] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser. 2 (4 March 1892), cols. 93–4.

[82] James Bryce, 'National Parks – The Need of the Future', in Bryce, *University and Historical Addresses* (London, 1913), 394–5.

[83] Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity and the Politics of Land, 1880–1914* (Woodbridge, 2008), esp. ch. 5.

This conceptualization of the British people's right of access to mountains as being 'one of the most precious parts of their national inheritance' dovetailed with Bryce's views on access to landscape more generally, informing his support for footpath preservation. It also fitted with his involvement in the CPS and National Trust—organizations actuated by a patriotic desire to preserve, albeit by different means, a popular stake in the nation's beautiful and historical landscape.[85] In these activities Bryce was influenced by his personal experiences. His mountaineering in particular disposed him to special regard for the preservation of upland landscapes as repositories of wild nature. As he told the Alpine Club, the pleasure he derived from climbing was in large part connected to 'the delight of getting close to Nature, to Nature in those of her aspects which have been and can be least spoiled by the intrusive hand of man'. 'To many of us', he went on, 'this circumambient wildness and solitude, this sense of coming back to the primal simplicity of the earth, before man had spread himself out over it and had begun to efface its original character, is one of the keenest joys and most entrancing charms of the high mountains.'[86] It was therefore a matter of regret to him when the wildness of mountainous landscape was threatened with spoliation.

As was the case with other preservationists, railways caused him particular concern. Bryce enjoyed rail travel and was not against railways per se, acknowledging that they 'do not always injure scenery' and in some places even had an aesthetically beneficial effect.[87] But he objected to their construction in areas of great natural beauty where there was no pressing need: 'let us have Nature no more spoiled than some absolute necessity prescribes'.[88] He was thus appalled by the proposal to construct a railway to the summit of Snowdon, the highest mountain in Wales,[89] and while that line went ahead, he and his preservationist allies had more luck on other occasions. Proposals for railways in the Lake District were defeated in the 1880s, Bryce being active in the parliamentary opposition to the Ambleside Railway Bill of 1887, for example.[90]

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[84] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser. 2 (4 March 1892), cols. 99, 103.

[85] Melanie Hall, 'The Politics of Collecting: The Early Aspirations of the National Trust, 1883–1913', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., vol. 13 (2003), 345–58, at 350–2. See also Bryce, 'National Parks', 389–406; James Bryce, 'The Tercentenary of the Discovery of Lake Champlain', in Bryce, *University and Historical Addresses*, 276–7. For preservationist patriotism generally, see Paul Readman, 'Preserving the English Landscape *c*.1870–1914', *Cultural and Social History*, 5(2) (2008), 197–218; Paul Readman, 'Landscape Preservation, "Advertising Disfigurement", and English National Identity, *c*.1890–1914', *Rural History*, 12(1) (2001), 61–83.

[86] Bryce, 'Address to the Alpine Club', 8–9.

[87] James Bryce, 'The Preservation of Natural Scenery', *Cairngorm Club Journal*, 2 (July 1897), 131–4.

Bryce was aware, of course, that beautiful mountain landscape could be seen from a train carriage. But his on-foot experience of such landscape convinced him that it could not properly be appreciated this way, high speed being inimical to careful observation. This point, Bryce felt, was often lost on the supporters of railway schemes, many of whom did not walk in nature. While opposing a proposal to construct a line in the upper Strathearn valley in 1897, Bryce had a revealing conversation with a proponent who dismissed Bryce's objections, telling him that the new railway through the Pass of Killiecrankie, another Highland beauty spot, had not damaged its scenery.[91] As Bryce explained in the account of this conversation he gave to the Cairngorm Club, however, his interlocutor, unlike Bryce, had not visited Killiecrankie on foot before the advent of the railway:

> He [Bryce] had twice traversed Killiecrankie on foot since the railway was made, and it was not in the least the same place. He knew that the Highland Railway Company laid themselves out for giving to passengers opportunities for seeing the scenery. They had even provided coupé carriages with glass at both ends. But the tourists who had a rapid glimpse of the fall of the Garry from their coupé, did not really see the Pass of Killiecrankie, still less could they form any idea of what it had once been.[92]

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[88] Bryce, 'Address to the Alpine Club', 9.

[89] Bryce, 'Preservation of Natural Scenery', 130–1.

[90] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 310 (17 February 1887), cols. 1728–36. Bryce was also very active in opposing threats posed by railways at lower altitudes. In 1883, he successfully moved a wrecking amendment to the Great Eastern Railway (High Beech Extension) Bill, which would have run a railway through Epping Forest, on the north-east fringes of London. A favourite destination for poor Londoners on Sundays and holidays, the forest was also popular with botanists and other amateur naturalists. The proposed railway would not have materially improved access: as Bryce pointed out, no part of the forest was more than two miles from a railway station: ibid., 3rd ser. (12 March 1883), cols. 162–6.

[91] James Bryce, 'The Protection of Beautiful Places', *Speaker*, 22 May 1897, 568–9.

[92] Bryce, 'Preservation of Natural Scenery', 134–5.

As Bryce put it on another occasion, 'Fine scenery is seen best of all in walking, when one can stop at any moment and enjoy a special point of view.'[93] Trains and—later on—motor cars did not allow for 'the full enjoyment of a romantic landscape … especially where the beauties are delicate and the scale small', as was the case with European mountains.[94]

For Bryce, then, walking was good because it allowed the fulfilling observation of a thereby unharmed nature; railways, in areas of outstanding natural beauty at least, were bad because they inhibited any such observation, while also damaging nature. This point brings us back to the significance of observation to Bryce's intellectual makeup, a significance that was readily apparent to those who knew him. Charles Eliot, president of Harvard University, recalled that Bryce

> habitually exhibited the strongest delight in the use of his observing powers that I have ever seen in a human being … I remember the first walk we took together on the Island of Mount Desert. He had come to my house, and we started to walk up my wood road … Bryce was noticing everything on the way, every kind of tree, and bush, and fern. Suddenly he stopped short at catching sight of a thrifty mat of the fragrant plant called Linnaea or Twin-flower, which has a beautiful leafage and a delightful little bell-shaped flower; and the plant was in flower. He could not leave it; it gave him such intense pleasure to see that lowly plant, a sub-arctic plant which he had but rarely seen.[95]

As Eliot recognized, these formidable powers of observation were a feature of Bryce's cognitive processes more generally. His facility for precise and accurate description, displayed to great effect in his writings, stemmed partly from book-learning, but also from the perambulatory education he had received from his uncle and father, and his subsequent walking in nature.[96]

Bryce's observational talents were used to striking effect in his *American Commonwealth*, a massive, assured and extraordinarily detailed account of US constitutional structures and political practices, covering every state in the union.[97] In writing it, Bryce drew heavily on personal experiences travelling in North America, his own records of which were as important, if not more important, to his research than anything he got out of books. Indeed, according to one of his American friends, 'Mr. Bryce told me a number of years ago that five-sixths of the materials of his *American Commonwealth* were made up of observations, impressions and conversations; one-sixth only from printed material.'[98] And another American friend, the distinguished historian A. Lawrence Lowell, remembered that while Bryce got much from reading, 'He got no less by personal observation, by the use of his senses, by keeping his eyes open and seeing.'[99]

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[93] Bryce, 'National Parks', 399.

[94] Ibid., 400.

[95] 'February Meeting', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd ser. 55 (1921–2), 201–23, at 202.

[96] Ibid., 201.

The *American Commonwealth*, of course, was concerned with the explication of the here and now. But Bryce was also a historian, and his approach to history was likewise shaped by an emphasis on observation. At one level, this was a question of cognitive perspective. Bryce thought 'the true qualification of the historian' was 'to be able to see the past as if it was the present, and to be able to look at the present as if it was the past'; the good historian, then, was capable of detachedly discriminating and clear-sighted observation, the study of human experience over time being akin to 'look[ing] through a long vista, to see clearly the trees nearer, and to see the trees receding at the end of the vista until one gets only an outline and cannot see the small boughs'.[100] The great historian Lord Acton had this quality of mind, Bryce felt, recalling that on one occasion when 'in his library at Cannes', Acton had

> expounded to me his view of how … a history of Liberty … might be written … He spoke for six or seven minutes only; but he spoke like a man inspired, seeming as if, from some mountain summit high in air, he saw beneath him the far-winding path of human progress from dim Cimmerian shores of prehistoric shadow into the fuller yet broken and fitful light of modern time. The eloquence was splendid, but greater than the eloquence was the penetrating vision … It was as if the whole landscape of history had been suddenly lit up by a burst of sunlight.[101]

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[97] James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 3 vols. (London, 1888).

[98] 'February Meeting', 212.

[99] Ibid., 209.

[100] *Address by the Right Hon. James Bryce on the Teaching of History in Schools* (Historical Association leaflet no. 4, 1907), 4, 7.

[101] Fisher, *Bryce*, I, 336–7.

Bryce's imagery here is revealing, the master historian being figured as a mountaineer subjecting a summit view to his penetrating gaze, and by doing so rendering it intelligible and meaningful. But the observational acuity by which he thought the best sort of history was characterized was not simply a matter of intellectual approach, involving the adoption of a mode of 'visualizing' the past or mentally 'looking' back in time. Bryce also saw History as involving observation in a sense more directly derived from his on-foot experience. History should not simply be produced in libraries (none of Bryce's major historical works relied on detailed archival research);[102] much could be learnt from the natural environment. The historian, in short, needed also to be a geographer.[103] Bryce believed geography was 'the key to history', offering 'a training in the art of observation' through equipping its students with the capacity to derive from sense impressions 'a direct personal knowledge', rather than 'a mere book knowledge', of the physical world around them.[104]

Bryce's views on the importance of geography to history were a product of his experiences as a traveller, walker and mountaineer. He enjoyed exploring battlefield sites on foot, thinking that doing so added much to his understanding of both military history and history in general. In this he was influenced by another walking friend, Edward Bowen, in whose company he visited the battlefields of France in 1871.[105] (Bowen would instil a similar enthusiasm for battlefield exploration in the young G. M. Trevelyan, one of Bowen's pupils at Harrow and son of Bryce's friend Sir G. O. Trevelyan.[106]) Later years saw other trips of this kind, notably a visit to the Alps in 1884 on which Bryce and Bowen retraced the footsteps of the Russian General Suvorov's 1799 campaign against the French. Involving much strenuous walking and the crossing of difficult mountain passes (such as the Panixer), the expedition caused Bryce to lament that

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[102] Keith Robbins, 'History and Politics: The Career of James Bryce', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 7(3) (1972), 37–52, at 40.

[103] 'We are now all agreed that geography is the foundation of history, and that the historian must know geography': James Bryce, 'The Importance of Geography in Education. II', *Journal of Geography*, 1 (1902), 207.

[104] Bryce, 'Importance of Geography, I', 145, 148.

[105] Fisher, *Bryce*, I, 138.

[106] Bryce, *Studies*, 355. For George M. Trevelyan, walking battlefield sites taught the historian the importance of contingency. 'Chance selected this field out of so many, that low wall, this gentle slope of grass, a windmill, a farm or straggling hedge, to turn the tide of war and decide the fate of nations and of creeds': Trevelyan, *Clio, A Muse*, 27.

'the ordinary historians of the period tell us singularly little about these wonderful marches'.[107] Modern history was not alone in being ill-served in this way. Historians of other periods were also advised to take to the hills, Bryce in 1886 writing in the *Contemporary Review* that

> I do not know any more interesting work for a member of the Geographical Society or of the Alpine Club to devote himself to than a history of the Alps, showing what during the Dark and Middle Ages were the main means of transit across this great mountain barrier, and the routes followed by the armies which so frequently marched from Germany or France into Italy.[108]

Moreover, Bryce felt that topographical observation could even assist the historian of ancient civilizations. In the same article, he argued for the importance of Mount Parnassus and the cult of Apollo to Classical Greek culture, suggesting that it was only possible to get any real sense of this importance via on-foot observation. Drawing on personal experience, Bryce noted that the mountain was visible from all the higher ground of east and central Greece, and this visual ubiquity—which had only become apparent to Bryce from his actually treading the landscape—held out a finding as least as significant as any that might be grubbed from a library:

> How much this visible presence of Apollo must have affected his worship, and all the associations which the Ionic race had with him. What a difference it must have made when you were actually able from your own home, or when you went to the top of your own Acropolis, or sailed to the neighbouring port, to see this Parnassus, to know that hard by the cleft beneath the two peaks there was this oracle and this sacred home of the lord of light and song. That gives you an idea of the extent to which Apollo and his dwelling-place came to be a living factor in Greek history, which is not possible before you know the fact that Parnassus is in sight from almost any part of Greece.[109]

Bryce's views on the relationship between history and geography led him to endorse a historical method which drew on 'the sciences of nature'. At the turn of the century, he supplied an admiring introduction to the

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[107] James Bryce, 'Suvaroff's [Suvorov's] Alpine Campaign' (1884), in Bryce, *Memories of Travel*, 141–65, at 161.

[108] James Bryce, 'The Relations of History and Geography', *Contemporary Review*, 49 (1886), 430.

[109] Ibid., 434–6.

English-language version of H. F. Helmolt's multi-volume 'universal history', a work which sought to chart the history of humanity from prehistoric times through 'the relation of Man to his Physical Environment'.[110] Like Helmolt (and anticipating Braudel), Bryce was convinced of 'the extreme importance which environment possesses as an historical factor'.[111] This reinforced his insistence that the historian ought to pay attention to geography, and be a keen observer of nature—a conclusion which Bryce arrived at by walking and mountaineering more than by any other means. If anything, Bryce thought, modern man needed to understand nature more deeply than his predecessors, as he was now demanding so much from it—the coal that fuelled industrialization, for example. 'The study of Nature is not only still essential to him, but really more essential than ever', Bryce declared in the introduction to Helmolt's book; 'His life and nations are conditioned by her. His industry and his commerce are directed by her to certain spots.'[112]

Bryce's support for an environmentalist historical method reflected a broader environmental perspective, one in tension with other elements of his thought, specifically his racial ideas. Certainly, there is no doubting Bryce's racism. As a young man, and influenced by his mentor E. A. Freeman, the Oxford historian, Bryce was attracted to the racial Anglo-Saxonism then prominent in British intellectual discourse. There is little doubt that this had an impact on his perceptions of the US, encouraging him to see that country and its growing prominence in the world as a product of Anglo-Saxon energy and enterprise (he always regretted American independence, feeling it contrary to transatlantic affinities of race and culture). For some historians, this implied a biological racism, a view that ineluctable racial characteristics determined the fate of civilizations through history, rather than contextual influences. As Hugh Tulloch has written, Bryce's *American Commonwealth* 'again and again asserted the primacy of the human over environmental factors, of race over geography. Sharing a common New England terrain, for example, the English stock had not lapsed into the ways of the Algonquin Indians.'[113]

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[110] James Bryce, 'Introductory Essay', in H. F. Helmolt (ed.), *The World's History: A Survey of Man's Record* (London, 1901), I, xvii–lx, at xxv, xl.

[111] Bryce, 'Importance of Geography, II', 207.

[112] Bryce, 'Introductory Essay', xxvi–xxvii.

[113] Hugh Tulloch, *James Bryce's American Commonwealth* (Woodbridge, 1988), 44–8, at 46.

However, while Bryce's writings were shot through with the racist stereotypes of his age, over time, as Casper Sylvest has recently suggested, he 'did modify his notion of race in environmentalist directions'.[114] This is relevant to our purposes here, as it seems likely that Bryce's travelling, walking and mountaineering contributed to this shift in perspective; the abstract ideas he imbibed as a young man sitting at Freeman's feet were diluted and altered by his own life experience, observations and impressions. Indeed even before the publication of the *American Commonwealth*, Bryce was declaring in print that man 'is in history the creature of his environment, not altogether its creature, but working out also those inner forces which he possesses as a rational and moral being; but on one side, at all events, he is largely determined and influenced by the environment of nature.'[115] This conclusion, reasserted elsewhere,[116] had for Bryce its evidentiary base in the observations he made afoot in the world. Visiting Iceland as early as 1872, for example, he was shocked by the squalid conditions of life, and thought modern-day Icelanders indolent and lazy; but he put these problems down not to race, but to the exceptional harshness of nature in the arctic, which had over generations progressively demoralized the people.[117] Similarly, many years later when he spoke on 'The Tercentenary of the Discovery of Lake Champlain', at Burlington, Vermont, on 8 July 1909, Bryce was confident that the environment had had an impact on the local inhabitants—though in this case, a beneficial one. The mountainous landscape, here felicitously rather than insuperably challenging, had burnished not crushed the character of the people:

> You men of northern Vermont and northern New Hampshire and Maine, living among the Appalachian rocks and mountains in a region which may be called the Switzerland of America – you are the people who have had hearts full of the love of freedom which burns with the brightest flames among mountain peoples, and who have the restless energy and indomitable spirit which we always associate with such lake and mountain lands as those of Switzerland and Scotland.[118]

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[114] C. Sylvest, 'James Bryce and the Two Faces of Nationalism', in Ian Hall and Lisa Hill (eds), *British International Thinkers from Hobbes to Namier* (New York, 2009), 168.

[115] Bryce, 'Relations of History and Geography', 426.

[116] In, for example, Bryce, 'Introductory Essay', xxix–xxxiii.

[117] James Bryce, 'Impressions of Iceland [1872]', in Bryce, *Memories of Travel*, 1–43, esp. 24–7.

[118] Bryce, 'Tercentenary of the Discovery', 275.

III

More than most people, Bryce *needed* to walk. Recalling their life together at home in Sussex, Marion Bryce recalled that her husband

> would always … go out for a few minutes before breakfast to enjoy the morning freshness and to take note of the weather. After breakfast, and having looked through his letters, he would light a pipe and stroll out again for a time. He never sat down to work immediately after a meal. Then in due course he would settle down in his study, either to think something out in his chair by the fire, or to write what he had already thought out. If he had something special to meditate upon, or clarify by steady thought, he would often stroll out into the woods or on to the Forest for an hour or more, gradually working through the subject which he would make notes of for writing out later. He always said he could think best in the open air. He carried about with him constantly, in an inner breast pocket, a packet of oblong, rather narrow sheets of paper, fastened by an elastic band, on which he made these notes as he went along.[119]

Walking—and mountaineering—mattered to Bryce. They were not just things he did for reasons of physical health. Nor were they things he saw simply as casual recreation, for all that they provided important contexts for friendship and sociability: walking was essential to Bryce's intellectual development, psychic well-being and sense of identity. His walks in early life instilled in him an intense appreciation of nature, and nurtured an observational mindset that would have a profound lifelong impact, not least on his writing as an historian. In later years, Bryce's walking and mountain climbing provided a means of developing further his appreciation of the natural world through the exercise of his impressively acute observational faculties. For Bryce, mountaineering—let alone walking—was not connected to any imperialistic desire to 'conquer' or overmaster nature, being instead expressive of a desire to observe its beauty and variety at close quarters. He saw walking and climbing as activities of great educational value, providing intellectual benefits for women as well as men. This perspective explains why Bryce campaigned so vigorously both to improve public access to the countryside and to preserve beautiful landscape from despoliation: his appreciation of the good that men and women of all social classes derived from walking in nature intersected with his political liberalism. Furthermore, Bryce's emphasis on the significance of direct human interaction with the natural world reflected an environmentalist view of history, and increasingly also of racial difference in the here and now. The relative development of 'advanced' and 'backward' peoples, even the rise and fall of civilizations, he came to think, were to a significant extent determined by geographical and environmental rather than biological factors. This was a conclusion he arrived at not so much from books or private study, but from observations made afoot in the world, his experiences as a walker materially affecting his thinking and writing.

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[119] Fisher, *Bryce*, II, 263.

Thus Bryce's career as a politician, writer and public figure, let alone his personality, cannot fully be understood without recognizing the power and reach of his pedestrian passions. There were others like him. Presenting a similar combination of intellectual seriousness and physical energy, and sharing similar interests—including walking, mountaineering and landscape preservation—President Theodore Roosevelt is an obvious American example. On the British side, perhaps no other politician was as inveterate a walker or climber as Bryce, but many other intellectuals and public figures shared his interest in these activities.[120] Leslie Stephen is perhaps the most famous such individual, but others included the classical scholar Arthur Sidgwick, footpath enthusiast and author of *Walking Essays*; the distinguished jurist Sir Frederick Pollock, co-founder of the Sunday Tramps; the positivist Frederic Harrison, who memorialized his climbing exploits in *My Alpine Jubilee*; and the scientist John Tyndall, whose philosophy of science was importantly influenced by his mountaineering and the emotional succour he derived from it.[121]

Keenest of all on walking, however, were the historians, prominent examples being F. W. Maitland, G. M. Trevelyan and Mandell Creighton—as well as Bryce himself. Creighton's taste for long walks, for example, was acquired early in life, and was important to his overall sense of well-being: as his wife remembered, ‘He always seemed at his happiest and his best in the open air.’[122] It was also closely connected to his interest in topography and the natural world, and to his intellectual development as a scholar and writer. The series of essays he published as *The Story of Some English Shires*, for example, was based on ‘impressions produced by rambles made in various parts of England’.[123] As with Bryce, walking honed Creighton’s powers of observation, and encouraged an historical imagination that drew on personal, on-foot experiences. In Creighton’s case, his extensive walking in the towns and countryside of Italy (and elsewhere in Europe) did much to inform his work on Renaissance and papal history, enabling him better to situate persons and events in their contemporary settings.[124]

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[120] Walking was nevertheless popular among leading politicians: on their coming to power in December 1905, it was said that the Liberal government was a ministry 'of all the tramps' (Whyte, 'Sunday Tramps').

[121] Arthur. H. Sidgwick, *Walking Essays* (London, 1912), esp. 54–5 (on footpaths); Frederic Harrison, *My Alpine Jubilee* (London, 1908); Francis O'Gorman, '"The Mightiest Evangel of the Alpine Club": Masculinity and Agnosticism in the Alpine Writings of John Tyndall', in Andrew Bradstock, Sean Gill, Anne Hogan and Sue Morgan (eds), *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke, 2000), 134–48; Ursula DeYoung, *A Vision of Modern Science: John Tyndall and the Role of the Scientist in Victorian Culture* (New York, 2011), 69–78.

Many nineteenth-century writers and thinkers, it seems, were impelled by a profound need to walk or climb, the fulfillment of which was closely connected to their intellectual formation and sense of self. Yet the significance of this phenomenon remains insufficiently recognized in historical scholarship. So far as Bryce is concerned, studies of his life and work have of course noted his pedestrian passions, and particularly his career as an alpinist. But aside from making routine references to his access to mountains campaign, historians have not appreciated the significance of Bryce’s walking and mountaineering to his intellectual makeup as a whole.[125] In the case of Bryce and indeed other public figures for whom walking was of resonant personal importance, this oversight may reflect an assumption that what might seem to be merely recreational activities can tell us little enough about the larger stories, themes, motivations and concerns associated with the lives of such figures. But if so, it is a mistaken assumption. For Bryce and his ilk, walking was an activity of existential significance, of influence on their thought and ideas, social experience, politics and sense of identity. Further examination of this significance is overdue.

[122] Louise Creighton, *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, 2 vols. (London, 1904), I, 5, 7–8, 30–1, 304 (at 304).

[123] Mandell Creighton, *The Story of Some English Shires* (London, 1897), 5.

[124] On such tours, Creighton and his wife could walk up to 20 miles a day (ibid., 211). Writing of a trip made in 1879, as Creighton was preparing the first two volumes of his magnum opus, *The History of the Papacy*, his wife remembered how ‘he seemed to imbibe history on the spot’, eschewing book-study for in-situ observation (ibid., 198–9).

[125] See, for example, Ions, *James Bryce and American Democracy*; Tulloch, *James Bryce’s American Commonwealth*; John T. Seaman, *A Citizen of the World: The Life of James Bryce* (London, 2006).

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