

“A choke of emotion, a great heart-leap”: English-Canadian Tourists in Britain, 1880s–1914

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Many English-Canadian travellers to Britain at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century arrived with preconceived notions of themselves as “Canadians” and as members of the British Empire, as well as of the historical and cultural landscapes through which they would move. While their diaries and letters are strikingly similar in terms of places seen and attractions experienced, this repetition did not preclude some revisioning, or at least questioning, of the well-known script. They encountered, and to varying degrees were performers in, some of the more obviously staged dramas of imperialism in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Coronation celebrations, Victoria’s Golden and Diamond Jubilees, royal funerals, and imperial and colonial exhibitions enabled tourists to reflect on their own Canadian identity as well as their relationship to the imperial centre and to other members of the Empire. Also, while English-Canadian men and women shared many similar experiences as colonial tourists, their participation in and reactions to these presentations of empire and history demonstrate the importance of gender in how meaning is shaped.

De nombreux voyageurs canadiens anglais débarquaient dans la Grande-Bretagne de la fin du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècles porteurs d’idées préconçues au sujet de leur identité en tant que « Canadiens » et membres de l’Empire britannique et du paysage historique et culturel qui les attendait. Malgré les ressemblances frappantes qu’évoquent leurs journaux et lettres, ils n’en ont pas moins mis en doute, voire mis

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au banc du révisionnisme, la validité du discours dominant. Ils ont été spectateurs et, à divers degrés, acteurs de certaines des scènes les plus manifestes de l'impérialisme de la Grande-Bretagne édouardienne au sortir de l'époque victorienne. Couronnements, jubilé d'or et de diamant de Victoria, funérailles royales et expositions impériales et coloniales, tout cela a permis aux touristes de réfléchir à leur propre identité canadienne de même qu'à leurs rapports avec la métropole impériale et d'autres membres de l'Empire. Ajoutons que si les hommes et les femmes du Canada anglais ont vécu des expériences de tourisme colonial semblables, leur participation et leurs réactions aux manifestations de l'Empire et de l'histoire font valoir l'importance du genre dans la façon dont se forge le sens.

TO ARGUE that tourism has played an important cultural and social role in the formation of modern national and imperial identities would hardly be a startling insight to historians, given the rich bodies of literature on this topic, work produced by scholars in many disciplines and national contexts. Such scholarship also has alerted us that a range of social and political relationships — gender, class, ethnicity, race, and religion, to name a few — have been intertwined with those of nation and empire, and these have shaped the lenses through which nations, colonies, and metropolises have been viewed and experienced.¹ Tourism, it has been argued quite cogently, cannot be over-

¹ Histories of tourists and tourism in Britain and Europe for this period include Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, eds., *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001); William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Marion Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2001); Eva-Marie Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851–1900* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987); Christopher Mulvey, *Anglo-American Landscapes: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), and *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ian Ousby, *The Englishmen's England: Taste, Travel, and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Alastair J. Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: Tourism in Scotland c. 1780–1939* (Tuckwell Press, 2003); John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750* (Scolar Press, 1995); John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750–1914* (Leicester University Press, 1983); Hartmut Berghoff, Barbara Korte, Ralf Schneider, and Christopher Harvie, eds., *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600–2000* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2002). Work on colonial travellers — those who were in Britain for education, work, and political and social activism during this period — also has shaped my understanding of English-Canadian tourists, particularly the latter's relationship to the British Empire. See, for example, Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Neil Parsons, *King Khama, Emperor Joe, and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Cecilia Morgan, “‘A Wigwam to Westminster’: Performing Mohawk Identity in Imperial Britain, 1890s–1900s”, *Gender and History*, vol. 15, no. 2 (August 2003), pp. 319–341.

looked when historians explore the ways in which our subjects have grappled with their relationships to the imagined communities of empire and nation, the cultural means through which they forged subjectivities as members of national and imperial polities.²

As well as exploring the written texts and cultural artifacts left by tourists, such as the travelogue, diary, letter, photograph, postcard, and other souvenirs, scholars also have been attentive to the performative and enacted dimensions of both tourism and nation and empire. Tourism, it has been demonstrated, was (and continues to be) a stylized, self-conscious, performed art, one that drew upon a repeated and reiterated repertoire, albeit with various levels of negotiation.³ In a similar fashion, historians argue that concepts of the nation and the empire were equally staged and performed, particularly in Britain during the late Victorian and Edwardian years: at the level of collective public spectacles such as coronations and state funerals, imperial exhibitions, and national pageants and theatrical productions, and at the more local and individual level, when men and women felt obliged to present themselves as representatives of their respective national, colonial, and imperial contexts.⁴ Much — albeit not all — of this work has demonstrated that we must be wary of the static or “frozen-in-time” quality that notions of “identity formation” can impose. Just as tourism was shaped both by powerful socio-eco-

2 See, in particular, Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire*; Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*; Grewal, *Home and Harem*; Morgan, “ ‘A Wigwam to Westminster’ ”; Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*.

3 These insights have been explored more explicitly by those working within cultural studies and sociological frameworks; those who have studied tourism in Britain and Europe for this period either have tended to work within a literary studies framework or have examined structural features of the historical development of tourist sites (see, for example, Stowe, *Going Abroad*; Walton, *The English Seaside Resort*; Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*). For work on performance and tourism and travel, see, for example, Judith Adler, “Travel as Performed Art”, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 94, no. 6 (May 1989), pp. 1366–1391; Michael S. Bowman, “Performing Southern History for the Tourist Gaze: Antebellum Home Tour Guide Performances”, in Della Pollock, ed., *Exceptional Spaces: Essays in Performance and History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Tim Edensor, “Staging Tourism: Tourists as Performers”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 27, no. 2 (April 2000), pp. 322–344. My thoughts on performance as a theoretical and analytical concept also have been influenced by Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), and *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993); Della Pollock, “Making History Go”, in Pollock, ed., *Exceptional Spaces*.

4 The literature on these displays and performance is quite extensive. See David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’, c. 1820–1877”, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Tori Smith, “ ‘Almost Pathetic ... But Also Very Glorious’: The Consumer Spectacle of the Diamond Jubilee”, *Histoire sociale/ Social History*, vol. 29, no. 58 (November 1996), pp. 333–356; H. V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation Building* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); W. D. King, *Henry Irving’s Waterloo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Morgan, “ ‘A Wigwam to Westminster’ ”. Woollacott (*To Try Her Fortune in London*) and Burton (*At the Heart of the Empire*) have particularly illuminating discussions of how Australian women and South-Asian men and women performed a range of colonial identities.

nomic and political structures and forces and by fluidity, dynamism, and (at times) insecurity, the powerful concepts of nation and empire might be shifting and contingent, marked by instability and ambivalence, qualities that were expressed in their performances.⁵ Furthermore, historical scholarship has made it increasingly clear that men and women encountered and experienced “nation” and “empire” as much through emotional and sensory dimensions as they did through the routes of logic and rationality. In a similar vein, while tourists believed that they made choices based on reasoned judgements and common sense, they often found themselves overwhelmed and at times guided by a range of sensations and feelings.

In their choice of Britain as an important cultural destination, the English-Canadian tourists who are the focus of this discussion comprised part of what historians have begun to call the “British world”. As historians Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich have argued, between the 1880s and the 1950s a global network of “neo-Britains” took shape, one in which tighter bonds of British culture and identity increasingly were made possible by more efficient and frequent trans-oceanic travel and communications.⁶ Such networks were clearly evident in the press, periodical literature, travelogues, illustrated talks, and (for some) correspondence with friends and family members who had travelled across the ocean before them. Cultural genres thus educated these men and women, before they left Montreal or Quebec City, about the need to visit Britain.⁷ These tourists also would have been exposed to discussions of matters such as imperial federation, the meanings of “Canada”, and that entity’s relationship to the British Empire.⁸ Furthermore, in Britain itself during these decades, public manifestations of the far-reaching and complex relations of empire were to be found in myriad places.

5 Homi K. Bhabha, “Narrating the Nation”, in his *The Location of Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994).

6 Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, “Mapping the British World”, in Bridge and Fedorowich, eds., *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), p. 3.

7 The pages of *The Canadian Magazine* from the 1890s until at least the 1920s are full of such articles. See also, for example, the following travelogues written by Canadians: J. T. P. K., *Eastward Ho! Being Some Account of a Voyage Across the Atlantic, and a Few Notes for the Use of Colonial Visitors, When Pleasure Hunting in London* (England, 1884); Grace E. Denison, *A Happy Holiday* (Toronto, 1890); J. Rupert Elliott, *Rambles in Merrie, Merrie England. Part I: the Jubilee* (J. & A. McMillan, 1897); Emily Murphy, *The Impressions of Janey Canuck Abroad* (1901); Irene Simmonds, *Our Trip to Europe* (Christopher Publishing House, 1917).

8 For discussions of imperialism’s impact on English Canadians, see Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Nancy M. Sheehan, “Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Practice: The IODE and the Schools in Canada, 1900–1945”, *Historical Studies in Education*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Fall 1990), pp. 307–321; Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002). The essays in Colin M. Coates, ed., *Imperial Canada, 1867–1917* (Edinburgh: Centre of Canadian Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1995), point to, as Coates argues, the “diversity of experience” of imperial ties during this period (p. vii).

Thus many tourists arrived with preconceived notions of themselves as “Canadians” and as members of the British Empire, as well as of the historic and cultural landscapes through which they would move. Many followed similar paths in those landscapes: the diaries and letters are strikingly similar in their lists of places seen and attractions experienced. Yet, as sociologist Judith Adler and others remind us, the repetition and reiteration of a well-known script did not preclude some revisioning — or at least questioning — of that script.⁹ For example, the sensation of feeling themselves part of a nation enfolded into a larger entity, that of the empire, complicated their reactions to the staging of an empire that they encountered: the “neo-Britains” of which Bridge and Fedorowich write might occupy a complex and at times ambivalent relationship to the original. Furthermore, as historians have demonstrated, nations and empires — the imaginings and fantasies needed to bring them into being, the structures required to maintain them, and the identities that they fostered — were gendered entities.¹⁰ While English-Canadian men and women shared a number of similar experiences as colonial tourists, nevertheless their participation in and reactions to the staging of empire and history demonstrate the importance of gender relations in shaping these meanings.

Although colonists from British North America had travelled back and forth across the Atlantic and Pacific to Britain prior to 1867, such traffic appears to have intensified after Confederation and with the introduction of steamships.¹¹ There is anecdotal evidence that earlier travellers took on the role of “tourist” and explored Britain and parts of Europe in attenuated forms of the early modern Grand Tour; however, in the 1870s material from national, provincial, and local archives, newspaper accounts, and published travelogues attest to English Canadians’ growing desire for the kinds of social and cultural education and entertainment represented by transatlantic tourism.¹²

9 See, for example, Adler, “Travel as Performed Art”; Edensor, “Staging Tourism”.

10 The literature on this topic is vast, but see, for example, Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds., *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Clare Midgley, ed., *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); *Gender and History: Special Issue on Gender, Nationalisms, and National Identities*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Summer 1993); Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Berg, 2000); Antoinette Burton, ed., *Gender, Sexuality, and Colonial Modernities* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998); Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

11 It would be difficult, if not impossible, to collect such statistics, given that English Canadians also could embark on transatlantic journeys from the eastern seaboard of the United States.

12 See, for example, Archives of Ontario, Mary Leslie Papers, Box Five, F675, for her trip to Britain and Europe, 1867–1868; William Hamilton Merritt, Jr., *Impressions de Voyage, or A Tour Through the Continent of Europe* (St. Catharines, 1860). Moreover, by this period parts of Canada also were on the tourist map. See Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999).

To be sure, they were not the only “Canadians” to travel overseas during this period. As literary scholar Eva-Marie Kröller has demonstrated, middle- and upper-middle-class French Canadians also were part of the transatlantic tourist traffic of the time.¹³ A number of considerations have guided my choice to focus on English and (mostly) Protestant Canadians and to omit French-speaking Catholics: the sheer volume of sources, the intricacies of questions surrounding issues of religious, national, and imperial identities, and Kröller’s previous treatment of a number of French-Canadian tourists.¹⁴ Yet I should note that, while French Canada may appear conspicuous by its absence from this work, this omission is not only because of my choices as a historian: it also reflects the very conspicuous absence of French Canada from the individual and, I would argue, collective consciousness of my subjects. The latter often did use their departing or returning stops in Montreal and Quebec City to tour these cities, and they might observe Quebec’s landscape as they sailed up or down the St. Lawrence.¹⁵ However, once they reached the other side of the Atlantic, Quebec — or the notion that “Canada” included that province and its inhabitants — vanished from their sensibilities, eclipsed, it would seem, by the constant reminders of the “Britishness” of the Empire that surrounded them and by their own previously forged sense of “Canadian” as being fundamentally rooted in British history and culture.¹⁶

13 Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe*. See also Thierry Nootens, “‘What a Misfortune that Poor Child Should Have Married Such a Being as Joe’: Les fils prodiges de la bourgeoisie montréalaise, 1850–1900”, *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 86, no. 2 (June 2005), pp. 225–256. A number of the *filii prodigii* in Nootens’s study appear to have used Europe, particularly Paris, as a means of escaping or evading family responsibilities at home. Furthermore, I began this project intending to examine Native peoples’ travels to Britain and Europe but discovered the quantity and complexity of the material warranted a separate study, which I have started to conduct. Some work has been done on specific individuals and groups. See, for example, J. R. Miller, “Petitioning the Great White Mother: First Nations’ Organizations and Lobbying in London”, in Phillip Buckner, ed., *Canada and the End of Empire* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004); Celia Haig-Brown, “Seeking Honest Justice in a Land of Strangers: Nahnebahwequay’s Struggle for Land”, *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 36, no. 4 (Winter 2001–2002), pp. 143–170; Joëlle Rostkowski, “The Redman’s Appeal for Justice: Deskahé and the League of Nations”, in Christian F. Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Göttingen: Edition Herodot, 1987); Wolfgang Haberland, “Nine Bella Coolas in Germany”, in Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe*; Penny Petrone, *Native Literature in Canada: From the Oral Tradition to the Present* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 65–68.

14 “English Canadian” in this context denotes those Canadians whose primary location was English-speaking Canada and who identified with Britain as their ancestral homeland, however distant and complex that identification might have been. In the larger work, “A Happy Holiday: Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870s–1930”, I explore some of the complexities of “Britain” versus “English”.

15 See, for example, Library and Archives of Canada, Fred Martin, *Travel Diary*, n.d. 1881.

16 Such an absence was even more acute in their European sojourns. Travels around France, for example, did not elicit comparisons, for better or worse, with Quebec’s society and culture; the religiously inspired cultural tourism of Italy’s cathedrals and galleries did not provoke musings about the church’s cultural influence in French-speaking, Catholic Canada. In Ireland, where we might expect to find various comparisons being made between Catholic peasantries on both sides of the ocean, Canadian tourists either were silent on the matter or thought that it was more salient to discuss Ireland’s relationship with England.

As a group these tourists thus might be said to comprise an elite, being upper middle and middle class, English-speaking, and Protestant.¹⁷ We should be careful, though, not to treat them as homogeneous, for gender and the shadings of wealth and privilege might have created rather different experiences of overseas tourism. London's Harriet Priddis, a single elderly woman, ever-conscious of the need to economize while abroad, did not enjoy the same privileges and luxuries in her travels about Britain and Europe as did Montreal's Edward Greenshields, a member of the city's wealthy anglophone elite. While Priddis took advantage of Cook's tours and third-class rail fares in Europe and queued for cut-rate theatre tickets in London, Greenshields hired a car and chauffeur to take himself and his wife through southern Spain, France, and Britain. He also saw a wide range of theatre, opera, dance, and musical performances (not to mention private art showings) all through his travels.¹⁸ Moreover, although many of the diaries and letters left by English-Canadian tourists speak of sensibilities forged in larger urban centres such as Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Victoria, residents of small-town and rural Canada also went abroad. They did so either independently or, like their big-city counterparts, as members of group tours organized by churches, schools and universities, educational leagues, sporting teams, and, in a few cases, newspaper competitions.

English-Canadian tourists encountered and, to varying degrees, were performers in what we might characterize as the more obviously staged and mounted dramas of imperialism in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Coronation celebrations, Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees, royal funerals, and imperial and colonial exhibitions enabled them to reflect upon their own national subjectivities, their relationship to the "imperial centre", and, at times, to other members of the empire. Tourists themselves, especially young women who went abroad in sponsored groups, also were made to perform as representatives of "Canada", to claim both the status of national membership and a favoured place in the imperial family. Conversely, certain women also claimed a place in the publicly staged theatre of the international woman's suffrage movement, thus staking out national and imperial subjectivities. But these dramas and enactments might not always elicit the desired reactions from those who were both audience members and participants. These tourists

17 The larger project, "A Happy Holiday", from which this paper comes, also explores English Canadians' travel in Europe (primarily France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy). My research is based on more than 50 collections of diaries and letters from British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. It also uses a selection of newspapers (1870s–1914) from the above provinces (excluding Saskatchewan), periodicals such as *The Canadian Magazine*, *Canada: An Illustrated Journal*, and *Allisonia*; approximately 15 travelogues published by Canadians; and a small selection of novels by Canadian writers Sara Jeannette Duncan, Amelia Maria Fytche, and Alice Jones.

18 See University of Western Ontario, Regional Collection, Harriet Priddis Travel Diaries, 1906–1907 and 1911; McCord Museum, Greenshields Family Papers, 1890s–1913, Edward Greenshields Travel Diaries.

witnessed the production of particular national and imperial narratives at historic sites in England and Scotland, where not just the glories but also the embodied cruelties of the past helped produce modern and humanist subjectivities that were linked to empire and also had significant gendered contours. Finally, encounters with the British public and other tourists might remind these English Canadians that they, too, were vulnerable to being seen as “colonials” in the firmament of imperial modernity.

Late Victorian and Edwardian spectacles of British imperial power and royalty, particularly in London’s streets, concert halls, and cathedrals, attracted English-Canadian tourists. Their reactions to and descriptions of such events suggest that coronation processions and Jubilee celebrations were not without complications and complexities, particularly insofar as gender relations were concerned. Nevertheless, the travelogues, diaries, and letters make clear that, just as their authors might flock to such sights on the streets of the Dominion’s cities and towns, in the British context they also were willing participants in these theatres of nationalism and imperialism.¹⁹

A sight of royalty was one of the most commonly sought experiences in London, particularly for female tourists. They openly confessed a yearning to see members of the royal family and were invariably delighted when their longings were fulfilled.²⁰ One such account, “How a Toronto Girl Saw the Queen”, shared many common features with descriptions in diaries and letters: the author’s professed desire to see royalty (particularly Queen Victoria), the excitement engendered by upcoming processions and newspaper announcements or word-of-mouth news of a more “impromptu” appearance, the great anticipation of waiting in an invariably polite and orderly crowd (presided over by an equally invariable kindly and polite London bobby), and the intense pleasure experienced at the appearance of the royal party.²¹ When the royal personage in question was Queen Victoria, the pleasure was intensified by the author’s domestication of the monarch. In 1901 Prince Edward Island’s Ethel Marion Davies, for example, “felt a choke of emotion; a great heart-leap” at the arrival of the “dear old lady”, and, while Emily Murphy thought that the Queen’s gown was “dowdy-looking”, she was so intent on watching the “dear, faded, little mother, who has stamped her name and character on the world’s golden age”, that she became oblivious to the crowd’s reaction.²² While Victoria may have had a particular and

19 For a discussion of a display of British royalty that explores the participation of Canadian audiences — French and English — see Phillip Buckner, “Casting Daylight upon Magic: Deconstructing the Royal Tour of 1901 to Canada”, in Kent and Fedorowich, eds., *The British World*.

20 For a discussion of Canadian women’s participation in the Royal Tour of 1901, see Buckner, “Casting Daylight upon Magic”, p. 164.

21 Archives of Ontario, Women’s Canadian Historical Society Records, Miss Peake, “How a Toronto Girl Saw the Queen” (paper presented to the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, 1901), p. 2; Library and Archives of Canada [hereafter LAC], Ethel Marion Davies, *Travel Diary, 1899–1900*, March 13, 1900.

22 Davies, *Travel Diary*, March 13, 1900; see also Murphy, *The Impressions of Janey Canuck Abroad*, p. 128. While their male counterparts were interested in seeing and participating in royal spectacle,

intense appeal that her successors could not match, one that to no small extent had been shaped and deployed by both political and consumer culture, clearly the attraction of seeing royalty did not end in 1901.²³ Haligonian Irene Simmonds, touring Britain and Europe in 1909, quickly responded to a newspaper notice that King Edward, Queen Alexandra, and Princess Victoria would be returning to Buckingham Palace. Their patient wait was rewarded by their getting a “good look at their Majesties. We smiled at them as they drove slowly by; and the King raised his hat and the Queen bowed to us. I felt good all day after so much glory.” Alexandra, she thought, was very “sweet looking” and looked as young as her daughter.²⁴

As well as reminding these English Canadians that they were linked to British history and the British state (although ties to the former were not without their complications), royal processions and ceremonies also reminded them that they were part of the community of empire. “Britain” was not an enclosed or self-sufficient entity; imperial structures and relationships were apparent in many displays and performances of London’s public culture.²⁵ Such opportunities abounded in London; journalists and travel writers, for example, told their Canadian readers that, as the “heart of the empire”, London presented a narrative of its growth. However, unlike the combination of Britishness and domesticated femininity represented by Victoria, the vision of imperial London these writers presented was often masculine, based on images of men who were important actors in international commerce, imperial politics, and the empire’s military might. Men from Japan, China, Australia, Africa, and America flocked to negotiate railroad deals with the city’s bankers, while China’s, Persia’s, and Russia’s “great rulers” came to see an even greater one. Hotels and pensions were filled with “colonials and foreigners”, as were the shops of Cheapside, Holborn, Oxford, and Regent streets.²⁶ London was most likely to fulfil its promise of provid-

the men’s letters and diaries do not express the same deep desire and yearning to see the Queen. See Elliott, *Rambles in Merrie, Merrie England*, p. 21; Public Archives of British Columbia, George Pack, Travel Diary, June 22, 1911; John Mackinnon, *Travels in Britain, France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, and Holland* (Summerside, PEI, 189?), p. 221.

23 For discussions of the shaping of the Queen’s image, see Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual”; Smith, “‘Almost Pathetic ... But Also Very Glorious’”.

24 Simmonds, *Our Trip to Europe*, p. 40.

25 For explorations of this issue, see Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire*; Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*; Felix Driver and David Gilbert, eds., *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display, and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Jonathan Schnerer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

26 Norman Patterson, “London: The Heart of the Empire”, *The Canadian Magazine*, vol. 26, no. 1 (November 1905), pp. 2–11. Noting that “colonials and foreigners” could be found in London was not an observation limited to Canadians; as Woollacott points out, Australians also remarked upon their presence. See Woollacott, “Contesting (Colonial) Men’s Imperial Power: Australian Women’s Metropolitan Activism and Commonwealth Feminism”, chap. 4 in *To Try Her Fortune in London*.

ing a view of “exotic” people — again, almost invariably male — through the latter’s participation in imperial spectacles. Prince Edward Islander John Mackinnon noted that, in the Golden Jubilee celebration, 16 officers of the Indian cavalry preceded the state carriages and that “not a few of the dusky warriors had testimonials of brave deeds on the field of battle”.²⁷ They were followed by the Indian princes, and at the Abbey Mackinnon was particularly taken with the “eastern priests and shahs, their turbans ablaze with barbaric splendour”.²⁸

In a similar vein, New Brunswick travel writer Rupert Elliott saw many “distinguished foreigners” in the Jubilee procession and thought that the sombre faces of Turkey’s Munir Pasha and China’s Chang Yew Jun “were of special note”. He was very happy to see Wilfrid Laurier in the Colonial Procession, which was led by Lord Roberts and was “met with an enthusiastic reception”; Laurier in particular, with his “polite bows”, produced cheers all along the line. Elliott observed, “[T]he spectators evinced great pride and satisfaction with the stalwart Canadian troops in their serviceable and picturesque uniforms.”²⁹ But, he noted, the most “picturesque group were the coal black, strong, bearded troops of the Imperial Service, dressed in turbans and gorgeous Oriental uniforms. These men were led by Sir Pretab Singh.”³⁰ At George V’s coronation 14 years later, the “Indian princes” still retained their power to dazzle Canadians: Victoria house decorator George Pack found them “beyond description” in a “most gorgeous turnout of horses and trappings”.³¹

Occasionally the social and cultural structures that imperial festivities created were the catalyst for more direct encounters between English Canadians and other members of the empire from India or Africa, male and female. As the following passage suggests, imperialism’s commodification of various cultural symbols also might have helped with the introductions. At a garden party held after an imperial pageant, Priddis was helped to iced coffee by an “Oriental”, who asked her if she was “Anglo Israel”.

I said “oh no Anglo Canadian.” Touching my necklet he said “but this is old Indian.” “No I am sorry to say not Modern English about thirty years.” “Indeed then it is a very good copy of one of our very best old Indian designs.” He called a little lady in white Oriental costume near by and introduced his wife. She spoke English with a very sweet voice and accent. She said she learned it at school and from mixing with English friends at home. We talked of the general advance of women which has spread to the East and they laugh at the antics of the militant suffragettes as we do.³²

27 Mackinnon, *Travels in Britain*, p. 11.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Elliott, *Rambles in Merrie, Merrie England*, pp. 18–19.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

31 Pack, *Travel Diary*, June 22, 1911.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Although Priddis, as we shall see, had mixed reactions to the “antics of the militant suffragettes”, she — and, it seems, her new acquaintances — also appeared to subscribe to the belief that “women’s advancement” was a Western concept and phenomenon, to be learned along with English at school, not something to which “the East” might have made its own contributions.³³ This is not to suggest, though, that Priddis’s copious travel diaries yield a wealth of Orientalist observations. Priddis was quite open to new encounters with those she met on her travels and thus met men and women; residents of England, Scotland, and Wales; so-called “foreigners” (Europeans and Americans); and other “colonials”. Furthermore, her writings are not full of the openly ethnocentric and pejorative assessments of “foreigners” as are, for example, those of her countrywoman Emily Murphy, although Murphy saved her worst vitriol for the English.³⁴

Moreover, when recording their impressions of the “Indian princes” in their letters or diaries, English-Canadian tourists rarely took the opportunity to congratulate themselves directly on occupying a supposedly superior position within the imperial hierarchy, that of a self-governing Dominion with “British” institutions and a predominantly white settler population. Nevertheless, it would be naïve to assume that on some level such judgements and assessments were not made. While, unlike the sensibly attired Canadians, the Indian troops might dazzle the spectator, they were still “dusky warriors”. They and the princes could be relegated to the realm of “barbaric splendour”, one that existed outside liberal progress, commercial and industrial capitalism, and modernity. As we shall see, these tourists valued representations of Canada that emphasized its contributions to precisely those entities and values and worried most acutely about Canada falling behind the United States, not behind India or Jamaica, in the eyes of the metropolis.³⁵ Even Priddis felt that she shared special bonds with those from the Dominions. In London she was particularly pleased to meet a party of New Zealand women while waiting for theatre tickets and remarked approvingly on the number of fellow “colonials” in the crowd.³⁶ Travelling around Europe, Priddis met a party of Australians, whom she liked “very much, there is a freemasonry among colonists”.³⁷ Thus non-white “colonials”,

33 For an analysis of such discourses, see Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994). Priddis was either an interested observer or a member of various imperial and transnational organizations, such as the Imperial Club, the Victoria League, and the YWCA, and spent a great deal of her time in London attending their meetings (Priddis, *Travel Dairy 1911*, pp. 60–61, 90, 106, 109–113).

34 See, for example, Murphy, *The Impressions of Janey Canuck Abroad*, pp. 14–20, 40, 72–73.

35 “Canada’s Status in London”, *Montreal Daily Star*, October 14, 1882; “Colonial News in London”, *The Canadian Magazine*, vol. 9, no. 2 (June 1897), p. 173.

36 Priddis, *Travel Dairy 1911*, pp. 115–116.

37 Priddis, *Travel Dairy 1906*, p. 106.

especially when juxtaposed against the Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey, or the British Museum, could reinforce English-Canadian audiences' sense of deep-rooted ties to England and their supposedly more senior position within the imperial family.

While English-Canadian tourists might feel entitled to occupy the role of the sensible eldest child of empire, it did not hurt to make sure that their part was performed with due respect. Canada's representation within imperial exhibits and pageants drew the attention of English-Canadian writers and tourists. The 1910 Festival of Empire, wrote Randolph Carlyle in *The Canadian Magazine*, would be "the most remarkable spectacle" of 50 years, with concerts, a costume ball, exhibits of both art and industry, and a pageant of 24 scenes and 1,500 performers organized by Frank Lascelles, whose success the previous year at Quebec, Carlyle suggested, might well have inspired this event. Its organizers expected 100,000 visitors per day, and Carlyle was confident that the event would shore up the "thin and atrophied" ties of empire; furthermore, it would prove that London's history "is a history of the empire". Anxious to impress on his readers that the pageant was not merely entertainment, Carlyle pointed out that the "most eminent historians" would be providing research for it. He admitted, though, that the Master of Pageantry "must have an eye for the theatrical".³⁸

Not all were as optimistic as Carlyle. Priddis thought that "it seems to me to be a big mistake to have the Coronation exhibition and Festival of Empire the same season. They must interfere with each other financially and there is of course a great repetition."³⁹ She was not pleased with the Festival's Parade, especially since it had been heavily advertised and she had come into London with a friend just to see it. Standing in late summer heat at Hyde Park Corner for an event that was over an hour late, Priddis deemed it

a disappointment, not a grand procession at all, not a tenth of the characters seen on the ground.... Several large gilded cars like circus cars with characters of the tableaux principally representing the Colonies. Britannia in the first surrounded by guards. Miss Canada looked pretty in white with starry crown and her attendant maids scattering confetti like snow flakes. Queen Elizabeth and attendant courtiers on horseback. Some out west cowboys, a few of the settlers' carts, and this is what I had kept Mrs. Penn waiting for. I felt rather ashamed of the adventure.⁴⁰

38 Randolph Carlyle, "The Festival of Empire", *The Canadian Magazine*, vol. 35, no. 1 (May 1910), pp. 25-30.

39 Priddis, *Travel Diary 1911*, p. 42.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Earlier in her diary Priddis had noted that, although “Miss Merritt” had tried to persuade her to join in the Canadian pageant at the Crystal Palace, “I have no fancy for dressing up and could not stand the rehearsals.”⁴¹

However, these imperial displays did not always disappoint. Victoria schoolteacher Mabel Cameron, in Britain for a year as a companion to her aunt Agnes, an immigration promoter for Lord Strathcona, visited Imre Kiralfy’s Coronation Exhibition at White City and found

native workers busy amid scenes and surroundings of their homes. Men from India were engaged in the hammered brass work which they do with sharp chisels and little mallets. Others were carving wood and ivory, some were busy weaving rugs, women deftly did silk and gold thread embroidery, wax toys were being made, it was all very fascinating. In the West Indies sections negresses dressed in be-frilled and starched muslins were making baskets and weaving Panama hats.

She also enjoyed viewing the Chinese garden, seeing it as “most realistic and the real landscape blended well with the painted one”. In the Fine Arts building, “among the native workers one could not help but notice the great number of little children. Oftentimes these were occupying more attention than the handicrafts of their parents.” But “Canada, with Niagara Falls as a great drawing-card, was crowded into a small building where a number of civilized-looking Indians were busy making snow-shoes, moccasins, and lacrosse sticks. I only trust the other buildings are truer representation of their respective countries than this is.”⁴²

When the exhibits were opened at the Crystal Palace, Priddis was pleased that Canada’s depiction featured a panorama that displayed “wheat fields, prosperous orchards and farms, herds of cattle, and the Parliament buildings. Niagara Falls is a great disappointment how could it be anything else, I am sorry for Minnie to have seen it.” (Her companion at the panorama accompanied her back to Canada where, presumably, Minnie saw the genuine article.) Upon entering the Palace Priddis went straight to the Canada building where she saw the two-thirds scale model of Parliament and found

comfy rest rooms, models of the life of the Indian at work, beavers at work, orchards with real apples in abundance, ranch farm grain fields, mining industry, pictures made of grain frames and all. I was indignant at first to see in the centre of the building a large snow covered building with Miss Canada on top garbed in toque and blanket coat with the ever present snow shoes and tobog-

41 *Ibid.*, p. 40. It is likely that “Miss Merritt” was Catherine Merritt, an amateur playwright who had staged an imperial pageant in Toronto 1909. See Cecilia Morgan, “Staging Empire, Nation, and Gender: Catherine Merritt and Imperial Pageantry, Southern Ontario, 1890s–1910s” (paper presented to the 83rd Annual Meeting, Canadian Historical Association, June 3, 2004).

42 LAC, Mabel Cameron, Travel Diary, June 3, 1911.

gan, with Kipling's abominable "Lady of the Snows" in relief on every side. But when I got near I saw the joke: beneath the snow roof was a large collection of the most beautiful fruit grown in Canada, nothing equal to it on the ground even from the tropics. Adjoining it was a fine dairy exhibit.⁴³

These English-Canadian women were particularly sensitive to representations of Canada, whether displays of goods or tableaux enacted by individuals, which relied upon the symbols of endless winter and barren landscape. As was the case for their counterparts in imperial and national organizations in Britain and in Canada, their formal exclusion from the franchise did not prevent them from crafting national and imperial subjectivities from which they might assess and critique national and imperial images and performances (just as, from the seats of London's theatres, they assessed and critiqued a wide range of contemporary and historic plays).⁴⁴ Far from being passive members of the audience, Cameron and Chown wanted those at the imperial centre — and other tourists, other imperial subjects — to appreciate that Canada contributed to the domestic commodities displayed in imperial spectacles and performed in these theatres of imperialism as well as any other member of the empire. Priddis was pleased to see her country portrayed at a garden party's pageant in which "London" received "the young Queens from over the seas and show[ed] them some of her old time festivities. Canada I am glad to say in yellow dress and maple leaves not blanket coat and toque rather pertly said 'they did not want to see her improvements they had plenty of that at home, but they had nothing old, that is what they came over the seas to enjoy'."⁴⁵

For her part, Cameron was very conscious of British conceptions of her homeland and its position on the imperial map. She accompanied her aunt who gave lectures on Canada's charms, gauged the audiences' reactions to the talks and slides, and, as we have seen, was indignant at characterizations of Canada that did not accord with narratives of progress, prosperity, and settlement. Cameron was incensed — indeed, thoroughly disgusted — with a public talk on Canada given the same year by Miss Ord Marshall at London's Caxton Hall. Marshall's style was both disorganized and flamboyant, as she read her notes, mixed up the order of her slides, dressed in a flowing opera cloak, and wielded a large handkerchief. Worse yet, her content was wanting. She spoke of people who lived in woods and ate roots; her slides consisted of snows and ice views. "We thought she was never going to let up on these desolate views," Cameron wrote, noting that from her "weird descriptions no

43 Priddis, *Travel Diary 1911*, pp. 42–44.

44 For accounts of theatre-going in London, see, for example, LAC, *Getrude Fleming, Travel Diary*, November 30, 1891; Cameron, *Travel Diary*, December 13 and 30, 1910; Chown, *Travel Diary 1910*, May 24, 1910; Davies, *Travel Diary*, p. 77; Priddis, *Travel Diary 1911*, p. 59. The efforts of upper- and middle-class British and English-Canadian women to claim national and imperial membership through voluntary organizations have been discussed by Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (New York, 2000) and Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity*.

45 Priddis, *Travel Diary 1911*, p. 64.

one would ever decide to go out to Canada in order to do better. It gives a totally wrong impression of our country."⁴⁶

English-Canadian tourists were not just audience members in imperial displays organized by metropolitan and colonial officials. Some made valiant attempts to give a "totally correct" impression of Canada and its place in the empire by highlighting the role of white English-Canadian women, suggesting that this group might be a most effective means of strengthening both English-Canadian nationalism and Canada's position within the empire. Their desire to perform these gendered, national, and imperial roles was clearly expressed in events such as the Manitoba Teachers' Tour in 1910 and the overseas tours for Southern Ontario women sponsored by the newspapers *Toronto World* and *Hamilton Spectator*. The teachers' trip brought approximately 165 teachers, 150 of them women, to England, Scotland, and Ireland; it was run under the aegis of the province's Department of Education and endorsed by Lord Strathcona, the Victoria League, and Lady Aberdeen. The belief that the teachers forged a living chain between the "new" world and the "old" was reiterated constantly throughout their tour of England. By 1910 the metaphor of Canada as Britain's dutiful and loyal daughter was not new; nevertheless, it was put to work repeatedly as a means of explaining the teachers' tour, their reason for coming to Britain, and the warm welcome given them by their British colleagues. "How", asked tour organizer Frederick J. Ney, "shall the daughter, separated by thousands of miles of sea, have that love of the Motherland if she know not the mother, or how shall the mother regard the daughter she has not seen?"⁴⁷ Ney found his answer in the teachers' tour, in which G. R. Coldwell, the Manitoba Minister of Education, supported him. The teachers were, after all, "of the young blood of the Great North-West, holding in their hands the destiny of the Mighty Dominion. Theirs is to make British the thousands of children of foreign birth (with their almost traditional dislike and jealousy of our race) who are peopling the Western prairies. Nobly and patriotically are they accomplishing their great National and Imperial task, and to them all praise is due."

In case a British audience might not realize the challenge the teachers faced, Ney went on to list the many groups on the receiving end of this task: materialistic Americans; poverty-stricken Dukhobors and Galicians lacking any conception of "nation"; Germans and French, whose only conception of nation was that of their homelands; Italians and Greeks, whose longings for "home" were tied to a desire for better weather; and Russians and Poles who had just left bitter political conflict and were suspicious of any and all government.⁴⁸ In an effort to "further this great work of unification and nationalization, the one hundred and sixty five Manitobans came to the land of their

46 Cameron, *Travel Diary*, December 10, 1910.

47 Frederick J. Ney, ed., *Britishers in Britain: Being the Record of the Official Visit of Teachers From Manitoba to the Old Country, Summer, 1910* (London: Times Book Club, 1911), p. 4.

48 *Ibid.*

forefathers” so that they “could for themselves solve a great problem, that of deciding whether the British nation was still to be their ideal and their first love”.⁴⁹

Their answer was a resounding and unequivocal yes. At every stop along their way the teachers reaffirmed their commitment to Britain and to Canada’s place in empire. They made it most evident, though, when a small party who had decided to see France, Belgium, and Holland returned from Europe. Writing in the published account of the teachers’ trip, Winnipeg’s Margaret Dickie declared that their journey across the Channel made them “appreciate more fully England and its familiar customs and generous hospitality”. Despite having spent only two weeks in London, “we felt we were returning home ... we rejoiced to see again the ancient landmarks of England and the monuments that mark the resting place of many of its famous men. We felt proud that we, too, were Britishers and that we also had a share in the great and glorious part of that country. Seeing other lands, had made our own dearer to us, and we thanked Providence that we lived under the dear old Union Jack.”⁵⁰

Fellow Winnipegger Thomas Laidlaw echoed Dickie’s reaffirmation of imperial identity. Although this was not his first trip overseas, Laidlaw was struck by the importance of the past to himself and his colleagues. While they knew that the “Old Land’s” historical associations belonged to them and they had always been “proud of the traditions of our race”, they found the past took on a new, more forceful meaning when they “stood by the tombs of the mighty dead, or gazed on buildings and scenes that were old and famous in history before Canada even had a name”.⁵¹ However, unlike the characterizations of other nation’s pasts found in imperial discourses, Britain’s “glorious history” had nothing to do with decadence. “Our Empire is yet far from the zenith. In England and Scotland and Ireland, the past is all around you crying and urging you on; everywhere you see its lessons, its mistakes and its glorious achievements.”⁵² The result was the return to Canada of a group with a much deeper and sympathetic knowledge of “their kin in the Motherland ... with a greater reverence for the Past and a higher hope of the Future.... [T]hey feel they will be better Canadians and better Britons because of this visit to the cradle of the race.”⁵³

The Manitoba teachers were not the only advertisements for and public representations of the charms of white English-Canadian womanhood. Both the *World* and the *Spectator* organized overseas tours in 1907 and 1908 intended to promote Canada, English-Canadian women, and, of course, the respective newspapers. Following, it seems, on the heels of American papers’

49 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

50 Margaret Dickie, “Continental Tour”, in Ney, ed., *Britishers in Britain*, pp. 238–289.

51 Thos. Laidlaw, “Some Impressions of Our Visit”, in Ney, ed., *Britishers in Britain*, p. 227.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 228.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 228–229.

similar endeavours, the *World* organized a competition to send the eleven winners — or “Maple Blossoms”, as the paper dubbed them — to London. To qualify, the women canvassed for votes, sold subscriptions to the paper, and collected coupons. The competition combined elements of a horse race, election campaign, and marketing drive; the successful Maple Blossoms were touted as “genetic Canadians”, most of them third generation.⁵⁴ The paper boasted particularly of the accomplishments of Lizzie Macgregor, the first-place winner with over one and a half million “votes”, who was of good “Scottish” stock: a bright, able, and business-like young woman who used her extensive network of personal and business contacts as a mantle-maker at Simpson’s to garner support.⁵⁵ Other Maple Blossoms used contacts within Bell Telephone, the Freemasons, and Toronto’s labour movement to win a place on the trip.⁵⁶

Although it is less clear how the *Spectator* selected the 32 “Spectator Girls” to travel through Britain and tour Paris (the trip was timed to coincide with the London Olympics), there were many similarities between their trip and that of the Maple Blossoms. Like the teachers’ tour, in which English-Canadian nationalism and support for the imperial tie were in many ways a performance in which nationalism and imperialism were, to no small extent, heightened and exaggerated as a means of legitimating the enterprise and ensuring the continuation of such trips, the two newspaper tours were linked by nationalism and support for Britain. The young women were said to have been terribly excited at the prospect of seeing London and, in the case of the Spectator Girls, parts of Ireland, Scotland, and England. While both groups went to Paris, neither was overly impressed; they found the city too expensive, the food unappetizing, and the Parisian way of life too “fast”. (Other Canadian tourists, though, were more divided in their opinions of the city; some were enthralled with Paris, particularly its outdoor life and culture).⁵⁷ Indeed, so committed were the Spectator Girls to their home country and Britain that they insisted on cutting short their time in Paris in order to be back in London to see fellow Hamiltonian Bobby Kerr receive his Olympic gold medal.⁵⁸

As Adele Perry and Katie Pickles have argued, nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonial and imperial governments and voluntary organizations attempted to secure imperial ties through the importation and display of white British womanhood. The Manitoba teachers’ and newspaper tours

54 “How Eleven of Ontario’s Girls Have Won for Themselves a Free Trip to London Town”, *Toronto World*, July 24, 1907. I have not been able to uncover any other sources for the newspaper trips, other than the press coverage itself. To the best of my knowledge no work has been done on similar excursions from the United States.

55 *Ibid.*

56 *Ibid.*

57 See “‘This sightseeing is a strenuous business’: European Sojourns”, chap. 7 in Morgan, “A Happy Holiday”.

58 “Our Girls Take a Hand at the Olympic Games”, *Hamilton Spectator*, July 24, 1908.

were similar exercises, albeit ones in which the transatlantic flow of women was reversed.⁵⁹ The teachers' and newspapers' tours advertised this version of English-Canadian womanhood for a number of purposes and audiences. For one, they reassured prospective British emigrants that, despite its different landscape and climate, Canada would be familiar in many other ways. Such a reassurance was necessary, after all, since the tours were full of hints that romance and marriage might ensue. Ney, Newton MacTavish, and the teachers themselves also repeatedly told their audience (and, I suspect, themselves) that the women teachers were professionals, "new women" trained to uphold the empire in a disciplined manner. As well, they were proud specimens of Canadian femininity, whose looks and demeanour would send a message to their British siblings that life in Canada did not disrupt the norms of domesticity and heterosexuality that Canada shared with its British parent. In his welcome address to the party, the Vicar of St. Cuthbert's Church in Carlisle told the teachers that, while all were glad to see them, "there was one section of the community who were more glad than all the rest. For a long time the bachelors of Carlisle had been looking forward with intense interest in the visit, and he only wanted to put in one word of warning — they must not forget in that connection that they were living not far from Gretna Green."⁶⁰

Dress and costume also featured in the staging of these women as suitably feminine representatives of Canada. The *World* described the travelling costumes worn by the Maple Blossoms in careful detail, with special attention paid to their combination of practicality and feminine attractiveness, while the *Spectator* was happy to report that the *Montreal Witness* thought the "Girls" were fine examples of beguiling femininity.⁶¹ The *Spectator* also reported the women's joking anecdotes of flirtations with the ship's crew, which came to a light-hearted end with the (expected) revelation in Liverpool that the latter were all married men.⁶² Such appeals for the acceptance of English Canadians as part of the imperial family thus were underpinned by the respectable, yet desirable, femininity of the tours' participants. It was no accident that the *Spectator* Girls supported and celebrated the rugged masculinity of Canadian men, expressed in one of its most physical manifestations in the theatre of international sports.

Some evidence suggests that these presentations and performances of colonial belonging were acknowledged at the metropolitan level. London's *Daily Express* ran a large picture spread on the Maple Blossoms, having pho-

59 Perry, *At the Edge of Empire*; Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity*; see also Anne McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven: Nationalism, Gender and Race", chap. 10 in McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).

60 Ney, ed., *Britishers in Britain*, p. 174.

61 "First of Spectators Got Home Yesterday", *Hamilton Spectator*, July 27, 1908.

62 "How Eleven of Ontario's Girls Have Won for Themselves a Free Trip to London Town".

tographed them in various poses: consulting guide books on the steps of the Tate Art Gallery, arriving at the British Museum, and walking down the street with a very young Con Smythe, their “pet”. This “gay party of Canadian girls”, the *Express* noted, was trying to break the sightseeing record of Ohio’s “Buckeye Daisies” while in London.⁶³ In addition to enacting these gendered roles for a metropolitan audience, however, these tours played various roles “at home”. For one, the tours generated publicity for the sponsoring newspapers. Accounts of how the Maple Blossoms, for example, won their places on the *Lake Manitoban* invariably mentioned the number of newspapers sold, not to mention the role played by the paper in promoting English-Canadian interests. Although the provincial Education Department did not garner any immediate financial rewards from the teachers’ tour, its organizers hoped to bolster the image and status of public-school teachers as cultured, educated, and knowledgeable professionals, particularly in the face of increasing feminization of the teaching work force and growing concerns about the national, ethnic, and racial composition of the Canadian student body.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the tours were praised as a means whereby certain groups of Canadians might learn more about Canada: the teachers were exposed to the scenery and historic sites of Ontario and Quebec, while much was made of the Blossoms’ and Girls’ impressions of Montreal, which they toured before embarking on their overseas voyage.⁶⁵

Finally, the presentation of these images and performances of gender and nation “abroad” was aimed at a home audience with its own concerns and preoccupations about gender relations. Whether the image was of the competent yet still womanly teachers or the business-like yet attractive “working girls” employed in Southern Ontario’s commercial and manufacturing sectors (“working girls” who were also quite respectable, as comments about their adherence to temperance suggested), English-Canadian readers might receive much-needed reassurance of the modern, yet wholesome, nature of white English-Canadian womanhood. To audiences who had witnessed various challenges to gender roles, whether in the legislature or university lecture hall or on the shop floor or picket line, the teachers, Maple Blossoms, and Spectator Girls may have been a comforting reminder that Canada was still stable and secure in both the private and public domains at home and abroad.

These were not the only public demonstrations of gendered nationalism and imperial affiliation in which English-Canadian women participated, however. Just as these organizations attempted to shape performances of English-Canadian womanhood according to their own values and norms,

63 “Canada’s ‘Maple Blossoms’”, *Daily Express*, August 14, 1907.

64 See, for example, Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, “Teachers’ Work: Changing Patterns and Perceptions in the Emerging School Systems of 19th and Early 20th Century Central Canada”, *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 17 (Spring 1986), pp. 59–80; Sheehan, “Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Practice”.

65 Ney, ed., *Britishers in Britain*; “How Eleven of Ontario’s Girls Have Won for Themselves a Free Trip to London Town”; “First of Spectators Got Home Yesterday”.

some female tourists demonstrated their national and imperial affiliations on stages more of their own choosing. For these women, Canada's and Britain's status as modern, progressive nations and imperial communities was represented most clearly in the spectacles of women displayed in public, in suffrage rallies and parades. Kingston's Edith Chown, touring Britain and Europe in 1910 with her suffragist aunt Alice, found her sense of membership in a gendered community of nation and empire intensified by her participation in the large suffrage procession to the Albert Hall. Although she and Alice had only intended to watch, they were asked to walk in the parade; they therefore "got to work" and made a banner with "Canada" and maple leaves emblazoned across it. "It was very crude but rather effective," Chown wrote. Eight women (four English, "Miss Cartwright" from Montreal, and one African) marched in their contingent, each carrying a bunch of wheat. "The people were just crazy over the wheat and all wanted a piece as we passed. We could hear them say as we passed, 'Oh Canada, that's the place', and other such expressions." Although the Chowns did not finish the procession, taking a cab and driving to the Hall to watch the rally and hear the speeches, they felt it was a "most wonderful sight to see Albert hall filled with ten thousand people, mostly women".⁶⁶

The following year Priddis was very impressed with the leading committee of the Women's Coronation Procession: "they are brilliantly organized." En route to the Hall she saw the "Actresses van all white with hooped canopy gaily decorated with artificial pink roses and green leaves". Once inside, Priddis noted that Mrs. Drummond "the leader still sat on her big horse looking very like Rosa Bonheur ... Joan of Arc in full armour stood beside her." Although sitting in a good seat in the first row of the gallery, Priddis could not hear Emmeline Pankhurst, as her voice "was not loud enough to fill the big hall". She was able, though, to make out Annie Besant's speech on the "pioneer days of the woman's movement. Her voice carries remarkably well and she is altogether a remarkable woman ... I do not know enough about all the movement to catch all that was said." Priddis was impressed with the electric sign that kept a running total of donations: "it was really very exciting and did not interfere with the speaking at all." The meeting ended with Christabel Pankhurst's arrival on the platform, which was

received with loud clapping. A tall fine looking girl fashionably dressed in pale green with well shaped long arms which she used a great deal in gesticulating a clear full voice that filled the Hall ... She was quite dramatic when she stood perfectly still, looking young and strong and said in a peculiar voice our opponents say we have no staying qualities, no capacity for organization, then with

66 Queen's University Archives, Edith Chown Pierce Papers, Edith Chown, Travel Diary 1910, June 17, 1910. For a discussion of those parades, see Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

a ringing voice throwing out both arms “Look around”. There was no crowding or rushing in emptying the immense hall and we all walked off as quietly as from church.⁶⁷

Chown, Priddis, and Cameron were in London at the height of the militant campaign that, as their writings suggest, became a tourist attraction as well as urban spectacle.⁶⁸ Cameron, a staunch suffrage supporter who attended various meetings and was enthralled by Christabel Pankhurst, also wrote of hearing suffrage speeches at Wimbledon Common and in Parliament Square, the latter given by those who had recently been released from prison.⁶⁹ Chown wrote home that, after hearing Emmeline Pethwick-Lawrence, Christabel Pankhurst, and others speak, she “thoroughly enjoyed the meeting — and am already a confirmed suffragist! It makes me mad to think every man is given a vote except that he be a lunatic or a criminal. To think of ranking woman with that class.”⁷⁰

Even those women who were hostile to suffrage could not refrain from registering the movement’s presence with a degree of fascination. Winnipeg’s Margaret Thomson remarked acerbically that at Speaker’s Corner — where she heard, among others, representatives from the men’s league for women’s suffrage — “the rubbish being proclaimed and the faces of the listeners were interesting for a little while.”⁷¹ Leaving London for a small Devonshire town, Thomson and her husband Joe met a woman selling *Votes for Women*. Thomson wrote,

The shop woman meekly produced a penny, but when tackled Joe said “No I don’t believe in it.” “You would if you looked into it,” said the girl. “Oh I’m ashamed of the women of England,” said Joe. “Well I assure you they’re not ashamed of themselves,” retorted the Suffragette. She almost closed the door and then opened it again to exclaim, “Look what the men did to get a vote. Burned half Bristol in one night and even committed murder!” She looked really ready for a fight.⁷²

Returning for a short trip in 1914, Thomson noted that “Joe” had found himself on “top of a train with a lot of suffragettes coming to Bexhill for a demonstration. At first there was a second man then J braved it all alone. The ‘gettes’ all carried white parasols painted round with remarks. Here they had

67 Priddis, *Travel Diary 1911*, p. 74.

68 See Dina M. Copelman, “The Gendered Metropolis: *fin-de-siècle* London”, *Radical History Review*, vol. 60 (Fall 1994), pp. 38–56.

69 Cameron, *Travel Diary*, October 16, November 7 and 21, 1910.

70 Chown, *Travel Diary 1910*, May 26, 1910. Chown was accompanied by her feminist aunt, Alice Chown.

71 Archives of Ontario, Margaret Thomson, *Travel Diary 1910*, August 21, 1910.

72 *Ibid.*, November 25, 1910.

a masked domino parade.”⁷³ Driving through London in a taxi one month later, Thomson wrote that “the suffragettes had been ‘marching to Buckingham’. It was over but crowds still hung round. There were said to be two thousand policemen and there were certainly a large number. Forty five arrests were made amid disgraceful scenes.”⁷⁴

Suffrage rallies, processions, debates at Speaker’s Corner, women selling *Votes for Women* on street corners, and suffragettes being released from jail: all were sights that these women either could not have viewed at home or could not have seen on such a large scale.⁷⁵ As Thomson’s remarks suggest, not everyone supported the cause; even Priddis preferred that “votes for women” be demanded in appropriate moments and felt that the call was obtrusive when made unexpectedly.⁷⁶ Nor is it evident that English-Canadian women who resided overseas participated in suffrage organizations and networks to the same degree as did Australian women who lived in London.⁷⁷ Yet suffrage marches and rallies, themselves carefully orchestrated in ways that linked British women to the nation’s history, offered women such as Chown and Cameron a place to enact their conceptions of national and imperial subjectivity on highly visible and public platforms, an opportunity to experience the “we” that Bridge and Fedorowich argue characterized the British world.⁷⁸

As historians of British women’s suffrage campaigns have pointed out, the movement’s processions and demonstrations drew upon a repertoire of historical female figures, ranging from Joan of Arc to Boadicea and Elizabeth I, to inspire its followers and legitimate its claims for women’s full participation in the nation and empire.⁷⁹ For English-Canadian tourists, particularly women, suffrage displays offered representations of women’s historical activism that differed markedly from other productions of British history. The narratives of the past presented to them at sites in Scotland and England

73 Thomson, *Travel Diary 1914*, April 30, 1914.

74 *Ibid.*, May 21, 1914.

75 *Ibid.*, November 21, 1914. To date we know little about the visual presentation of suffrage and representations of the woman’s movement in Canada, although certain Canadian suffragists, such as Nellie McClung, staged mock parliaments that reversed anti-suffrage discourse.

76 Priddis, *Travel Diary 1911*, p. 98.

77 Woollacott mentions the participation of Canadian women (presumably English-Canadian) in a number of international women’s and feminist organizations but, to date, Canadian historians have not yet investigated these women’s activities. See Woollacott, “Contesting (Colonial) Men’s Power: Australian Women’s Metropolitan Activism and Commonwealth Feminism”, chap. 4 in *To Try Her Fortune in London*. See also Ian Christopher Fletcher, Laura E. Nym Mayhall, and Phillipa Levine, eds., *Women’s Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation, and Race* (New York and London: Routledge, 2000). Although the international links fostered by groups such as the National Council of Women during this period have received less attention from Canadian historians than their work “at home”, see Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*, introduction by Ramsay Cook (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

78 Bridge and Fedorowich, “Mapping the British World”, p. 7.

79 See, for example, Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women*, pp. 125–130.

were those of violence, terror, and despair. In the talks given by guides and through the artifacts, art, and sites they were shown, “history” was frequently a litany of cruelty, a tale in which the bodies of men and, all too often, aristocratic women, were tormented and dismembered, unlike the active and inspirational bodies displayed in the suffrage movement (police arrests and the Cat-and-Mouse Act, with its forcible feeding, notwithstanding).

To be sure, in the case of Scotland, the history evoked by places such as Inverary and Stirling Castles, Loch Lomond, Bannockburn, and the Wallace Monument might be a moving and romantic narrative, one that stimulated passion, excitement, and desire for the Scottish nation. After having toured a number of Edinburgh historic sites, Simmonds attended a production of *Rob Roy* at one of the city’s theatres.⁸⁰ It was “simply grand”, she told her readers, with the actors in “Highland” costume, a large orchestra, and a sword dance. “It was splendid, and stirred up every drop of Scotch blood that was in me. Rob Roy was a great tall strong looking man, just what a chieftain should be, and Ellen was all that could be desired as a chieftain’s wife.”⁸¹

Yet the Scots’ past was anything but a light-hearted affair. Leaving aside for the moment the histories of William Wallace, the Jacobite uprising of 1745, and the Highland Clearances, the Scottish past as seen by tourists around Edinburgh was full not just of tragedies but also of cruelty and brutality. Such narratives were staged for tourists in castles, prisons, historic homes, and the city streets, where the retelling and re-enacting of the past through a number of devices — not least the tour guide charged with relating the story — took place in sites not unlike the theatrical setting in which Simmonds watched *Rob Roy*.⁸²

Holyrood Castle was perhaps the most evocative of such narratives; recitals of its most famous occupant’s fate rarely failed to move these tourist audiences. Fred Martin from Woodstock, Ontario, found Mary Stuart’s apartments “the most interesting in the palace and remain to some extent in the same state as when first occupied by the unhappy Princess”. He noted the exact spot where the “conspirators” found David Rizzio, the Queen’s Italian secretary, and dragged him to be stabbed to death.⁸³ W. E. Wetherell, a school inspector from the southwestern Ontario town of Strathroy, declared, “Mary Queen of Scots must always be the central figure in all the descriptions of Holyrood.” He found (or was told) that her apartments were in “nearly the same condition” as when she had lived in them and noted the “vestibule with dark stains supposedly of Rizzio’s blood”, the audience chamber with its “ancient and decaying tapestry”, and the old chairs “adorned with rich

80 Simmonds, *Our Trip to Europe*, pp. 18–28.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

82 For a discussion of the theatrical dimensions of present-day tourism, see Bowman, “Performing Southern History for the Tourist Gaze.”

83 LAC, Fred Martin, *Travel Diary*, 1881.

embroidery”.⁸⁴ Walking through the city’s Canongate, Clara Bowslaugh, a resident of Grimsby, Ontario, overseas on one of the guided tours run by Methodist minister W. H. Withrow, saw Moray House. In 1897 it was a teachers’ training college but in 1648 it had housed Oliver Cromwell. From its balcony the newlyweds Lord Lorne and Lady Mary Stuart had watched the Marquis of Montrose ride to his execution, but eleven years later Argyle “perished himself at the cross”. Bowslaugh also noted that she passed over the state prison in which Argyle was kept before his execution.⁸⁵ A number of tourists made pilgrimages to the Protestant Martyrs’ monument; Bowslaugh dutifully recorded that 100 Scots were executed in Edinburgh from the Stuart Restoration until the Glorious Revolution.⁸⁶

Yet this history of violence was not just a story of Protestants being persecuted by Catholics. Pack noted that one of the rooms in Knox’s house had a Bible but also a scold’s bridle and the boards and wrist-cuffs that held down prisoners being taken to jail or for execution.⁸⁷ Wetherell became emotive in taking his readers through the Canongate, collapsing linear time and bringing a wide cast of historical characters “alive” synchronically. The streets were peopled with the ghosts of royalty, nobles, and burgesses: Montrose was dragged on a hurdle; Knox stood “grim and stern” after his interview with Mary Stuart, “unmelted by the tears of a queen”; and along rode the Pretender, dazzled by the thoughts of a crown and followed by pipers and adoring Jacobite women.⁸⁸

Not only Edinburgh’s streets were populated by such ghosts. In taking her fictional tourists from Toronto around London’s “Bloody Tower”, travel writer Maria Lauder saw a “strange contrast” between the building’s “myriads of associations” and the English Regalia: “This dazzling glitter of gold and costly stones seems a cutting sarcasm, a bitter irony, in the face of the grim Norman Keep, and the awful tragedies that have been enacted here on the stage of life!”⁸⁹ The Tower was a place where “a veil of mystery hangs over many a tragic and dramatic episode of the gloomy past”, Murphy declared. “What diabolical knaveries, what cruel implacable things, what plots of treason have thickened to their black finish within these drear pre-

84 J. E. Wetherell, *Over the Sea: A Summer Trip to Britain* (Strathroy, ON, 1892), p. 34. See also Maria Elsie Turner Lauder, *Evergreen Leaves, Being Notes from my Travel Book by Toofie* (Toronto: Belford Bros., 1877), pp. 109–110; Simmonds, *Our Trip to Europe*, pp. 24–25; Thomson, *Travel Diary 1897*, June 26, 1897; Archives of Ontario, W. C. Caldwell, *Travel Diary*, July 15, 1874.

85 Hamilton Public Library, Local Collection, Clara Bowslaugh, *Travel Diary*, August 24, 1897.

86 Bowslaugh, *Travel Diary*, August 24, 1897; see also Thomson, *Travel Diary 1897*, September 10, 1897.

87 Pack, *Travel Diary*, June 16, 1911.

88 Wetherell, *Over the Sea*, p. 35.

89 Lauder, *Evergreen Leaves*, p. 337. It is more than likely that most of these Canadian tourists had garnered impressions of the Tower from the British history taught in Canadian schools. For a discussion of the Tower’s construction as a historical monument, see Raphael Samuel, “The Tower of London”, in his *Island Stories, Unravelling Britain: Theatres of Memory, Volume II* (Verso, 1998), pp. 101–124.

cincts!”⁹⁰ Ghosts filled the building — those of Thomas More, Thomas Cranmer, Walter Raleigh, Dudley, Anne Boleyn, Lady Jane Grey, the Earl of Essex — and “like dark phantoms they seem to glide by us as we linger, and listen to the cries of the boatmen, the tread of the soldier, the executioner with his axe”.⁹¹ William Harrison told readers of *The Canadian Magazine* that the Crown Jewels must be placed alongside the headsman’s axe and mask, the thumb-screws, and chains. The Tower was an example of the precariousness of rank and hierarchy in England’s past: its walls had seen both royalty’s “glittering processions” and “throngs of illustrious prisoners” who were marched to dungeons to suffer and endure a “shameful, cruel death”; its rooms had rung with mirth, revelry, and shouts of pleasure while its gloomy cells had resonated with the “cries of deadliest pain and muffled moans of broken, bleeding hearts”; and royalty had come through its gates, exchanging honour, glory, and the brilliance of the court for prison, torture, and the “fatal block and axe”.⁹²

Although they did not always rise to the heights of impassioned prose scaled by travel journalists, women diarists and letter writers made careful note of those who had met a violent end at the hands of the English state within the Tower’s walls. They walked and, in the case of letter writers, walked their readers along the routes these women had taken to their deaths. Traitor’s Gate, wrote Bowslaugh, was the place where Anne Boleyn, Katherine Howard, and Jane Grey had landed; all three were executed shortly afterward. Standing on a spot on Tower Green “which marks the place of their executions”, Bowslaugh and her party “plucked some maple leaves from a tree overhanging it”. She then carefully listed the dates of a number of women’s executions: Boleyn, 1536; the Countess of Salisbury, 1541; Katherine Howard, 1542; Viscountess Rochford, 1542; and Lady Jane Grey, 1554 (Bowslaugh also threw in the Earl of Essex, 1601). “Overlooking the ‘Green’ is the window from which Lady Jane Grey saw her husband go from Beauchamp Tower to the scaffold on Tower Hill, and his headless body brought back for burial in chapel St. Peters, where she was also buried.”⁹³ Other women — Thomson, British Columbia’s Mary Bain, Chown, Simmonds, and Davies — also remarked on these deaths and paid a visit to the site of execution.⁹⁴

Although male visitors to the Tower noted that it was the place where, as Pack put it, “Queen Mary was beheaded and other notables”, and the women

90 Murphy, *The Impressions of Janey Canuck Abroad*, p. 46.

91 Lauder, *Evergreen Leaves*, pp. 335–336.

92 William Harrison, “London’s Tragic Tower”, *The Canadian Magazine*, vol. 8, no. 5 (March 1897), pp. 443–446, 444.

93 Bowslaugh, Travel Diary, June 30, 1897.

94 Thomson, Travel Diary 1898, August 25, 1898; Public Archives of British Columbia, Mary Bain, Travel Diary, January 31, 1911; Chown, Travel Diary 1910, May 30, 1910; Simmonds, *Our Trip to Europe*, p. 34; Davies, Travel Diary, pp. 83–87.

diarists and travel writers dutifully listed the many men and women who had died within its walls, women were particularly drawn to the history of noble women's deaths and enacted them in various ways. Murphy was outraged by the execution of the Countess of Salisbury, the "mother of Cardinal Pole", who, "in spite of her age and grey hairs", was "hacked to death with as little ceremony as an ox in a slaughter house". The countess had refused to lay her head on the block and, according to Murphy, was chased around it by the executioner.⁹⁵ Murphy also was moved by the deaths of the princes: "the Anglo-Saxon heart aches for the murdered boys who were hidden away under the awful stones."⁹⁶ Murphy laid the blame for much of the Tower's terrible and cruel history at the feet of Henry VIII, a "merciless, malevolent despot, topful of unbridled lusts, his life is a filthy epistle showing the ultimate vileness, the black and dirty recesses of the human heart".⁹⁷

Hers was an explicitly gendered analysis of the abuse of monarchical and masculine power that, to Murphy, Henry represented. Harrison was more sanguine about the Tower's history, noting that, although it represented an era of "fierce struggles", "ill-defined rights", and the "wildest passions", this period had set the foundations for England's "present prosperity, peace, and world-wide power".⁹⁸ Now all the "noise and tumult" heard within the Tower's walls had died down, the scaffold had been replaced by a garden, and, while those tumultuous days were long gone, nevertheless members of the British Empire should remember that "the freedom which enriches your lives to-day has not been achieved without many a hard fought battle".⁹⁹ Davies, though, could not take such a dispassionate view of things; she wondered, "could its old and crumpling walls speak, what horrors they would tell! These poor beings who have suffered and languished in its dreadful dungeons — justly perhaps yet my heart says *many* have suffered unjustly there." Davies left, vowing "enough of the Tower and its horrors! One thing I am thankful for, those bloody unchristian times have passed and that I live in a day when justice holds more sway and those who rule our nation rule not with selfish ends but for their peoples and their countries' goods."¹⁰⁰

Davies was not alone in refusing to see all of English history as an uncomplicated and celebratory narrative of progress, particularly for women. Although Simmonds would not have missed Madame Tussaud's wax museum "for the world" and was delighted to see figures of the present-day royal family, the Popes, various British statesmen, and Queen Victoria, she was very disturbed by the tableau of Mary Stuart about to be beheaded. "It all looked so real, I was glad to pass on," she wrote. A display of the stocks, the

95 Murphy, *The Impressions of Janey Canuck Abroad*, p. 49.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

98 Harrison, "London's Tragic Tower", p. 443.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 446.

100 Davies, *Travel Diary*, pp. 83–87.

pillory, and instruments of torture made her happy to live in the twentieth century, reflecting that it was a “mercy that these awful things are done away with!”¹⁰¹ Davies had a similar reaction, declaring that, while she and her cousin had had “great fun” in the museum with its “wonderfully life like” figures, their trip to the Chamber of Horrors was quite short: “ugh we took to our heels in a jiffy.”¹⁰²

To be sure, not everyone found history in London to be an unrelenting litany of violence and state-sponsored cruelty.¹⁰³ Some tourists, too, were simply critical of English monuments and historic sites as either aesthetically deficient or just disappointing. A minority also practised a very irreverent type of tourism, refused to obey strictures about the strict separation of past and present (or onstage versus backstage), and questioned the authority of officials who ran museums and other historic sites. Such a group insisted on asking bothersome questions of tour guides, wanted to handle artifacts, and attempted to assert their contemporary mastery over the past (by, for example, sitting on thrones or in other ceremonial chairs).¹⁰⁴ They might also have been more cynical or at least more knowledgeable about the narratives they encountered. “A New Brunswicker Abroad” mocked the (to him) prescribed nature of tourism at certain Edinburgh sites. “Everyone is expected to go into ecstasies” at the panoramic sight at Arthur’s Seat, he told his readers, and one was also expected to “strike an attitude, draw a long breath and exhaust himself in meaningless platitudes” as he was escorted through Mary Stuart’s apartments (her story being well known).¹⁰⁵

But English-Canadian women’s accounts of their encounters with British history, particularly as the latter was represented by the century that brought Protestantism, Elizabeth I, and the first English empire, suggest that their usual understanding of their “British” past — a Whiggish narrative of humanitarian progress and development — was disrupted when the lives and fates of prominent women were brought to the centre of the story. It would be overstating matters to argue that these women thought of themselves as occupying a particularly “English-Canadian” humanitarian stance or that they rejected British history because of these (uncharacteristic) brutal times, a position often taken up by those who visited the dungeons and prisons of Europe.¹⁰⁶ However, tourists such as Davies made it clear they were modern imperial subjects, members of an empire that had done away with such cruelty. Their allegiance to Britain was grounded in its more recent histories of parliamentary democracy (notwithstanding that Davies and her contemporar-

101 Simmonds, *Our Trip to Europe*, pp. 36–37.

102 Davies, *Travel Diary*, p. 167.

103 See, for example, Ney, ed., *Britishers in Britain*, p. 74; Bowslaugh, *Travel Diary*, June 30, 1897; also Pack, *Travel Diary*, June 28, 1911.

104 See Pack, *Travel Diary*, June 16, 1911.

105 “A New Brunswicker Abroad”, *St. John Daily Telegraph*, October 30, 1878.

106 See “‘This sightseeing is a strenuous business’”.

ies were excluded from that institution) and humanitarian movements such as anti-slavery, philanthropy, and penal reform.¹⁰⁷ For a few, suffrage processions and iconography offered a “better story”, in which the national and imperial body politic was not premised on women’s bodies being subjected to the violence of the English state.¹⁰⁸

While English-Canadian tourists on many occasions demonstrated their desire to merge imperial and national membership, it was a desire riddled with anxiety and ambivalence about the relationship between the communities or, in the case of the historic sites, the history of the imperial centre that they had inherited. As we have seen, the creation of “wrong impressions” in imperial exhibitions and through speakers’ lectures caused no small degree of anxiety and frustration for these tourists and travel writers. More than one writer hinted at insecurities and voiced anxieties that “Canadians” were taken for granted or overlooked in London, particularly during the late-Victorian and Edwardian years.¹⁰⁹ Responding to such concerns, *The Canadian Magazine* was pleased to report in 1897 that the London paper, *National Review*, had started to run a column on colonial politics. “Little Britain is beginning to realize that there is a greater Britain, that the people who live in the colonies are beings with souls, and sense, and intelligence, and culture, and feeling, and breeding and brains — just as other Britishers have.” Citing the *Review*, the magazine presented Canadians with proof that at least some of those “at home” believed in the common ties of empire: “what our fellow-countrymen in Canada, Australia, and South Africa feel, is that in spite of our perpetual affirmations that ‘We are all Imperialists now’ ... we, in the old country, do not take a very serious or intelligent interest in their affairs.... The Canadian visitor to London can hardly talk with any comfort about his political affairs, even with an educated Englishman, so grossly ignorant are they of Canadian questions” (the same situation held true for Australians and Cape Colonists). “This is perfectly correct,” *The Canadian Magazine* stated, but it was “refreshing to know” that “at least one London periodical has undertaken to present colonial events in regular and readable form”. Such a strengthening of the “bonds of empire” would be in both Canada’s and Britain’s interest, for the latter “has lost enough by secession; she cannot afford to have historical events repeated”.¹¹⁰

Yet imperial stereotypes, particularly those disseminated and performed in popular culture, had weight and meaning. Writing in the *Manitoba Free Press* about the teachers’ tour, G. W. Bartlett noted that the “English hosts” were

107 See “The Street, the Regatta, and the Orphanage: The Public and Social Spaces of Tourism in Britain”, chap. 6 in Morgan, “A Happy Holiday”.

108 For a discussion of Western women’s historical narratives and their grappling with violence and trauma, past and present, see Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

109 “Canada’s Status in London”, *Montreal Daily Star*, October 14, 1882, p. 3.

110 “Colonial News in London”, *The Canadian Magazine*, vol. 9, no. 2 (June 1897), p. 173.

very pleased with their guests. “While none of the Manitobans wore blankets, scalp-locks, or feathers, there was an unconstrained frankness suggestive of the breezy West, a directness and a quickness of perception, which with the undeniable personal charms of our lady teachers made them the toast of the town.”¹¹¹ Like colonial ambivalence, though, colonial stereotypes might cut both ways. The teachers discovered that, despite the “superficial differences”, “the average Briton is neither a duke nor a flunkey. He does not speak patronizingly of ‘the Colonies’, nor think that everything good is made in England.”¹¹²

However, a number of tourists found just the opposite and that more than one English person believed just that. Trains often were the staging ground for these colonial encounters, which could sometimes be even more difficult to manage than the representations of “Canada” in imperial spectacles and exhibitions. Here English-Canadian tourists were confronted directly with stereotypes about their society that could not be dismissed as the work of a few misinformed individuals such as Miss Ord Marshall, whose opinions did not resonate with the British population in general. Instead, travellers were forced to recognize that those British men and women whom they considered fellow-members of their imperial family saw English Canadians and their society as lacking in the social niceties and culture of Britain. Thus they were required to repeat the lessons that the organizers of exhibitions and pageants had gone to such pains to inculcate, to (re)present themselves as representatives of a modern, “civilized” people. Travelling back to London from a northern trip to York, Hartlepool, and Durham, Cameron was drawn into conversation with an English woman who shared her train carriage. She asked Cameron many questions about British Columbia and then asked if people there spoke English. “It set me thinking,” Cameron confessed to her diary, “and I wondered what language I could have been using during our previous chat. ‘Does anyone die of pneumonia there?’ ‘Oh, occasionally,’ I said. ‘Well, I suppose they have plenty of fever to make up for it.’ Law of compensation is evidently her motto.”¹¹³ Always eager to strike up discussions with fellow human beings, Priddis was en route from Liverpool to Stoke-on-Trent when she met a woman from India with her children and their governess, a “bright Irish lady”, and a couple from Liverpool. The husband “pitched into Americans and Canadians for being so cock sure they knew everything that no one bothered explaining the characteristics of older

111 Bartlett, as quoted in Ney, ed., *Britishers in Britain*, p. 290.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 289.

113 Cameron, *Travel Diary*, February 4, 1911. It was not uncommon for Canadian tourists to heighten their feelings of nationalism by observing the behaviour of both Americans and the British in Europe. Americans, it was often said, were enthusiastic but naïve and unilingual travellers, while the British could be unfriendly, snobbish, and equally linguistically deficient. Notwithstanding their feelings, though, Canadians were not infrequently mistaken as members of either group. See “Natural Wonders and National Cultures: European Sojourns Part Two”, chap. 8 in Morgan, “A Happy Holiday”.

countries to them. I am sure he would change his mind if he had followed me around yesterday.”¹¹⁴

English-Canadian women were more likely to record such instances of very personal and direct defences of their homeland in their diaries and letters home. However, their male counterparts also encountered similar moments, often when their own performances of Canadian manliness were misunderstood. After seeing the Indian and Chinese princes at Brighton, Torontonians George Lindsey, in England for a cricket tour, then went to the cricket ground where he called out a greeting to a friend. His words

dumbfounded a duchess-dowager spectator, who evidently thought that sort of thing was done by us by rubbing noses in Ojibway, for she ejaculated in blank astonishment and in an audible voice “why, I declare, they speak English!” This caused “the Baby”, Fleury, to laugh so immoderately that the venerable lady formed a mental estimate that even if we had learned to speak English we had not yet learned to be polite, and relapsed into her seat, quite satisfied that she really knew all about the ways of the aborigines of the great North American Continent.¹¹⁵

Leaving Brighton for London, another member of Lindsey’s party dressed in his cricketing gear, while a second player who went with him “assures us that he was not taken for one of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West men when he arrived in the metropolis, although he admits he excited a good deal of attention”.¹¹⁶ Like the “compliment” paid to the Manitoba teachers’ lack of feathers and blankets, these constructs of national identity often were enmeshed with notions of Aboriginality: some English observers clearly conflated the two and, judging from Lindsey’s account, some Canadian men were willing to play such roles, albeit in a mocking fashion.¹¹⁷

When faced with stereotypes and condescension as “colonials”, English Canadians could — and did — draw upon a number of strategies. As Lindsey’s description of the “duchess-dowager’s” comments indicates, they might make fun of blatant ignorance or, as some of Cameron’s diary entries suggest, they might challenge it more directly. If circumstances or politeness did not permit either, there was always the tactic of biting one’s tongue and then making sure that the transgressions of the “imperial cousin” were duly recorded. Similarly, it did not hurt to display the (more positive) signs and signifiers of “Canadianness” whenever possible, a practice undertaken by both men and women. Cameron drew a large maple leaf for the local woman in charge of “Canada” for a pageant of empire in the Lake District, while as

114 Priddis, *Travel Diary 1911*, p. 22.

115 George Lindsey, *Cricket Across the Sea* (Toronto: James Murray and Co., 1887), p. 110.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

117 See R. G. Moyles and Doug Owsram, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

we have seen Chown helped with the construction and display of the “Canada” banner for the 1910 suffrage march and carried bundles of wheat.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, English Canadians were not above indulging in certain stereotypes themselves, as can be demonstrated by the desire of the Manitoba teachers and their organizers that the teachers enact being “Manitobans” and, implicitly, English-Canadian women as embodying directness, frankness, and a kind of breeziness, all of which would compensate for a supposed lack of historical landscapes. Writing in *The Canadian Magazine* about Oxford education, Arnold Haultain characterized “Canadian” higher education as promoting a more corporeal and practical masculinity, with vacations spent hunting, portaging, exploring, working as surveyors or in mining or construction. Because of this pedagogy, Canadian graduates thus included a commander of horse troops, a gold prospector in the sub-Arctic, and a lawmaker in a new territory who was creating a legal code for a people fragmented by race, religion, and custom.¹¹⁹

To be sure, many powerful discursive and practical forces shaped such self-characterization: the influence of popular culture and the media, both in Canada and abroad, which had already propagated such images, not to mention the need to set oneself off from an imperial metropole that had already been imbued by both its residents and its colonial visitors with “history” and “culture”. For many tourists and their British hosts, it might have been almost impossible to resist them; like other stereotypes, such markers and performances of identity could be — and were, as some found out — used to create homogeneity, to sum up all that could be or was necessary to know about “Canada” within narrow parameters. Moreover, not all found such markers and performances limiting. As Haultain’s article suggests, English-Canadian men could take on and perform the role of the white colonial masculine subject, one whose first-hand, experientially based knowledge of colonial projects, whether drawn from the command of horse troops or from writing legal codes, was superior to that of his metropolitan counterparts. Similarly, after having been exposed to a hearty dose of British culture and history, English-Canadian women could impart the latter’s lessons with a vigour and zeal that might be lacking in the “mother country”, thus serving as the ideal of white, colonial womanhood.

This is not, then, to argue that these tourists rejected “England” or “Britain” because of such encounters: national and imperial subjectivities were rarely forged and performed with such clarity and precision. It merely reminds us that English Canadians were reminded in myriad ways of their connections to the imperial centre. On the one hand, both “at home” and in the metropole, they were assured that as representatives of a white, settler Dominion with self-governing status they occupied a particular and privi-

118 Cameron, Travel Diary, May 10, 1910; Chown, Travel Diary 1910, June 17, 1910.

119 Arnold Haultain, “Oxford and the Oxford Man”, *The Canadian Magazine*, May 1913, pp. 32–36.

leged position in the imperial family. Yet on the other they might be confused with Americans; moreover, even as white members of the imperial family, they were “colonials” and as such were only indirect heirs to the historical landscape that surrounded them.¹²⁰ The “British world” did not always or unambiguously foster “we”.

The observations of communication studies scholar Della Pollock about the subject/object split encountered by performers — they are simultaneously speaking and enacting subjects that are gazed upon and assessed by their audiences — seem equally germane for these English Canadians who moved through the transatlantic world of overseas tourism.¹²¹ Their status as “white colonials”, men and women who were forging a sense of national being that was intimately accompanied by imperial lines of affiliation, almost preordained that such fragmentation and fluidity would occur. As historian Angela Woollacott has argued, for Australian women in London during this period, the status of “colonials” was anything but desirable, as it was tied to notions of inferiority and dependency on the metropole for cultural, social, and political legitimacy.¹²² While English-Canadian tourists did not exhibit the degree of annoyance and sometimes anger expressed by Australian women at being designated as “colonial cousins”, they might have felt compelled to mount demonstrations of nation and empire in which being from the “other” side of the Atlantic was a source of pride and strength, not of isolation and parochialism.¹²³ Yet it also could be the source of tension and anxiety, fostering the constant need to remind imperial audiences and themselves of their membership in nation and empire. The reiteration of that membership through national and imperial performances was ongoing and never complete, not least because they were “colonials” whose “nation” was comprised not just of “neo-Britains” but also of Native peoples, French Canadians, and non-British immigrants. These repetitions and reiterations remind us of the ambivalence and fluidities that, as Homi Bhabha has argued, have been integral to performances of nationality.¹²⁴

Whether the site of such performances was the large, officially organized grand spectacle or the more intimate and informal encounter between individuals, these English Canadians’ national and imperial subjectivities were inflected by desire, longing, pleasure, and gratification, as well as irritation, revulsion, disgust, and sorrow. Such emotions were sparked by the staging

120 Woollacott, “Inhabiting the Metropolis: Gendered Space and Colonialism”, in *To try Her Fortune in London*.

121 Pollock, “Making History Go”, p. 6.

122 Woollacott’s “Inhabiting the Metropolis: Gendered Space and Colonialism” is a particularly insightful discussion of Australian women’s hybrid status as “white colonials”.

123 Woollacott makes the point that Australian women prided themselves on greater independence and resourcefulness than their British counterparts, partly as a means of countering British condescension to them as “colonials” (*To Try Her Fortune in London*, pp. 71–72).

124 Bhabha, “Narrating the Nation”.

and performances of these identities during a period of heightened displays of British imperialism. Moreover, as the writings, published and unpublished, of English-Canadian tourists also suggest, such meanings were shaped through the crucible of gender relations, whether the matter at hand was the domestication of the British monarch or the gendered cruelties of the British past. The passages of these men and women through the theatres of imperial modernity thus remind us that, in exploring the cultural dimensions of national identities, we must acknowledge that culture engages human beings in the widest range of capacities possible, including both mind and body, intellect and emotion.