A 'Greater Britain': the Creation of an Imperial Landscape, 1880-1914

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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the representation of the settler societies of the British Empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa were represented as a distinct part of the Empire, united by the idea that these parts of the Empire were 'more British' than the rest, and, had a shared heritage and culture and a predominant British settler population. It was represented as a landscape of opportunity built on layers of representations in the sources of the period from advertisements and panoramas to travel accounts and emigration literature.

The settler societies were represented as a 'Greater Britain' or 'Better Britains', an imagining of the settler societies based on what the British wanted for themselves rather than as a true representation of four parts of the Empire. The notion of 'Better Britains' delves into British ideas of their past, present and future. If they were 'better', what were they improving on? What qualities and aspects of society were included and excluded? It was an idealised image but also flexible, a malleable landscape where the British could live out desires. Opportunity was found in the land, resources and climate, but also within the modernity of the cities and ideas of social advancement and of the freedom of the frontier.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

BoL   Bodleian Library, Oxford

JJC   John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

Introduction

Aim

The settler societies were represented as a distinct part of the Empire in Britain. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa were considered more British than the rest of the Empire united by a settler population, shared cultures, history and values. The British World and Britain overseas have both been used in subsequent scholarship to describe these parts of the Empire. This thesis will examine the representation of this part of the Empire in Britain from 1880 to 1914. The thesis will explore how these four far-flung parts of the Empire were united through representation in Britain. These were not Linda Colley's Britons, connected by defining themselves against an 'external' other but rather defining an identity through the familiar and similar.[1] Whilst existing scholarship has demonstrated the strong links and connections between Britain and the settler societies, this thesis aims to move the scholarship forward by examining how these connections and relationships were manifested in representations at 'home'. It will argue that alongside the importance of sentiment and the British connection, an in-depth examination into the representation of the settler societies reveals that these parts of the Empire were united by what they could provide, and not just materially. The work of Benedict Anderson has greatly informed the underlying ideas of this thesis; an 'imagined community' of the settler societies was based on certain factors that were seen to unite them in representations at 'home'.[2] These parts of the Empire became a united 'Greater' or 'Better Britain', landscapes of opportunity in more ways than one. Cultural sources during the late

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[1] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1992).
[2] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006).

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created and reinforced an image of healthy, British lands of prospect, a representation that drew on ideas of race and identity, urbanisation, frontier, regeneration, imperial sentiment and progress.

This thesis forms part of the literature on 'metropolitan cultures' and explores how a specific part of the Empire became a part of British life, culture and identity. However, while the existing scholarship has looked to examine the mechanics of the networks of connection and has also questioned the influence that these sources had on the British public, this thesis aims to examine the images of the settler societies that these journals, periodicals, newspapers, travel accounts, emigration literature, advertisements and exhibitions portrayed. This thesis aims to move the work on the relationships between Britain and the settler societies forward in two ways. Firstly, the recognition of the images and ideas portrayed through a variety of representations across a wide range of sources during this period will allow a greater understanding of the settler societies in Britain. Secondly, it will highlight that the representation of this part of the Empire in Britain was based on conflicting ideals, and contradiction and flexibility within the portrayal of the settler societies were a very important feature of their image in Britain.

This thesis has been influenced by two areas of scholarship on the Empire; the work on networks within the Empire and the work on cultural impact in Britain. In both these areas, this thesis aims to contribute to the scholarship by highlighting a different approach to the study of the settler societies in Britain. Firstly, the thesis provides a sole focus on the four settler societies and how they were united through representation as a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain', an aspect that has been looked at

briefly within wider scholarship on Empire but not given its own study.[3] Then, unlike the existing writing on the Empire and the settler societies, this thesis looks to reveal what images and ideas were used and how the settler societies were represented at 'home'. And in terms of impact, it will aim to argue that the varied and scattered nature of the representation of the Empire in Britain, rather than demonstrating a lack of interest, was an important part of the construction of the image of the settler societies in Britain.

Thesis and Existing Scholarship

New scholarship in the area of Empire and its relationship with Britain has provided a great deal of work to build on. From the work of J.R. Seeley in the 1880s, historians have looked at the relationship between Britain and the settler societies and have argued and debated the strong connection with those parts of the Empire.[4] Seeley's lectures looked to incorporate the history of the British overseas into British history. He argued that starting in 1588 with the defeat of the Spanish and developing in the eighteenth century with victories over the French, England's expansion overseas occurred at a rate and on a scale that was unprecedented. Seeley pointed to this progress of the English state – 'the great governed society of English people' – as 'the foundation of 'Greater Britain'.[5] The history of England, he argued, should be wider and more comprehensive and the expansion of England across the world should be included, connecting Britain and the Empire through history. In 1975, New Zealand

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[3] See chapter 15 'The Rise and Fall of Greater Britain,' in James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.456-78.

[4] Sir John Robert Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1895) 1st edition 1883.

[5] *Ibid.*, p.9.

academic, J.A Pocock argued for the need to bring British and imperial history together on a larger scale. The history of Britain, he has argued, had to be pluralistic and multi-contextual and incorporate all the complex relationships and histories that Britain had been involved in across the world.[6] Pocock argued that the focus of this 'new British history' should be the interaction between Britain and the Empire and the various existences that they created.[7]

Historians have recognised the diverse nature of the British Empire and Britain's responses to it. John Darwin, Andrew Thompson, Catherine Hall, Bernard Porter and James Belich all have argued that Empire was a complex system that involved multiple responses and networks.[8] These works alongside the scholarship of J.A. Pocock, David Lambert and Alan Lester, Gary B. Magee and Andrew Thompson and in particular Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich have formed the background for this thesis.[9] Their works on the networks and connections within the Empire and British World have highlighted and examined the ways in which Britain and the Empire were intrinsically linked through economics, trade, employment, culture and emigration during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In their edited work *The British*

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[6] J.G,A Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject,' *The Journal of Modern History*, 47: 4 (December 1975), pp.601-621.
[7] J.G.A. Pocock, 'The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of an Unknown Subject,' *The American Historical Review*, 87:2 (April 1982), pp.311-36.
[8] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Andrew S. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?: The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002); Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds.), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Bernard Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*.
[9] David Lambert and Alan Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture, and Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 2003).

World, Bridge and Fedorowich have argued that the 'British World' was held together by a cultural connection that 'consisted not only of sentiment and shared institutional values but also a plethora of networks'.[10] These networks, which included family and community connections as well as business, religious, educational, scientific and professional associations, bound the 'British World' together. This can also be seen through emigration, family and travel networks as unofficial movements between Britain and the Dominions.

In *The Empire Project* Darwin has argued that British expansion and management of the Empire was based on the interplay of public and private activity. This encouraged the growth of a vast network centred on Britain that distributed capital, credit, goods, manpower, information, and protection.[11] It was much more than a formal territorial Empire but a series of constitutional, diplomatic, political, commercial and cultural relationships. This was not a closed system and each zone or region had its own interests and rules. It was far from a structure of global hegemony and changed over time and region by region.[12] Even though Bernard Porter has argued that imperialism was not a large part of British society, his work has also alluded to this idea. He has argued that the British constructed various British empires, 'in light of their different, often conflicting interests and ideals'.[13]

Scholarship has highlighted that the relationship between Britain and the Empire was complex. Andrew Thompson has argued that in the past historical writing failed to recognise how diverse and pluralistic both Britain and the Empire were.

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[10] Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, 'Mapping the British World,' in Bridge and Kedorowich (eds.), *The British World,* p. 6.
[11] Darwin, *The Empire Project*, p.144.
[12] *Ibid*., pp.3-4.
[13] Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists,* p.13.

Thompson goes on to argue that there was not a monolithic 'imperial culture' in Britain. He has stated that from the perspective of cultural history, imperial history cannot be separated from the domestic as it was part of a larger imaginative complex culture and network.[14] Recognition of this aspect of the British Empire is vital to the understanding of the British representation of the settler societies and the ideas of a 'Greater Britain'. The importance of networks and the recognition that the response to the Empire was pluralistic has allowed a more in-depth study of one aspect of the Empire representation.

The existing literature does not look into the composition of what Darwin has called 'various British empires' constructed in Britain. Works have focussed on one aspect of the interconnected Empire, for example, the economic connection as in Gary Magee and Andrew Thompson and employment and political links in Lambert and Lester.[15] The authors who did look at the cultural aspect of the Empire at home focussed on the impact of the Empire in Britain, particularly Thompson, the edited work *At Home with the Empire* by Hall and Rose, *Civilising Subjects* by Hall and Porter's *Absent Minded Imperialists*.[16] Belich has examined the ideas of a 'Greater Britain' as part of his work on the Anglo-settler revolution. The author has pointed to the connection and network of identity created via books, mail and other information through London across the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries; however the images and representations within these networks were not examined.[17]

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[14] Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?,* pp.4-5
[15] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*; Lambert and Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire.*
[16] Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?;* Hall and Rose (eds.), *At Home with the Empire*; Hall, *Civilising Subjects;* Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists*.
[17] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* pp.456-78.

The notion of shared interests and culture that formed the basis for the British world as a separate part of the Empire was not just based on ideas of sentiment, but also on economics and trade. These material factors were important and form the backdrop of the relationship between Britain and the settler societies during this period. The representation in British sources from 1880 to 1914 certainly saw the settler societies as a united 'Greater Britain' or 'Better Britain' based on what they could provide. The creation of 'Greater Britain' as a 'Better Britain' or places for British advancement is vital to the understanding of its representation as a separate part of the Empire. But by the late-nineteenth century, 'Greater Britain' was also seen as providing a solution to Britain's social as well as economic problems. 'Greater Britain' was projected as vast, clean and un-industrial and also as a landscape of resources, employment opportunities and space for an expanding population.

The representation of the settler societies was flexible; it allowed multiple images to be a part of the representation. Magee and Thompson have argued that the concept of the 'British World' meant something to those that belonged to it, even though they would struggle to draw the outline on a map.[18] It was rural and spacious centred on the land but also modern and progressive focussed in the city. It provided a landscape to live out a masculine ideal but at the same time it was represented as a place where women could gain freedom and opportunity that was not available at home. It was represented as a regenerative landscape for Britain and needed to demonstrate that it had a future. But the romance of the frontier, the uncivilised bush, veldt and prairie was an important part of the representation. The representation of the settler societies was flexible; however, opportunity was at its heart. It was a

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[18] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation,* p.6.

malleable image of opportunity. Studying the Empire in Britain, the thesis will argue, was not just about fact and consumption. Intention, misunderstanding, hyperbole and false reality were just as important. The ideas of a 'Greater Britain' and a 'Better Britain' were the height of idealism.

Context

The importance of the growing transport, economic, trade, journalistic, emigration and family networks between Britain and the settler societies post-1880 greatly informed the choice of starting date for this project. As the existing scholarship has highlighted, this period saw the increase and strengthening of networks and connections between Britain and the four settler societies. Technological advances had not only led to easier travel and movement but also a vast increase in the amount as well as the style of ephemera and publications. Technological and infrastructural factors were occurring alongside the growth in the settlements themselves. By 1880 most of the settler societies had been explored and those in the colonies and in Britain had a good idea of what land was there to be utilised. As the end of the long nineteenth century, 1914 was the natural conclusion for the study. It also saw the commencement of a war that would have a dramatic shift in society as well as create new relationships between Britain and the settler societies which deserve their own study.

By 1880 travelling between Britain and the settler societies had become easier and faster. The introduction of steamships, railways and improved technology as well as the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) allowed easier passage to Australia and New Zealand and quicker travel to Canada and South Africa. In the introduction to his 1890

book *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist,* John Murray Moore wrote of

the present period as the 'travelling age'. The British were no longer confined to

Europe and took longer and bolder trips abroad.[19]

> He crosses the "Herring pond" to the United States and Canada; he rushes down
> to the Cape Colony in eighteen days; in three weeks leaving from London he
> finds himself in India; and even the far off Antipodes are becoming known to
> him.[20]

In her account of a tour of Canada, Katherine Bates wrote of touring across the

Atlantic, 'I am sure many a "reader" (both before and after publication) must have

groaned in bitterness of spirit, "Why cannot they go to some fresh continent?"'[21]

Travel companies such as Thomas Cook were increasingly offering excursions across

the world. Moore argued that the beauties of places like New Zealand would become

increasingly known.[22]

Migration and information networks in particular grew during this period,

aided by the technological advances and the growth of the settler societies.[23]

Australia, New Zealand and Canada did see a predominantly British settler population.

By 1911, over 80 per cent of the population in Australia were Australian or British-

born.[24] The population of New Zealand was even more generated by Britain. In 1911,

97 per cent had been born in either New Zealand, or Britain or British possessions.[25]

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[19] John Murray Moore, *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Seale and Rivington, 1890), pp.1-2.

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

[21] Katherine E. Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic* (London: Ward & Downey, 1887), p.x.

[22] Moore, *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist,* p.2.

[23] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, pp.1-22.

[24] G.H. Knibbs, *The Australian Commonwealth: Its Resources and Production, 1915* (Melbourne: McCarron, Bird & Co, 1915), p.12.

[25] Australasia 74 per cent, United Kingdom 23 per cent and other British possessions 0.5 per cent. M. Fraser, *Report on the Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911* (Wellington: J. Mackay, Gov't. Printer, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1913), p.30.

Canada's immigration statistics show a much greater mix of nationalities. The French in 1901 made up 30 per cent of the population. However, Canada was still predominantly British. In 1901, 57 per cent of the population had British origins, either born in Britain or with British heritage.[26] Demographically, South Africa does not quite fit with Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In his chapter on the 'Rise and Fall of 'Greater Britain'' in *Replenishing the Earth*, Belich includes South Africa but does not examine it in great detail compared to discussion of Australia, New Zealand and Canada.[27] The population was predominantly comprised of black African societies alongside Afrikaner. The attempts to populate the colonies with British settlers post-1902 ultimately failed. Of the 360,000 emigrants, most coming from Britain, who arrived in South Africa between 1900 and 1909, 300,000 left between 1904 and 1908.[28] British settlers never flocked to South Africa as they had to Australia, New Zealand and Canada and the numbers of emigrants had always remained low throughout the nineteenth century. 'Anglos' as Belich has argued, 'did not like migrating…where other Europeans were in the majority'.[29] The attempts to populate the colony, however, show a connection with South Africa. It was seen in the same light as the other settler societies, a potential Canada, Australia or New Zealand.

Between 1901 and 1910, 63 per cent of British emigrants went to the Dominions, a figure that rose to 78 per cent by 1913.[30] The United States, which had been the main destination for British emigrants up to 1900, was not suffering economically. Instead, Belich has argued, this trend was linked to 'Britonism,' an idea

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[26] *The Canada Year Book 1914* (Ottawa: J. de L. Tache Printer, 1915), p.60.
[27] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* pp.456-478.
[28] *Ibid.,* p.382.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p.459.

based on a British collective identity.[31] So, in terms of population the networks during this period were strong and strengthening. These connections supplemented and strengthened the information and economic networks.

Belich has argued that between 1750 and 1850 London formed the hub for the creation of a British collective identity through the dissemination of words and images through a variety of networks. Between 1850 and 1950, he has argued, London performed the same service for a wider British identity. The books, news and mail that were sent between Britain and the Dominions were 'the nervous system of "Greater Britain"', carrying identity as well as information.[32]

Thompson has examined the post, correspondence, periodicals, newspapers, journals, associations, trade unions, return migration, investment and remittance networks that existed during the period.[33] Economic networks were strong. Between 1898 and 1913, 73 per cent of Australia's imports were from either Britain or British possessions.[34] Between 1898 and 1902, over 70 per cent of exports went to the United Kingdom or British possessions. By 1913, this figure had fallen but 56 per cent of exports still went 'home' or to the Empire.[35] New Zealand exports and imports to and from the United Kingdom and British possessions not only increased over the period but also dominated the New Zealand market.[36] By the late nineteenth century, Canada

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[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*, p.461.

[33] Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?* pp.57-63; 66-82; 155-175.

[34] Knibbs, *The Australian Commonwealth*, p.85.

[35] Imports: 1898-1913 Britain 59-60 per cent, British possessions 11-13 per cent, foreign countries 27 per cent. Exports 1898-1902: Britain 53 per cent, British possessions 20 per cent, foreign countries 27 per cent, 1913 Britain 44 per cent, British possessions 12 per cent, foreign countries 44 per cent. *Ibid.*, p.85, 88.

[36] Imports: £7 million pounds in 1897 (of a total of £8 million) to around £15 million in 1907 (of a total £17.3 million). Exports: £9.5 million of £10 million in 1897 and £19 million of £20 million in 1907. 'Diagram No.2,' *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1908* (Wellington: John Mackay Government Printers, 1908), p.384; 422.

also had strong economic ties with Britain through investment and as an export market.[37] The Cape Colony's exports were predominantly to the United Kingdom during the 1880s and constituted £6.7 million of a total export value of £7.1 million in 1886.[38] Imports were similarly dominated by the British market: almost £3.5 million of the £3.7 million of the colonies' imports were from Britain or British possessions.[39] This British domination of the economy continued post-Boer War in the newly united South Africa. In 1913 88 per cent of exports were to Britain.[40]

As we have seen these parts of the Empire were connected to Britain through emigration, which resulted in a perceived sense of a shared culture and also by economics through exports and imports. Britishness, familiarity and sentiment drew these societies together. In the same vein, Thompson has argued that at the heart of the migration process were highly developed social networks extending forward and back from the settler colonies.[41]

Linked into the increased and more pervasive popular culture and the technological advances allowing far easier access to information about the world during this time, 1880 to 1914 was a key period in the representation of the Empire. High literacy levels in England and Wales meant that access to the Empire was even greater in Britain.[42] The advances in technology during this period also saw a transformation in advertisement and ephemera. Anandi Ramamurthy has argued in her work on the images of Africa and Asia in British advertising that by the late

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[37] 1900 85% of outside investment in Canada was from Britain. Between 1894 and 1900 Britain took an average of 60 per cent of Canada's exports. Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* p.416.
[38] *Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: Cape Times Ltd, 1887), p.159.
[39] *Ibid*., p175.
[40] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* p.386.
[41] Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?*, p.63.
[42] Between 1870 and 1900 the estimated rate in England and Wales rose from 80 per cent to 97 per cent. John MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures,' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), p.289.

nineteenth century advertising in particular had become increasingly pervasive.[43] This

was not an aspect of society that can necessarily be proven but it was also a point that

John Mackenzie had originally taken up in his seminal *Propaganda and Empire.* It is

difficult to comprehend, Mackenzie has argued, the impact of these late nineteenth

century materials in the omnipresent media of the twentieth century, but the power

of the new technology as well as the quantity it produced resulted in their influence on

public opinion.[44]

Alongside the commercialised image was a broader knowledge and interest in

the settler societies and MacKenzie has argued that from 1870 until the First World

War there was a craving for visual representations of the world.[45] Those at home were

able to read and see the Empire across a variety of sources. Travellers and writers in

the period highlighted the amount of information available to the British reader.

Moore described the 'stay-at-home' Briton who can read about the world at his

fireside. He was able, 'to keep himself well-informed of the characteristics, resources,

and progress of that ''Greater Britain'' upon which the sun never sets'.[46] A traveller to

Australia in the 1890s, Catherine Bond, urged by her friends, felt the need to publish

her diary once she returned.[47] Similarly, Arthur C. Bicknell was persuaded to publish

despite being 'more accustomed to handle a gun than a pen'. Bicknell's friends had

encouraged him to publish in order to educate the public on the 'little known'

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[43] Anandi Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p.1.
[44] John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p.16.
[45] *Ibid*.
[46] Moore, *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist,* p.1.
[47] Catherine Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums: Notes of Travel in Australia and Japan* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1898), preface.

Northern Queensland.[48] Publishing an account of your travels almost became second nature during the period. On her return from Canada in the mid-1880s, Katherine Bates described being hailed on all sides by the question, 'Of course you are going to write a book about it?' This question was sometimes asked cheerfully, but more often than not with a sort of polite despair as returning from your travels and writing a book, Bates said, had become a 'recognized form in which we can prove an unutterable nuisance'.[49]

The published travel account had become such a popular form of writing that it was thought nothing new could be learnt about these places. An article on Johannesburg in *The Illustrated London News* in August 1895 stated, 'There is less need to describe in detail the features of Johannesburg, now that the place has been visited by so many travellers'.[50] At the start of her account on Canada and America, Bates maintained that there is absolutely nothing new to an English reader under the Canadian sun.[51]

The British public were not just exposed to travel accounts in books; many were serialised in periodicals and newspapers before being re-published in book form (Figure 0.1). Marion Cran serialised parts of her account, *A Woman in Canada,* in *The*

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[48] Arthur C. Bicknell, *Travel and Adventure in Northern Queensland* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1895), p.vii.

[49] Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic*, p.ix.

[50] 'Johannesburg, South Africa,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 24, 1895), p.228.

[51] Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic*, p.1.

Figure 0.1 Mary Stuart Boyd and A.S Boyd's 'Memoranda of a Roundabout Tour' in
***The Graphic*, 1899.**

Mary Stuart Boyd and A.S Boyd, 'Memoranda of a Roundabout Tour,' *The Graphic* (October 21, 1899).

Bystander, The Daily Chronicle, The Lady, the Crown, The Standard of Empire and

Madame.[52] E.F. Knight travelled to South Africa as a special correspondent for the

Morning Post and published articles on the on-going political condition of the Cape

Colony and the resettlement of the new colonies after the war, as well as on the spot

information on the present attitude, sentiments, and aspirations of the Dutch

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[52] Mrs George (Marion) Cran, *A Woman in Canada* (London: John Milne, 1910), p.18.

population.[53] The articles were then re-published as *South Africa after the War: A Narrative of Recent Travel*. Travel accounts were published in a range of journals and periodicals thus reaching a wide audience.[54]

'Popular' authors, particularly Anthony Trollope and J.A. Froude created an image of the settler societies that was influential throughout the period.[55] The work of Trollope in particular set the trend for future travellers both in terms of destinations and topics discussed. Travellers to Australia between 1880 and 1914 followed the path set by Trollope. Trollope wrote of its picturesque beauty, the sheep stations, the gold diggings, the cities and small country towns, the monotonous scenery of the bush, steamship travel along the Queensland coast and travelling overland by coach on the sometimes non-existent roads.[56] Following in the footsteps of well-known travellers to these parts of the Empire, travellers presented the settler societies to the British public.

From the mid-nineteenth century an increasing amount of exhibitions were also presenting the world in Britain. The panorama 'The Voyage to Australia and Visit

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[53] E.F. Knight, *South Africa after the War: A Narrative of Recent Travel* (London: Longmans, Green, 1903), p.v.

[54] Meath, 'A Britisher's Impressions of America and Australasia,' *Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* 33:193 (March 1893), pp.493-514; Clarke Huston Irwin, 'Australian Sketches: The Romance of Early Exploration,' *Leisure Hour* 47 (1898), pp.107-111; 'George H', 'Out on the Never Never,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Review* 58:345 (November 1905), pp.815-826; E.M Boyd, 'A Tour with the British Association in Canada,' *Hearth and Home* (23 December 1897), p.305; 'Miss Conybeare', 'Miss Conybeare in South Africa,' *Woman's Herald* (Serialised: September 05, 12, 19, November 14, December 26 1891, February 13, 27 and March 19 1892) and Mary Stuart Boyd and A.S. Boyd, 'Memoranda of a Roundabout Tour,' *The Graphic* (Serialised: September 23, 30, October 14, 21 1899 and June 30 1900) to name a few.

[55] J.A. Froude, *Oceana or England and her Colonies* (New York: Charles Scribners sons, 1887); Anthony Trollope, *North America* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1862); Anthony Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1873); Anthony Trollope, *South Africa* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1878).

[56] Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand;* Anthony Trollope, *New South Wales and Queensland* (London: Smith, Elder, 1873).

Figure 0.2 Advertisement for the Panorama, 'The Voyage to Australia and Visit to the Gold Fields,' 1853.
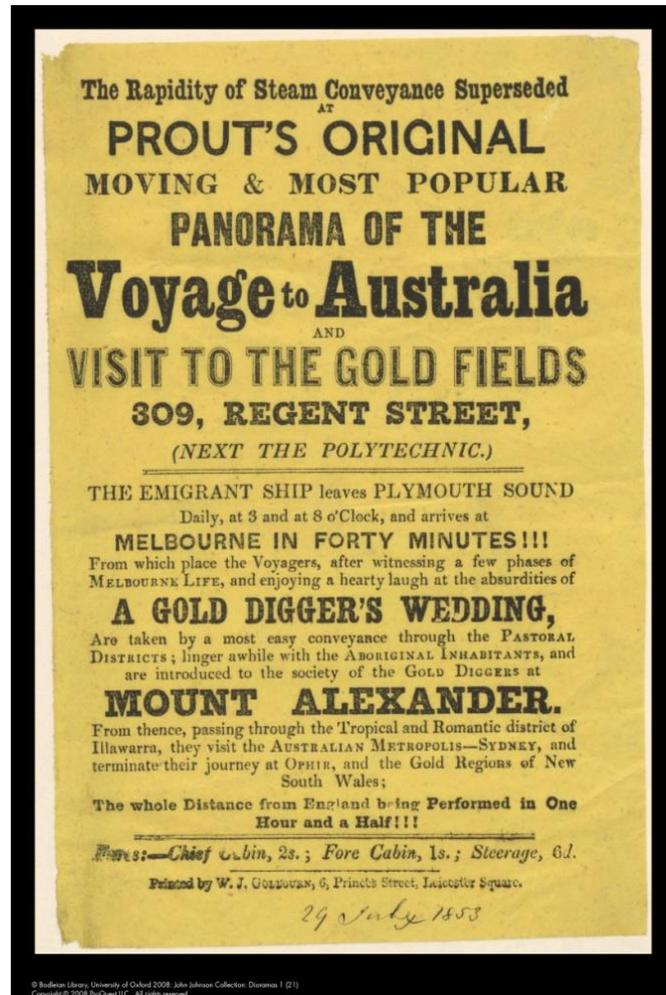
BoL: JJC Dioramas 1 (20), 'The Voyage to Australia and Visit to the Gold Fields' 1853.

to the Gold Fields' in 1853 was a good example. It exhibited in London and promoted

the idea that the visitor could see Australia without the hassle of the long voyage, as in

this tagline: 'The rapidity of steam conveyance superseded at Prout's original moving

and most popular panorama.' Advertised as a voyage, the poster stated, 'The Emigrant

ship leaves Plymouth Sound daily at 3 and 8 O'clock and arrives at Melbourne in 40

minutes!!!' A whole trip around Australia can be undertaken in an hour and a half from

between 2s and 6d (Figure 0.2).[57] Prout's panorama of a trip to the Australian goldfields was a living travel account and included the voyage out, with images of the departure of the emigrant ship from Plymouth sound. The moving panorama was laid out as a tour through Australia taking in all aspects of the country, a variety of landscapes and tourist spots.[58] The inclusion of Melbourne, a sheep station, gold diggings, Sydney and the Blue Mountains reflected the journeys taken by travellers during the nineteenth century. Panoramas and exhibitions became a way of entering the imperial landscape without leaving Britain but also acted to unite landscapes in one place. As well as these smaller exhibitions, the period between 1880 and 1914 also saw half a dozen exhibitions with over a million visitors.[59]

All these aspects come together to make 1880 an appropriate starting point for research. Advances in technology, increase in networks as well as the interest in Empire created a wide range of sources. The increased travel and emigration resulted in accounts and advertisements and the improved technology led to increased publication of ephemera alongside exhibitions and panoramas. The images depicted in these sources are the focus of this thesis, however, a number of issues need to be clarified.

Primary Sources

The thesis will use a variety of sources, both created in Britain, or at 'home', and also by those who travelled to the settler colonies, particularly travellers, emigrants and soldiers. It will look at different types of sources, from advertisements

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[57] BoL: JJC Dioramas 1 (20), 'The Voyage to Australia and Visit to the Gold Fields' 1853.
[58] *Ibid*.
[59] Colonial and Indian Exhibition (1886), Franco-British Exhibition (1908), Imperial International (1909), Japan-British Exhibition (1910), the Glasgow Exhibition (1911) and two Coronation Exhibitions (1911).

for both commodities and emigration which took the images of the settler societies to their simplest form, to images portrayed in periodicals and newspapers and from detailed travel accounts to the grand commercialised displays in exhibitions.

The range and quantity of sources available for this study was vast and consequently there was the possibility that the thesis could become unwieldy and without focus. As a consequence the choice of sources and range had to be clearly defined. The thesis has aimed to take a broad sample across source types, region and period. Sources were selected from across the country and across the different types of publication. Where newspapers and periodicals have been used, examples have been taken from different regions of Britain as well as from a range of publications, from the popular and widely read to smaller or specific interest ones. Taking examples from across different types of sources as well as ensuring variety within those different types will show that these representations and images were manifest across a broad spectrum of society and geography.

The work of Catherine Hall was important in the choice of sources and also in the approach taken. Hall has argued that those living in Britain did not experience the 'everyday realities of colonial relations' in the same way that those in the Empire experienced them.[60] The Empire, Hall has argued, was re-imagined and re-configured in the representations of those who never left Britain. Constructing the images from both what they knew and imaginings of what they did not, the Empire was seen as

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[60] Catherine Hall, 'Imperial Careering at Home: Harriet Martineau on Empire,' in Lambert and Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives across the British Empire*, p.341.

part of their lives.[61] The image of the settler societies was based on a variety of sources, all of which had different intentions and purposes.

It has to be recognised, however, that this was a predominantly middle class and upper class representation of the settler societies. It was the depiction made by travellers, emigration agents, those putting on exhibitions, journalists, authors of fiction and to extent politicians. Panoramas and exhibitions were advertised as allowing all classes to see the Empire. W.H Edwards' London exhibition on Canada, America and the Far West is billed as providing visitors with a two hour excursion in America, 'Enabling All Classes to Visit'.[62] However, even though it was aimed at 'all classes' the representation itself was on the whole created by journalists, travellers, authors, entrepreneurs and businessmen.

This study is first and foremost an examination of representation. It will examine how the images were represented across the sources. However, issues surrounding the impact of these sources are also important to this thesis. Travel accounts in particular are important here, as they highlight what was known about these parts of the Empire, whether based on reality or not. Indeed, as Lady Hardy sailed towards Quebec in 1881 she anticipated the first sight of the province, 'we had heard of it, read of it, knew of all the vicissitudes it had undergone, had looked upon its pictured beauty scores of times; but now the reality was before us'.[63]

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[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 341-342.
[62] BoL: JJC Tickets Show Places 26a, 'The People's Excursion: W.H Edwards's Popular Excursions to Canada, America and the Far West,' date unknown.
[63] Lady Mary McDowell Duffus Hardy, *Through Cities and Prairie Lands: Sketch of an American Tour* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1881), p.13.

In their work on British views of Canada during this period, R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram argued that in relation to fiction when one adds the popular and well known publications to the hundreds of little known novels and publications 'one can begin to appreciate the ease with which a Victorian boy could have become acquainted with Canada, or at least with a fictional Canada'.[64] Visual entertainments, such as panoramas and exhibitions, and other ephemera and advertisements, combined with an increase in the publication of travel literature, meant that the British public had the opportunity to 'move through' and 'experience,' as it were, the settler societies in Britain. The majority of the British public would never travel to Australia, New Zealand, Canada or South Africa, but they were exposed to, read about, and in imagination visited these parts of the Empire from 'home'.

Impact

In his account of travels to New Zealand in 1888, John Bradshaw described the work as almost universally read. It had been circulated in tens of thousands of copies and occupied a place on bookshelves in many public libraries and private houses.[65] Even though Hugh Reginald Haweis criticised Froude's work and stated that *Oceana* was 'full of mistakes' he recognised the influence of the book in England. Haweis stated that no book 'has done so much to interest England in her southern colonies as

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[64] R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p.37.
[65] John Bradshaw, *New Zealand of To-Day* (London: Low, 1888), p.4.

that picturesque note-book of a rather hasty traveller'.[66] No other modern book was

'more wanted' than Froude.[67]

John Mackenzie has argued that even though researching public consciousness

can be problematic, 'it would be surprising had possession of a vast Empire left the

cultures of the metropolitan state virtually unaffected'.[68] Catherine Hall has compared

Britain's response to the Empire as resembling Michael Billig's concept of 'Banal

Nationalism'.[69] This was not an outpouring of nationalist feeling during points of

conflict or threat, but a nationalism of the everyday, an underlying reminder of the

national place. This was the image of the flag going unnoticed on the public building

rather than the flag being waved with fervent passion.[70] The reminders were continual

and familiar and became part of everyday life. Hall argued that this was how the

Empire was part of the lives of the British, 'The majority of Britons most of the time

were probably neither 'gung-ho' nor avid anti-imperialists, yet their everyday lives

were infused with an imperial presence'.[71] Britain was, literally, *At Home with the*

Empire. It was part of Britain's 'everydayness' and was 'taken for granted'.[72] The

chapters in Hall and Rose's edited work explored the different ways that Britain's

status as an imperial power became part of the lived lives of Britons where 'No one

doubted that Great Britain was an imperial nation state, part of an empire'.[73] The

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[66] H. R. Haweis, *Travel and Talk, 1885-93-95: My Hundred Thousand Miles of Travel through America, Australia, Tasmania, Canada, New Zealand, Ceylon, and the Paradises of the Pacific* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897), p.92.
[67] *Ibid*.
[68] MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures,' p.271.
[69] Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 'Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire,' in Hall and Rose (eds.) *At Home with the Empire*, p.22.
[70] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 1995), p.8.
[71] Hall and Rose, 'Introduction,' p.2.
[72] *Ibid*.
[73] *Ibid*.

Empire was taken for granted as a 'natural aspect of Britain's place in the world and its history'.[74]

In his *Absent Minded Imperialists* Bernard Porter has argued that British culture was not as imperialist as Hall's work claims. The author has argued that when examined *in situ* against a background of other evidence from British society, the Empire had little to no impact. The British, he reckons, were ambivalent towards it: 'The Empire made no great material demands on most people, at least none they were aware of, and did not need their support or even interest'.[75] Porter has argued that Britain can appear to be an imperial society when imperialist material is 'corralled together' and the study of imperialist material needs to be examined in context.[76]

The thesis will heed Porter's warnings and draw on context and the inter-relation between sources, but also highlight the importance of intention. It will also aim to highlight that in many cases the British were invested in the settler societies. In fact, exhibitions were the largest single gatherings of people during both war and peace time.[77] It is difficult to gauge cause and effect in the making and unmaking of opinion but Porter's argument does not explain the five and a half million people who visited the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886 or the countless panoramas and exhibitions that were put on throughout the period, including the 'Greater Britain' exhibition in 1899. People were interested in these parts of the world and were very explicit in their depiction that this was due to the British connection. Britons travelled to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada specifically to see the British

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[74] *Ibid*.
[75] Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists,* p.307.
[76] *Ibid*., p.13.
[77] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.1.

overseas and entitled their accounts, *Brighter Britain*, *Australia, or England in the South* and *New Zealand at Home.* These travellers referred back to expectations and ideas seen at home.[78]

Where the thesis will aim to bring in another angle on the study of the Empire and settler societies is the importance of the distribution of the images as well as the idealism and hyperbole. It was the very problem that Porter has highlighted that was also key to understanding the image of the settler societies. Images of the settler societies were scattered across sources, often forming a small part of a larger exhibition or article in a newspaper or periodical, a picture in *The Illustrated London News*. For example, at the pantomime of Robinson Crusoe in Manchester in 1900, there was an 'amusing burlesque of the Savage South Africa exhibition'.[79] It was a representation formed by sporadic images and representation, based on idealism and stereotype.

Indeed, a few travellers in the late nineteenth century were quite irritated by the misunderstanding in Britain about the settler societies. Clarke Huston Irwin's article in *Leisure Hour* in 1898 complained that to most British people, Australia was just associated with convicts, frozen mutton and gold diggings.[80] In a journey of 1876 William Archer argued, 'Among many Englishmen, even of average education, there is almost a total ignorance of the geography and polity of Australia'.[81] Even though Archer's travels occurred almost two decades before Huston's article was published,

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[78] George Sutherland, *Australia, or England in the South* (London: Seeley, 1886); William Delisle Hay, *Brighter Britain or Settler and Maori in Northern New Zealand* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1882); R.A. Loughnan, *New Zealand at Home* (London: George Newnes Ltd, 1908).

[79] "Amusements in Manchester," *The Era* (December 29, 1900).

[80] Clarke Huston Irwin, 'Australian Sketches: The Romance of Early Exploration,' *Leisure Hour* (December 1897), p.107.

[81] William Archer, *Tourist to the Antipodes: William Archer's Australian Journey, 1876-77* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1977), p.12.

there was a conflict in perceptions between these authors and those who felt they were being overwhelmed with accounts and information about the settler societies during the same period. This type of selective knowledge, however, was how the image of 'Greater Britain' was constructed. It was based on fragments and selective images, it was not the whole picture but that was the key part of the representation.

Chapter Structure

The first chapter will form an introduction to the main themes and images within the representation of the settler societies in Britain. Chapters two, three and four will then form in-depth case studies of the representation and examine ideas of settlements, frontier and the non-British populations. The final chapter will bring together the themes of the thesis in a case study of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886.

Chapter one will present the main images and ideas put forward across advertisements, exhibitions, political movements, emigration literature and the popular travel accounts that formed the basis for the creation of the idealised landscape of a 'Greater Britain'. It will demonstrate that, influenced by the crises in Britain on the land and in the cities, the representations across sources came together to present the settler societies as a 'Better Britain', a place of opportunity, resource, regeneration and sentiment. This chapter will introduce the themes of flexibility and contradiction within the 'imagined landscape' of the settler societies, which will then be explored throughout the thesis within the case studies on settlements, frontier, non-British populations and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.

Chapter two will form the first case study and examines the representation of settlements within a 'Greater Britain'. The representation of the settler societies was linked to the future of the British overseas. It was the rise of settlements, specifically towns and cities in the imperial landscape that was an indicator of the progress of the British overseas. 'Greater Britain' was a 'blank page' for British society and this can clearly be seen in the representation of settlements as unfinished colonial towns progressing towards improved British towns and cities. The importance of familiarity, growth and regeneration were seen alongside themes of colonial provinciality.

'Greater Britain' was the periphery of British society, the frontier of Britain; this is the theme of chapter 3. The frontier was represented as creating a hardy, free and more equal population. The image of a tall, strong, classless colonial man created by the land was an important image of 'Greater Britain'. The frontier produced this new Briton and consequently provided an image of opportunity for Britain. Frederick Jackson Turner argued for the importance of the frontier in American national identity and history in 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History'. [82] Turner's thesis can be applied to the ideas of 'Greater Britain'. The Dominions were seen as providing a landscape of opportunity, not only through the physical opportunities in resources and land, but also through work, health and an ability to move up the social scale. It was regenerative, a 'blank page', not just for the creation of 'new Britains' but also for the 'new Briton'.

But what about those people who were not British? How did they fit into 'Greater Britain'? The image of a 'Greater Britain' was above all one of a Britain

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[82] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" in George Rogers Taylor (ed.), *The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History* (Lexington: Heath, 1972).

overseas; however, there were also hundreds of thousands of people living in 'Greater Britain' that were not British or of British heritage. Chapter four will examine ideas of progress, race, identity and population in the image of the settler societies and the representation of those who did not necessarily fit into an idealised view of 'Better Britains' or 'Britains overseas'. British attempts to navigate around the differences in the representations revealed a great deal about the British image of the settler societies and the broader ideas of a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain,' particularly the centrality of the ideas of progress and modernity as well as their flexibility and malleability within the image.

Chapter five will bring together the arguments in the first four chapters through an examination of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in Kensington in 1886. The Exhibition united the ideas within the representation of the settler societies. The galleries and courts portrayed a landscape full of opportunity and ample resources, reflecting the importance of progress and sentiment connected to these settlements as well as the curiosity and adventure of the frontier. However, not only did the exhibition reflect the ideas of a 'Greater Britain', but it also demonstrated its complexities and contradictions.

The settler societies were represented as a distinct part of the Empire in Britain and the examination of the images used to portray and unite Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada allows for a greater understanding of the Empire in Britain. The thesis will take the existing scholarship forward by focussing on the manifestations of the networks and connections that existed between Britain and the settler societies during the period. The representation of the settler societies as a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain' was a selective and idealised image that was created from layers of

representation in commercial images, entertainments, travel accounts, emigration literature and politics. These sources built and reinforced the image of opportunity and health united by British connection and identity. It was an image driven by a British past, present and future, a desire to go 'back to the land' and fulfil the image of pre-industrial Britain but also the need for progress of the British overseas, seen most clearly in the perception of the settlements. It was the 'bagginess' and flexibility of the representation that really drove the image of the settler societies. 'Greater Britain' was a landscape where the British, often vicariously, could live out desires, it was rural but modern, a site of freedom and independence but remaining British. The settler societies were a 'Better Britain', the metaphorical frontier of British society, a place of rejuvenation and rebirth.

Chapter 1
A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The settler societies were represented across a variety of sources throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From travel accounts and emigration literature to exhibitions and advertisement, the cultural sources of the period included a number of key images and ideas that were featured in the representations of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. The chapter will examine the main images and ideas put forward in the representation of the settler societies and how they united these four parts of the Empire. Between 1880 and 1914, the sources at 'home' highlighted and reinforced certain aspects of the cultural landscape and the settler societies became the epitome of opportunity, regeneration, health and imperial sentiment. The settler societies as a 'Greater Britain' were united by these ideas and became one landscape, built on the idea that there were improved 'Britains' overseas where lived 'Better Britons'.

The representation across sources during this period depicted the settler societies primarily as a landscape of opportunity. They were landscapes that could provide for Britain in a number of ways – resources, land, a healthy climate, freedom and adventure. Running through all these representations was the importance of sentiment or the British connection. These 'Better Britains' were better because they provided what Britain could not.

The cultural landscape of the settler societies became what the British wanted it to be. It was a view of the Empire that united the settler societies as places of opportunity connected to resources, ruralism and land, health and regeneration,

notions of freedom drawn together by sentiment and a shared Britishness. It was

malleable, characterised by a 'bagginess' that allowed contradictory ideas to appear

alongside each other. It was a rural landscape but modernity was also vital. It provided

men with a location to live out ideas of imperial masculinity but also provided women

with a place that they too could find the freedom unavailable to them at home. The

terms were all-encompassing and idealised the settler societies. The settler societies

were a 'Better Britain' which, as an idea, was at the height of idealism.

Crisis

The notion of 'Better Britains' implied improvement on the situation at 'home.'

Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw itself undergoing two

crises, one based in the city and one in the countryside.

[1] The growth of the cities, their populations and associated health issues

occurred alongside the depopulation of the countryside. The images and ideas

connected to these crises during the period have to be taken into account when

examining the representation of the settler societies in Britain.

Firstly, British cities had undergone unprecedented growth over the course of

the nineteenth century, and by the last two decades the population was

predominantly urban. In 1901 the population of the United Kingdom was 41.5 million.[2]

The population of England and Wales had quadrupled during the nineteenth century

to approximately 32.5 million in 1901. The Scottish population had also grown but

since the famine in the 1840s, the Irish population had almost halved from 8 to 4.5

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[1] Robert Colls, *The Identity of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.223.
[2] England and Wales 32.5 million, Scotland 4.5 million and Ireland 4.5 million. *Census of England and Wales 1901, General Report with Appendices* (London: Darling and Son Ltd, 1904), p.171.

million.[3] Around 24 million of the population of England and Wales was urban, a rise of 15 per cent since 1891.[4] So as well as the immense increase in population, there was a drastic re-organisation to the urban, away from the traditional rural image of Britain both economically and culturally. The consequences of this redistribution were as yet unknown and the depopulation of the countryside and shift in the economy occurred alongside a growing fear of the effect of urbanisation.

During the last decades of the century Britain was increasingly preoccupied with the social consequences of the urban environment and the industrial revolution. After Arnold Toynbee's lectures on the Industrial Revolution in 1884, there was a prevailing belief amongst some scholars and activists that the Industrial Revolution had been a negative experience.[5] Depression in trade, industry and agriculture, the Boer War, and its revelations about the state of the industrial male population, as well as the increasing social concern about the health and housing conditions of the industrial cities and towns, resulted in the feeling between the 1880s and 1920s that the Industrial Revolution had failed.[6] Historians and commentators debated the reasons for the 'failure' by examining the economy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but it was the social commentators who left the impression on the British public.[7] Andrew Mearns' *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the*

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[3] *Ibid.,* p.15.
[4] This figure classed urban areas (in the 1901 census) with less than 5,000 people as rural. London was the largest city by far with a population of 4.5 million in 1901 (a growth from just under one million in 1801 and 2.3 million in 1851) and Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham all had populations of over 500,000. Between 1891 and 1901, the rural counties of the country lost around 10 per cent of this population through migration. Agriculture went from providing 33 per cent of the national income in 1801 to 6 per cent in 1901. *Ibid.,* pp.23-29; Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain, 1700-1914* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1969), p.478.
[5] David Cannadine, 'The Present and the Past in the English Industrial Revolution 1880-1980,' *Past & Present,* 103 (May 1984), p.132.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp.133-134.
[7] *Ibid.*, p.135.

Condition of the Abject Poor (1883)*,* Charles Booth's *Survey of Life and Labour in London* (1886-1903) and General Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890) painted the picture of an industrial London of squalor, poverty and sickness.[8] Sensationalist pamphlets and lectures as well as newspaper and journal articles rooted the idea of urban degeneration and urban crisis in the public mind-set.[9]

Alongside the urban crisis was another based on and around the land and the countryside. In 1875, the government-sanctioned *Return of the Owners of Land* disclosed that seventy-five per cent of the land in Britain belonged to approximately 5,000 people, and only 710 people owned a quarter of the total land in England and Wales.[10] John Bateman's findings, both in his *Return* and *The Great Land Owners of Great Britain and Ireland* (1883) revealed the land situation and had a great deal of impact.[11] Robert Colls has argued that despite the subsequent decline in the actual size and significance of the landed classes, the work of Bateman found its way into the national imagination and stuck.[12] Not only were the British population suffering in the unhealthy industrial cities but they were also being removed from the land, thus losing their stake in the country. The representation of the settler societies as a 'Greater Britain' and 'Better Britain' has to be understood within this context.

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[8] Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (London: James Clark & Co., 1883); Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London: Macmillan, 1902); William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: International Headquarters of the Salvation Army, 1890).

[9] Ray E. Lankester, *Degeneration: A Chapter in Darwinism* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1880); 'Degeneration,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (June 29, 1880), p.2; 'Degeneration Amongst Londoners,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (February 2, 1885), p.6; 'The Degeneration Of Londoners,' *Fun* (February 18, 1885), p.71; Brabazon, 'Decay Of Bodily Strength in Towns,' *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review,* 123 (May 1887), pp.673-676; Hugh Percy Dunn, 'What London People Die Of,' *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review,* 34: 202 (December, 1893), pp.875-898; 'Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress. 1909,' *The Edinburgh Review*, 209: 428 (April 1909), pp.439-473.

[10] Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman, 'Introduction,' in Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman (eds.), *The Land Question in Britain, 1750-1950* (Palgrave Macmillan), p.2.

[11] John Bateman, *The Great Land Owners of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Harrison, 1876); Colls, *Identity of England*, p.223.

[12] Colls, *Identity of England*, p. 223.

Springing out of this 'new urban society' and perceived crisis in the countryside, a 'ruralism' rose up in British society in the nineteenth century. Literary and popular images of England gave a centrality to the countryside. In his *The Making of English National Identity,* Krishan Kumar has stated that 'the essential England was rural'.[13] The Southern English landscape, in particular, became a main image of Britain. The 'ruralism' within society during this period was essential in understanding the representation of the settler societies as a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain.' The 'ruralism' was a reaction against the negative consequences of the industrial revolution and also the crisis in the countryside.[14] The ideas that emerged in the representation of the settler societies should also be seen in this mind-set. The ideas of a 'Better Britain' and 'Greater Britain' were providing a contrast to dark, dirty and cramped London and other industrial cities described by Charles Booth, William Booth and Mearns but it was also providing a British source of land and the opportunity for Britain to go 'back to the land'.[15]

Travel accounts, emigration literature, exhibitions, articles and advertisements in periodicals, emigration brochures, posters and other accounts pushed an image that promised wide, open spaces and your own land, while still holding on to the tie to Britain. It was represented as a contrast to late nineteenth century British society. The image of the settler societies have to be seen and understood alongside the perceived crises in Britain in the rural and urban contexts. In terms of what it could provide the

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[13] Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.211.

[14] Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in England, from 1880-1914* (London: Quartet Books, 1982), p.4; Alun Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England,' in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds.), *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 62-88.

[15] Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*; Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*; Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*.

British, available land and air quality, the settler societies became the positive antithesis of Britain, thus allowing Britons to live out particular desires and ideals but importantly remaining in a British landscape at the same time.

The British Connection

The British connection was vital to the representation of the settler societies during this period and this was manifested in a number of ways. Travellers' highlighted the Britishness of the settler societies in their reason for travel, advertisements emphasised British sentiment overseas, and emigration literature highlighted the familiarity that potential emigrants would encounter. From the British point of view, Greater Britain bound together by numerous factors, the most important of which were 'self-interest' and 'self-identification.'[16] The strong links with Britain through emigration and population and shared interests through commodity exchanges was also vital and separated the settler societies from the rest of the Empire.[17] By the late nineteenth century the four parts of 'Greater Britain' were established societies, but importantly, they were also '*British* derived' societies. They had shared cultures and values that had been shaped by emigration from Britain.[18] In R.A Loughman's 1886 *Six Letters from the Colonies* the author argued that the only difference between the

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[16] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.145.

[17] Andrew S. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?: The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), p.59; James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.415-6; G.H. Knibbs, *The Australian Commonwealth: Its Resources and Production, 1915* (Melbourne: McCarron, Bird & Co, 1915), p.85; *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1908* (Wellington: John Mackay Government Printers, 1908), p.384; 422; *Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: Cape Times Ltd, 1887), p.159; Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2010), p.12; 41; Ged Martin, 'Canada from 1815,' in Andrew Porter and Wm Roger Louis (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.535; Andrew Porter, 'Introduction: Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth Century,' in Porter and Louis (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century,* p.10.

[18] Stephen Constantine, 'British Emigration to the Empire-Commonwealth since 1880: From Overseas Settlement to Diaspora?' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31: 2 (2003), p.18.

population of Australia and Britain was distance.[19] This links to James Belich's 'Britonism' argument and a British collective identity.[20] These connections were highlighted and emphasised throughout representation of 'Greater Britain.'

Familial language was often used in representation of the settler societies.[21] The Festival of Empire in 1911 was described as 'given by the people of London, the Mother City of the Empire, to her sons and daughters and grandsons and granddaughters who, far away in the distant sunny lands, scattered throughout the world, looked to London as the Mecca of the Empire, the heart and home of the British race'.[22] The terms mother country, daughters and children were frequently used.[23]

Products and advertisement often highlighted the sentiment between Britain and the settler societies on labels and advertisements. An advertisement for 'Australian Canned Fruit for the Homeland' stated the fruit was 'picked and packed by your own kith and kin' (Figure 1.1). Not only were the resources British, as in picked from a British landscape, but also picked by British hands. The advertisement displayed the outlines of Australia and Great Britain side by side sharing produce. This was food 'for the homeland'.[24] The sentiment was often exaggerated out of proportion. Andrew Thompson has pointed to the example of an advertisement for Bovril that included a map of Lord Robert's route across South Africa spelling out the word Bovril as an

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[19] R. C. Seaton, *Six letters from the Colonies* (Hull: Wildridge & CO, 1886), pp.21-22.
[20] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p.558.
[21] Our Special Correspondent, 'First Impressions Of Melbourne,' *The Times* (March 7, 1880), p.11; Our Correspondents, 'Australia,' *The Times* (May 19, 1880), p.4; Our Correspondent, 'Victoria,' *The Times* (August 5, 1880), p.3; 'Australia,' *The Times* (January 6, 1881); 'State-Directed Emigration,' *The Times* (August 11, 1883), p.10; 'Australia,' *The Times* (August 12, 1885), p.13; George T. Denison, 'Canada and her Relations To The Empire,' *Westminster Review,* 144 (July 1895), p.248.
[22] 'Festival of Empire,' *The Times* (January 12, 1911).
[23] 'Our Kith and Kin,' *The Pall Mall Gazette* (January 8, 1889 - June 2, 1893); 'One Great Purpose,' *Daily News* (December 21, 1900), p.5; *The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (December 31, 1900), p.4; 'Talk of London,' *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times* (July 4, 1903), p.2.
[24] BoL: JJC Food 1 (42) 'Australian Canned Fruit for the Homeland,' no date.

example of this.[25] If a product was from Canada, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa it was stated and emphasised with terms such as 'British', 'Empire' and 'Imperial'. Canada's MacLaren's Cheese was not just advertised as the 'Finest Cheese Product of Canada', it was also 'imperial'.[26] And similarly the tagline of 'Beekist' honey was 'Eat Canadian "Beekist" honey and keep Empire bees busy'.[27]

The advertisements and product labels were building on the idea of a strong connection that was evident in writing on the settler societies. The connection particularly related to similarity, and familiarity was highlighted in the travel accounts throughout the period. In his account *'Greater Britain': A Record of Travelling in English Speaking Countries,* Dilke chronicled his travels in America, Polynesia, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon and India.[28] It was a tour of English-speaking and English-governed lands. In his words he 'followed England around the world'.[29] Travellers were quick to point out the shared common culture and any similarity between Britain and the Dominions.

The travellers highlighted the British connection both in their reasons for making the journey and also in their first impressions. Some of the titles of the accounts themselves and descriptions of the colonies underscore the importance of 'Greater Britain' as part of Britain. As well as the original *'Greater Britain'* coined by Dilke, other travel accounts had titles such as, *Australia, or England in the South* and

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[25] Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?* p.45.
[26] BL: JJC Food 2 (70) 'MacLaren's Imperial Cheese,' circa. 1890s.
[27] BoL: JJC Food 5 (12) 'Beekist,' circa. 1930s.
[28] Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, *'Greater Britain': A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries: with Additional Chapters on English Influence in Japan and China, and on Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements,* vol.1 (London: Macmillan, 1868).
[29] *Ibid.,* p.vii.

Figure 1.1 Advertisement for 'Australian Canned Fruit for the Homeland.'
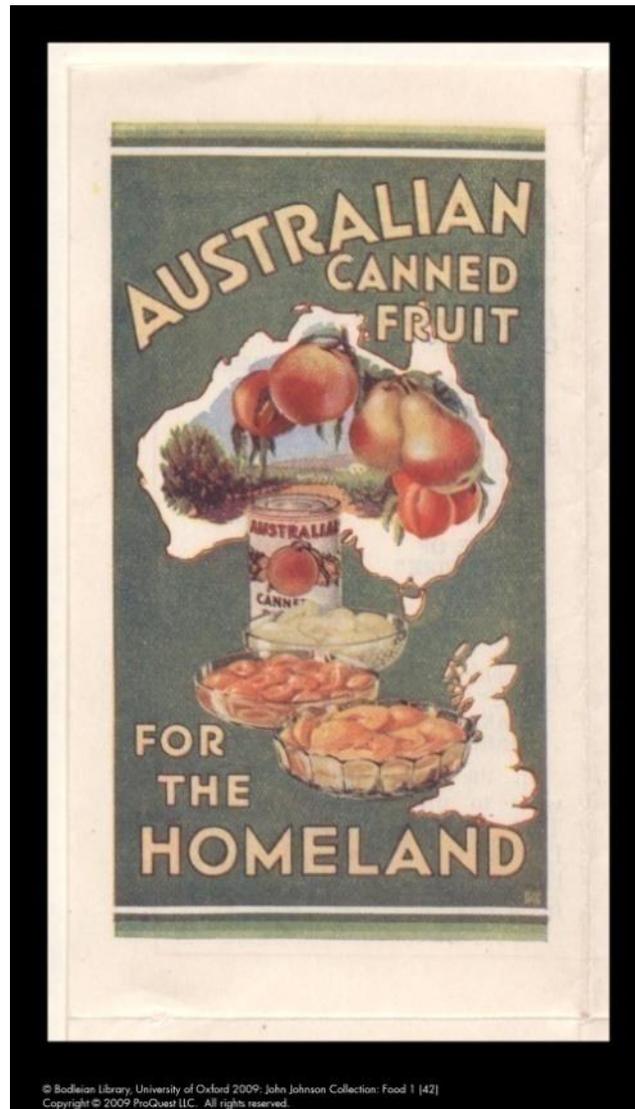
BL: JJC Food 1 (42) 'Australian Canned Fruit for the Homeland,' no date.[30]

Brighter Britain.[31] John Bradshaw described New Zealand as 'the young England of the

southern hemisphere'.[32] Similarly, Harry Brittain described Canada as 'Britain beyond

the seas'.[33] General descriptions of the colonies also followed this trend. J.A. Froude's

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[30] The John Johnson Collection at the Bodliean Library, Oxford was accessed over the course of August and September 2009. Online links for the figures can be found in the bibliography.

[31] George Sutherland, *Australia, or England in the South* (London: Seeley, 1886); William Delisle Hay, *Brighter Britain or Settler and Maori in Northern New Zealand* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1882).

[32] John Bradshaw, *New Zealand of To-Day* (London: Low, 1888), p.3.

[33] Harry Brittain, *Canada: There and Back* (London: John Lane, 1908), prefatory note.

influential travel account work highlighted the importance of the British connection and the importance of 'our kindred in these new countries'.[34]

Moore's description highlighted the vague conception of Britishness within the travel accounts and other sources generated at 'home'. There was not a specific reason for Moore's description: it was a very general view of what was British, or English. However, it was coherent and it was clear what did not fit. There were important factors that separated the settler colonies from the rest of the Empire. These included population, culture and information networks providing news from 'home', to name just a few. The British connection was a key part of the imperial landscape. Britain and the Dominions were united by a common culture. As Stephen Constantine has argued, the 'cultural complementarity' between Britain and these settler societies was emphasised in the writing of the time.[35]

Travellers wanted to visit these 'Britains' overseas to examine, for those at 'home', their progress. In his travel account on Australia, James Ewing Ritchie hoped to bring to the attention of men and women at home the exploits of 'our fellow-subjects on the Australian Continent'.[36] Through his account *Australian Pictures,* Howard Willoughby hoped to 'convey to the reader some idea of that vast new world where Saxons and Celts are peacefully building up another Britain'.[37] The importance of race within this connection cannot be ignored. It allowed discussions to focus on the progress of the race overseas as well as distinguishing the settler societies from other parts of the Empire. However, the connection always came back to Britishness.

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[34] J.A. Froude, *Oceana or England and her Colonies* (New York: Charles Scribners sons, 1887), p.2.
[35] Constantine, 'British Emigration to the Empire-Commonwealth since 1880,' p.177.
[36] James Ewing Ritchie, *An Australian Ramble, or, a Summer in Australia* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1890), p.5.
[37] Howard Willoughby, *Australian Pictures: Drawn from Pen and Pencil* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886), p.13.

Charles Wentworth Dilke and Sir J.R Seeley's original ideas of 'Greater Britain' came together on the issue of race. For Seeley, race explained who was excluded. In *Expansion of England*, India formed its own area of study and was not part of Seeley's 'Greater Britain'. India was subject to the Crown and ruled by English officials but with the population of 'alien race and religion' not tied by blood to Britain. Even though he included the West Indies and South Africa in his 'Greater Britain,' the whole population of these colonies was not. In relation to South Africa he highlighted that of the one and three quarter million in the population less than half were European. At the end of his description of the population numbers of these colonies he only included 'English subjects of European and mainly English blood outside the British Isles'.[38] Dilke argued that his survey of 'Greater Britain' gave reason to believe the continuation of race distinction and that 'Saxondom will rise triumphant from the doubtful struggle'.[39] His 'Greater Britain' was linked by race: 'in essentials the race was always one'.[40]

Catherine Hall has written about Anthony Trollope's travel accounts and his depiction of race and the importance and interest in the Anglo-Saxons within the Empire.[41] Anthony Trollope published a number of travel accounts in the 1860s and 1870s: *North America* (1862) included travel through Upper and Lower Canada, the

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[38] Sir John Robert Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1895), pp.11-13.

[39] Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, *'Greater Britain': A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries: with Additional Chapters on English Influence in Japan and China, and on Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements,* vol.2 (London: Macmillan, 1868), p.405.

[40] Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, *'Greater Britain': A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries: with Additional Chapters on English Influence in Japan and China, and on Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements,* vol.1 (London: Macmillan, 1868), p.vii.

[41] Catherine Hall, 'Going a-Trolloping: Imperial Man Travels the Empire,' in Clare Midgley, (ed.), *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp.180-199.

very influential *Australia and New Zealand* (1873) and finally *South Africa* (1878).[42] The

importance of the British population was a theme through the accounts, and for

Trollope it was the 'Anglo-Saxon' parts of the Empire that were considered most

interesting.[43] He found it impossible to avoid speculation on the future prospects of

the colonies because 'it involved the happiness of millions to come of English-speaking

men and women'.[44]

In the same vein as Charles Wentworth Dilke, Trollope connected the settler

societies through their 'Britishness'.[45] Trollope also saw Australia and New Zealand as

the most important of the colonial possessions and certainly the most interesting,

highlighting the importance of the complete Britishness of Australia and New Zealand.

They were colonies 'founded by ourselves exclusively,' and there was no other

European element that had interfered with operations in Australia.[46] Hall has argued

that Trollope's writing went some way to calm the anxieties related to Empire in the

mid-nineteenth century, particularly after the Indian Mutiny in 1857.[47] The importance

of the British connection was established early in his series of accounts. When he

travelled from the United States into Canada he stated, as an Englishman, that he was

moving into a land which was in a sense his own, 'his tongue becomes more free, and

he is able to fall back to his national habits and national expressions'.[48] As Clarke

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[42] Anthony Trollope, *North America* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1862); Anthony Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1873); Anthony Trollope, *South Africa* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1878).
[43] *Ibid*.
[44] *Ibid.*, p.184.
[45] Dilke, *'Greater Britain'* vol.1 and 2.
[46] Anthony Trollope, *New South Wales and Queensland* (London: Smith, Elder, 1873), pp.47-49.
[47] Hall, 'Going a-Trolloping,' pp.184-185.
[48] Trollope, *North America,* p.43.

Huston Irwin argued, the globe trotter needed to remember the century of its connection with England and its place within the Empire.[49]

Stephen Constantine has argued that emigration was seen to reinforce British communities overseas and that the assisted and independent emigration between the 1880s and 1930s was a 'denial of diaspora'. Migration to the settler societies was not resulting in the separation of the British from home; instead there was an emphasis on the inherent connection with Britain. The migrants who Britain dispatched would add to the communities who received them.[50] Emigration was part of building and reinforcing the British connection for the benefit of Britain and 'Greater Britain'. A great deal of the adaptation of the landscape had been carried out by the pioneers and early settlers and moving from Britain to New Zealand was presented as no more traumatic than moving between two English counties.[51]

John Murray Moore's account for the emigrant summed up the key points that emigration literature pushed about the settler societies. Alongside the importance of New Zealand's health benefits with its mineral springs and congenial climate was the sentimental link. Moore argued that 'Nothing can strengthen the bonds of love between the mother country and her children more than the settlement in the colonies'.[52] This was the emigration of steady and industrious men and women who would still be under the same sovereign and flag. Both those in Britain and those in

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[49] Clarke Huston Irwin, 'Australian Sketches: The Romance of Early Exploration,' *Leisure Hour,* 47 (1898), p.111.
[50] Constantine, 'British Emigration to the Empire-Commonwealth since 1880,' pp.22-23.
[51] *Ibid*.
[52] Moore, *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist*, p.5.

New Zealand were of 'one blood, one language, and in a broad sense, of one religion'.[53]

It was this historical imperial and British connection that was highlighted and reinforced in other sources during the period, particularly periodicals and newspapers. In an 1898 article about Australia in the *Leisure Hour,* Irwin stated that those who thought the colonies were uninteresting because of the lack of ancient ruins should remember the century-long connection with England and its 'chapter in the history of the British Empire'.[54] Newspapers and periodicals throughout the period included stories and editorials on the Battle of Quebec and the fall of General Wolfe.[55] The Battle of the Plains of Abraham (1759), part of the Seven Years and French and Indian Wars (1754-1763), became very familiar to the British. Katherine Bates described the Plains of Abraham and General Wolfe as household names to every English child.[56] The travellers to Quebec were particularly keen to highlight the Plains of Abraham; when Harry Brittain travelled through Quebec in 1908, he was not only attracted by the beauty but by the connection to Wolfe and his famous victory.[57]

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[53] *Ibid.*

[54] Irwin, "Australian Sketches," p.111.

[55] S R. Crockett, 'The Count and Little Gertrud: A Story Of The Seven Weeks' War,' *The Windsor Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly for Men and Women,* 3 (January 1896), pp.478-493; Johns, E Neville, 'The Conqueror Of Quebec,' *Golden Hours: A Monthly Magazine for Family and General Reading*, 15 (May 1882), pp.309-316; Mrs Sale Barker, 'General Wolfe,' *Routledge's Every Boy's Annual* (Date Unknown); 'Men Of The Month,' *Young England: Kind Words for Boys and Girls* (January 31, 1880), p.79; 'Wolfe,' *Chatterbox* (April 16, 1892), p.183; D. B. McKean, 'The Capture Of Quebec,' *Chatterbox* (Date Unknown), p.198; 'The Death Of General Wolfe,' *The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (October 05, 1882), p.3; 'The Death Of General Wolfe,' *The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (October 07, 1882), p.7; William Starke, 'Death Of Wolfe,' *The Times* (January 25, 1888); William Sharp, 'The Ordeal Of Basil Hope: Being the Story of His Strange Experience in the Two Canadas, in the Times of the Great Wars Between France and England,' *Young Folks Paper* (December 28, 1889), pp.1-2; D. H. Parry, 'For Glory and Renown: A Story of the Wars,' *Chums* (December 07, 1892), p.204; 'Cameos From English History,' *The Monthly Packet* (February 01, 1894), p.199; 'Battles of the British Army,' *The Illustrated London News* (January 4, 1896), p.14; 'Under the Queen's Flag,' *Chums* (January 10, 1900), p.332; G. K. Chesterton, 'Our Note Book,' *The Illustrated London News* (January 7, 1911), p.3.

[56] Katherine E. Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic* (London: Ward & Downey, 1887), p.8.

[57] Harry Brittain, *Canada: There and Back* (London: John Lane, 1908), pp.21-22.

In *Canada and the British Immigrant,* Emily Poynton Weaver stated that if people knew anything about Canada it was the story of Wolfe and the victory at the Plains. The scenes at Quebec linked the history of Britain to the 'promise of the all but unknown country whither we were bound'.[58] These 'memorialisations' were carried out in the Empire through obelisks and statues, but in Britain these familiar landscapes were created through literature and in other representations. *The Illustrated London News* included pages on the conquest of Canada with a full double page on the memorials of the Plains of Abraham as well as another full page on the 'Heroes of the Conquest of Canada' (Figures 1.2 and 1.3).[59]

In his 1910 account of Canada, Frank Yeigh described the historic ground around Sillery in Quebec. He followed the shore line around the remains of the lumber yards and onto Wolfe's Cove and then took the path of the British army to the Plains of Abraham. Those who travelled to the battleground, he stated, were pilgrims, visiting the place where Wolfe fell.[60] Many travellers replayed the battle within their account. In 1894, Marchioness Ishbel Gordon wrote of seeing the steep cliffs and then proceeded to describe the scenes as Montcalm came to confront the British troops. She included quotations and details as if it happened while she was there.[61]

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[58] Emily Poynton Weaver, *Canada and the British Immigrant* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1914), pp.1-2.

[59] 'Memorials of the Plains of Abraham: Wolfe's Capture of Quebec and the British Conquest of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (July 25, 1908), pp.126-27; 'Heroes of the Conquest of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (July 25, 1908), p.125.

[60] Frank Yeigh, *Through the Heart of Canada* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1910), p.95.

[61] Marchioness Ishbel Gordon of Aberdeen and Temair, *Through Canada with a Kodak* (Edinburgh: W.H. White, 1894), pp.16-17.

Figure 1.2 Memorials of the Plains of Abraham in *The Illustrated London News*, 1908.

'Memorials of the Plains of Abraham: Wolfe's Capture of Quebec and the British Conquest of Canada,'
The Illustrated London News (July 25, 1908), pp.126-27.

Figure 1.3 'Heroes of the Conquest of Canada' in *The Illustrated London News*, 1908.
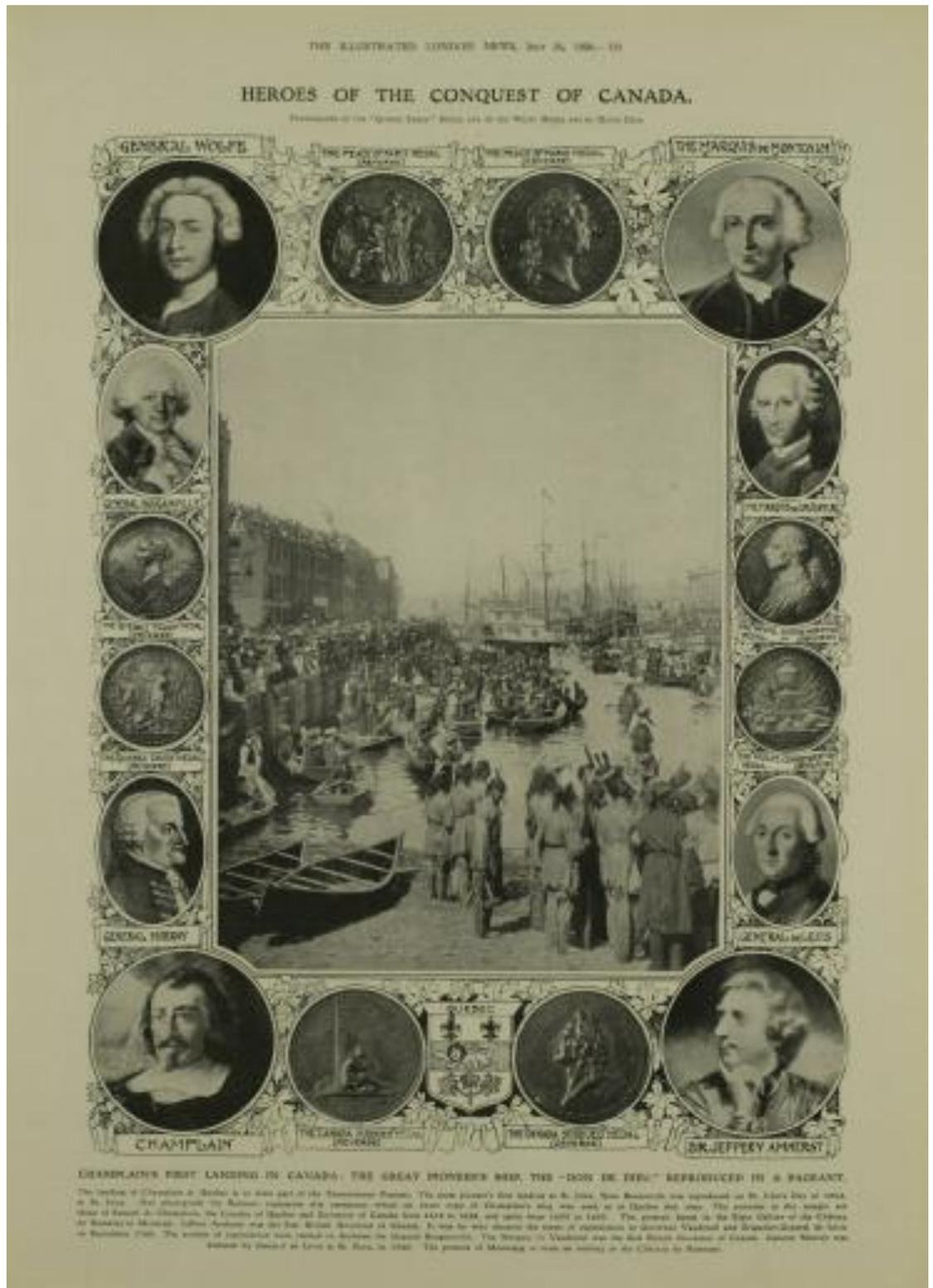
'Heroes of the Conquest of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (July 25, 1908), p.125.

During her tour of Canada, Lady Winifred Howard similarly described the climb up the 'perpendicular path' Wolfe and his twenty four men made in 1759.[62] The shrine itself was an obelisk located at the point where Wolfe fell during the battle. Lady Hardy wrote of how she could indulge in a little poetic dreaming while standing on the Plains.[63] She described being transported back to the misty morning in 1759, Montcalm's troops on the heights, Wolfe's men crossing the river noiselessly and climbing the steep cliffs, 'gaining a foothold wherever they can, hanging on by straggling bushes or jagged edges; one after another in stealthy silence they creep, they swarm upward; no clink of sword nor clang of armour warns the sleeping adversary of their approach'.[64] Similarly to Marchioness Gordon, Lady Hardy fancied she could hear the bugles and the fury of the battle, while standing at the spot where Wolfe fell one hundred and twenty years before.

War was often used as evidence of these strong connections within the representation. The representation of the Boer War was a good example of the sentiment and kinship within the portrayal of these parts of the Empire. It was a demonstration of the British connection that tied together the settler societies. For Imperial Federalists, the Boer War was a clear illustration of their ideas. Colonial troops and British troops came together to defend the Empire. At his opening speech at the 1902 Colonial Conference, Chamberlain pointed to the Boer War as the demonstration of the voluntary union without formal obligation and the action of the

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[62] Lady Winifred Howard of Glossop, *Journal of a Tour in the United States, Canada and Mexico* (London: Sampson Low, Maeston & Company, Limited, 1897), p.10.
[63] Lady Mary McDowell Duffus Hardy, *Through Cities and Prairie Lands: Sketch of an American Tour* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1881), p.20.
[64] *Ibid.,* p.21

self-governing colonies. This was unity of sentiment of 'Greater Britain' in action.[65] Of course, there was opposition to colonial involvement in the war in the colonies themselves, but there was a general perception that the war saw the coming together of Britons across the Empire.[66] Australian war correspondent A.G Hales demonstrated a loyalty to Britain and the Empire in his published letters from the front. A poem he included in his account highlighted the importance of the connection between Australia and Britain:

> If we are to cleave together
> As mother and son through life,
> Give us our share of the burden,
> Let us stand with you in the strife.
> If we are to share your glory,
> Let the sons whom the South has bred
> Lie side by side on your battlefields
> With England's heroes dead.[67]

Similarly, the periodical *Fun* published a cartoon and poem relating to this idea. The cartoon depicted a dragon representing the Transvaal and corruption attacking Britannia while Canada, Australia and India run to her rescue.[68] The Boer War was important within the representation of the settler societies for a number of reasons which will be explored within future chapters. However, it was certainly evidence of the sentiment that existed between Britain and the settler societies.

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[65] Joseph Chamberlain in British Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons (1902 Cd.1299), *Papers Relating to a Conference between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of Self-Governing Colonies, June to August 1902, (Colonial Conference, 1902),* p.3.

[66] Bobbie Oliver, 'A Wanton Deed of Blood and Rapine': Opposition to Australian Participation in the Boer War,' in Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey (eds.), *The Boer War: Army, Nation and Empire - The 1999 Chief of Army/Australian War Memorial Military History Conference* (Canberra: Dept. of Defence, Army History Unit, 2000), pp.191-199.

[67] A. G. Hales, *Campaign Pictures of The War in South Africa (1899—1900): Letters from the Front* (London: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1901), p.np.

[68] 'The Transvaal Crisis,' *Fun* (September 19, 1899), p.95.

The importance of this connection was evident in late-nineteenth century Britain when a number of politicians and their supporters attempted to formalise it through Imperial Federation. The movement looked to federate the settler societies politically, economically and in terms of defence. The movement drew on the perceived crises in Britain; an article in the *Westminster Review* in 1887 concluded that the consolidation of England's scattered dominions through Federation would prevent her being dwarfed by the overshadowing preponderance of other powers.[69] It would be, as Charles Oman stated in 1899, 'A firm and well-compacted union of all the British lands [that] would form a state that might control the whole world'.[70]

In his work on Imperial Federation, George Parkin, pointed to two factors as the reason for a greater Imperial political organisation: defence and the importance of free trade and shared industrial interests within the Empire. Parkin argued that the threat of conflict with other European nations as well as the vast expansion of industrial and commercial interests among the British people necessitated a strengthening of the political combination in order to secure them.[71] The naval and military confederation was seen as guaranteeing defence against foreign aggression and British and colonial defence was seen as the precursor to Imperial Federation.[72] The Federation would also mean Britain would no longer have to carry the burden of the cost of Imperial defence.

Duncan Bell has argued that Imperial Federation was a reaction to a variety of concerns affecting Britain in the late nineteenth century as the country underwent

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[69] 'Federation of the British Empire,' *Westminster Review,* 128:1 (April 1887), p.494.
[70] Charles Oman, *England in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Longmans, Green, and co., 1899), p.258.
[71] George Robert Parkin, *Imperial Federation: The Problem of National Unity*, (London: Macmillan and Co, 1892), p.3.
[72] 'Federation of the British Empire,' p.488.

political and economic instability. He has argued that the debate reflected and

increased the tensions that permeated Victorian political thought.[73] The idea of

Imperial Federation was part of the late nineteenth-century reaction to immense

change within the established order. The turbulent economic and political conditions

of the late Victorian and early Edwardian period produced profound anxiety. There

was a resulting belief that institutions were the answer in preserving strength in a

changing world. The fall in economic activity between 1885 and 1900 and the slowing

of the relative growth rate post-1900 was even more pronounced as new industrial

countries experienced accelerated growth even though Britain's economic slow-down

was only relative to its previous years of strength. [74] While the annual growth rate

dropped over the course of the 1880s and 1890s, the rise of new world powers,

particularly Germany and the United States, accentuated the sense of this relative

decline. Consequently, Britain felt its position as the predominant world power was

under threat. Bell has argued that the public debate generated by Imperial Federation

by an elite class of journalists, businessmen, academics, lawyers and politicians

'illustrates the disquieting effect that the impending loss of great power status had on

a generation of thinkers'.[75]

     The debate over Imperial Federation took place in the press and journals in the

1880s and 1890s. Ideas and proposals for Imperial Federation were proposed through

periodicals and pamphlets, by politicians and journalists both in Britain and the

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[73] Duncan Bell, *The Idea of 'Greater Britain': Empire and the Future of the World Order 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p.18.
[74] A.V Dicey, cited in *Ibid.*, 27; Bell, *The Idea of 'Greater Britain'*, pp.1; 1
[75] Bell, *The Idea of 'Greater Britain'*, p.2.

colonies.[76] One of the first statesmen to adopt Imperial Federation as a political creed

was William Forster, who also founded the Imperial Federation League (IFL) in 1884.

Branches of the League were founded in Canada, Australia and New Zealand as well as

in Britain in order to influence public opinion in the United Kingdom and the colonies

and demonstrate the advantages Federation would have for the whole Empire.[77]

Forster and the IFL advocated that Britain and 'Greater Britain' would be united by

common defence and joint foreign policy.[78]

The underlying importance of imperial sentiment and British race were

emphasised throughout the discussions on the subject in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. In 1887, an article published in the *Westminster Review* saw the

Federation as 'making us one great homogenous people, knit together by the ties of

blood, language, religion, literature, laws, and common interest. These are ties which,

though light as air, are strong as iron'.[79] Federation would formalise the ties that were

already there; 'Greater Britain' and consequently the imperial landscape were British

and would allow for the formalisation of these ties to run smoothly. An article in the

Edinburgh Review in 1900 argued that the common sentiment of patriotism would

enable Britain and the Dominions to act as one great people.[80]

This sentiment was seen to be a driving force of Imperial Federation. W.A.S

Hewins, an economist and Imperial Federalist, stated in his autobiography that

patriotism lay at the root of all their efforts: 'let no one under-estimate the value of

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[76] W.J. Harris, 'Imperial Commercial Federation of the United Kingdom and the Colonies,' (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection, 1896); Sir Charles Tupper, 'Unification of the Empire,' (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection, 1896); William Gisborne, 'Imperial Federation,' (London, 1887).
[77] Arthur H. Loring, 'Mr Chamberlain and Imperial Federation,' (Letters to the Editor) *The Times* (March 30, 1896).
[78] William Forster, 'A Few More Words on Imperial Federation,' *Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 17: 97 (March 1885), p.553.
[79] 'Federation of the British Empire,' p.494.
[80] 'Colonial and Imperial Federation,' *Edinburgh Review,* 192 (1900), p.249.

sentiment in dealing with [the permanent unity of empire] […] for as in religion so in politics, sentiment is an important item. It has ruled since the world began […] by helping to maintain a true national sentiment on this question we shall most efficiently pave the way for Imperial Federation'.[81] Preference, he argued, was not brought about to unify the Empire, but it was an expression of existing unity and it could not be adopted or maintained unless that unity already existed.[82]

Chamberlain's politics were driven by imperial sentiment. In one of his first speeches on the colonies in 1888, Chamberlain stated that 'I am willing to submit to the charge of being a sentimentalist when I say that I will never willingly admit of any policy that will tend to weaken the ties between the different branches of the Anglo-Saxon race which form the British Empire and the vast dominion of the Queen'.[83] Almost a decade later in 1896 in a speech to send off the new Governor of Queensland, he again alluded to imperial sentiment in relation to events in South Africa. He stated it was sure proof of the solidarity of imperial sentiment that a blow can be struck, or a chord sounded, in even the most distant portion of the dominions and an echo returned from every other part of the British Empire.[84]

Advertisements, travel accounts, periodicals, newspapers, emigration accounts and politics all represented the deep-rooted connection between Britain and the settler societies. These parts of the Empire, however, were not just culturally British: the representation was also based on what the landscape could provide. This was linked to the opportunities for improved health and greater freedom, but firstly it was about the land itself and what it yielded.

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[81] W.A.S., Hewins, *Apologia of an Imperialist (Vol. 1)* (London: Constable & Co Ltd., 1929)*, p.4.
[82] Hewins, *Apologia of an Imperialist (Vol. 1),* p.5.
[83] Chamberlain, 'Devonshire 9 April 1888,' in Chamberlain, *Mr Chamberlain's Speeches vol.1*, p.322.
[84] 'Whitehall speeches 1896,' in *Ibid.*, p.360.

Opportunity

The settler societies were represented as landscapes of opportunity to the British. The opportunity in 'Greater Britain' lay in the contrast to what could be had at 'home'. Across advertisements, travel accounts, emigration literature and exhibitions the image of land and resource-rich societies dominated. The land and what it could offer was central to the representation of the settler societies.

Several sources that featured the settler societies were focussed on trade and products, and consequently resources were already a central feature. Exhibitions displayed the resources of settler societies from raw materials to industry. Large displays of the main products of each colony were features of every exhibition of the period. The Canadian fisheries, wheat, furs, Australian gold, coal, wool, New Zealand wool, agricultural products and South African diamonds and minerals appeared in the various halls of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (1886), Franco-British Exhibition (1908), Imperial International (1909), the Glasgow Exhibition (1911) and the two Coronation Exhibitions in 1911.[85] Within the exhibits at the Glasgow Exhibition of 1911 the settler societies were represented by displays of furs, fisheries, pillars of gold, timer and grain.[86] The organisers of the Coronation Exhibition held at London's White City in 1911 stated that the exhibits would demonstrate the resources of 'Greater Britain' and 'may be termed an imperial "stock-taking" at the commencement of the new reign'.[87]

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[85] 'The Franco-British Exhibition,' *The Times* (June 1, 1908), p.8; 'The Franco-British Exhibition – The Canadian Exhibit,' *The Times* (June 11, 1908), p.4; 'The Franco-British Exhibition – The New Zealand Exhibit,' *The Times* (July 1, 1908), p.7; 'The Festival of Empire,' *The Times* (April 18, 1910); 'Festival of Empire,' *The Times* (January 12, 1911), p.6.
[86] Dr Robert Walker, *Pen and Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition,* (London: J.S. Virture & Co., 1888).
[87] 'The Coronation Exhibition at the White City (Letter to the Editor),' *The Times* (March 3, 1911), p.9.

Advertisements also portrayed similar commercial images of the resources in the landscape. 'Australian Fruit for the Homeland' would bring 'sunshine to your table' and bright, multi-coloured labels showed images of fruit and other produce. A good example was the label for Robert K Murray & Son's jam featuring a picture of the Dunedin landscape surrounded by colourful images of fruit and foliage.[88] Just like in the advertisement for Australian canned fruit, the New Zealand landscape on the label was lush: clean water, clear sky surrounded by the fresh colourful fruit (Figure 1.4). The commercial representation of exhibitions and advertisements concentrated the image down to a few key features. The ideas of land, resources and the associated opportunity were also built on in the travel and emigrant accounts.

Figure 1.4 Robert K Murray & Son Jam Label, circa. 1890-1920
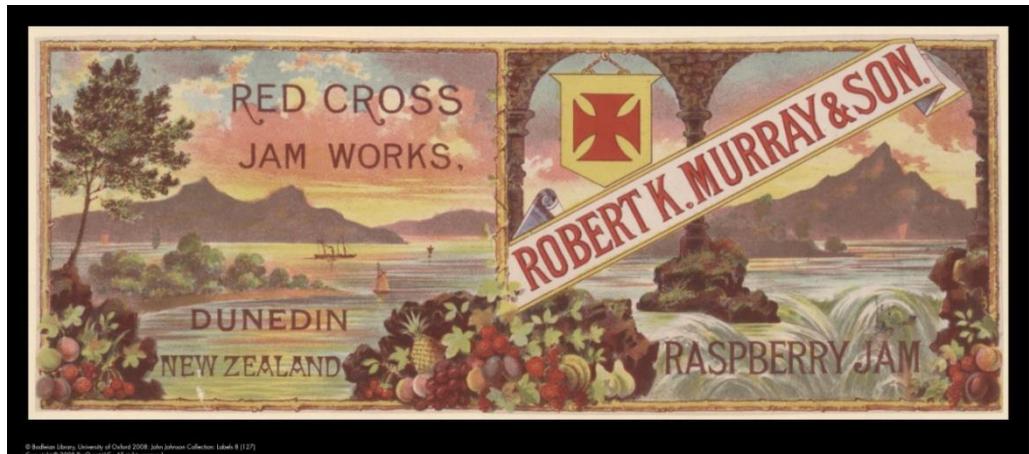
BoL: JJC Labels 8 (127) 'Robert K Murray & Son,' circa. 1890-1920.

As he travelled by train to Winnipeg, Arthur Copping described his first glimpses of Canada as homely and pastoral, with golden grain, rich pasture, small woodland and farm houses surrounded by fruit trees and flowers all bathed in

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[88] BoL: JJC Labels 8 (127) 'Robert K Murray & Son,' circa. 1890-1920.

'glorious sunshine'. This was a 'land of promise'; a promise that was linked to the land.[89] Marion Cran (published under Mrs George Cran) wrote of Canada in 1901, 'it is hard to understand how people suffer starvation in England when there is this great Colony crying for clever, industrious workers'.[90] The author described a landscape full of fruit and lush foliage such as wild raspberries, crab-apple trees loaded with fruit, beech-nut and butter-nut trees in rich soil, where one could walk out in the bright sunshine.[91]

Contrast was vital to the representation of a 'Better Britain'; it was providing something Britain could not. In her account, Lady Hardy contrasted the joys of Canada with the suffering in British agriculture. Canada's 'fruitful' rivers, picturesque scenery, mineral resources, wood, springs and wide tracts of uncultivated country were contrasted with tales of misery and poverty in the 'old land' of ruined farms, wasted labour and scanty crops. In Britain those on the land were tenants whereas in Canada they could become the landowner. Britain did not have room for enterprise and no room for newcomers but there was endless space in Canada; millions of acres of fertile soil waiting for cultivation, as written about by Hardy. 'Only scatter the seed on its broad fair breast, and it will pulsate with a new life and swell the seeds with its own fullness till they burst and blossom into a wealth of golden grain […] the hand of the sower gathereth a rich harvest'.[92] This representation of the settler societies fulfilled a perceived need in Britain, a solution to the crisis in the countryside and relief from the crisis in the cities, all the while still maintaining the British connection. This importance

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[89] Arthur Copping, *The Golden Land: The True Story and Experiences of Settlers in Canada* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912), p.18.
[90] Mrs George (Marion) Cran, *A Woman in Canada* (London: John Milne, 1910), p.56.
[91] *Ibid*.
[92] Hardy, *Through Cities and Prairie Lands,* pp.41-42.

of the land is central to the understanding of the idea of 'Greater Britain', particularly in terms of advertising emigration.

Figure 1.5 Emigration Poster for Western Canada, circa 1908-1918.
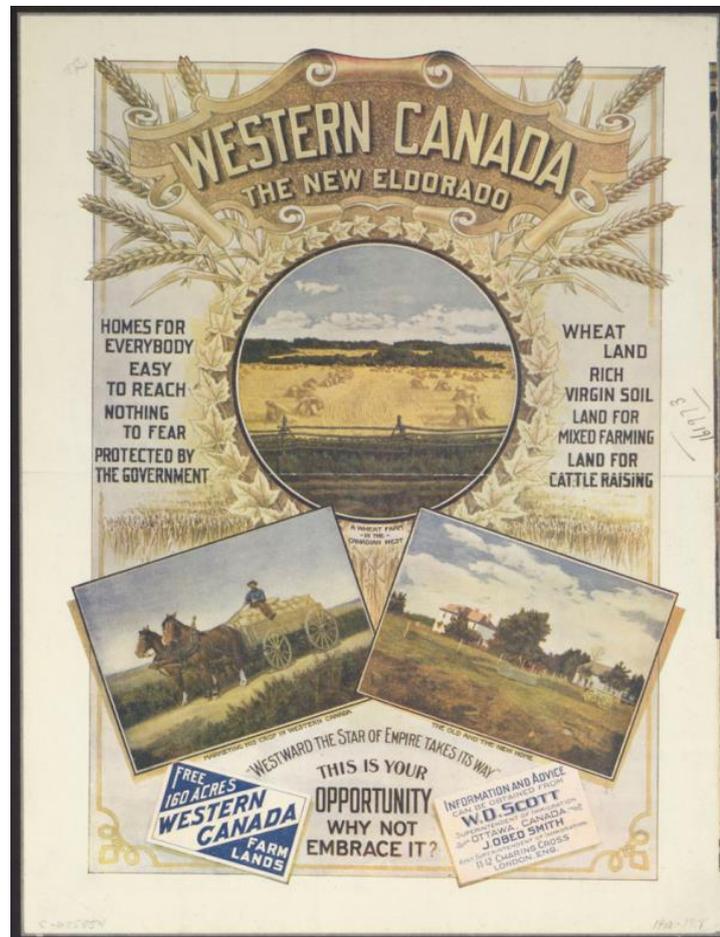
Library and Archives Canada [LAC]: Department of Employment and Immigration fonds/e010779321 'Western Canada - The New Eldorado' circa 1908-1918.

The image of the settler societies was built on layers of commercialised images of land, wheat fields, pasture, sunshine and space. Government sources, such as posters and advertisements in periodicals, pushed a particular image that would encourage emigration. In these sources, Canada was made up of endless wheat fields and farms, sun and blue skies. The posters for Western Canada by W.D Scott described

'The New Eldorado' as providing homes for everybody, wheat land, rich virgin soil and land for mixed farming and raising cattle (Figure 1.5).[93] This was the Canada of wheat, sun and the opportunity of land, not snow, long winters and hardship. A double page spread for an emigration agent in *The Illustrated London News* supplement on Canada in 1913 was entitled, 'Canada: The Golden Opportunities' (Figure 1.6).[94]

Figure 1.6 Emigration Advertisement in the *Illustrated London News*, 1913

'Canada: The Golden Opportunities,' Great Dominion: Canada (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (March 15, 1913), p.xviii.

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[93] Library and Archives Canada [LAC]: Department of Employment and Immigration fonds/e010779321 'Western Canada - The New Eldorado' circa 1908-1918.
http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/05/0529/052920/05292053_e.html [accessed 1 February 2010]
[94] 'Canada: The Golden Opportunities,' Great Dominion: Canada (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (March 15, 1913), p.xviii.

Figure 1.7 Emigration Advertisement in the *Illustrated London News*, 1911.
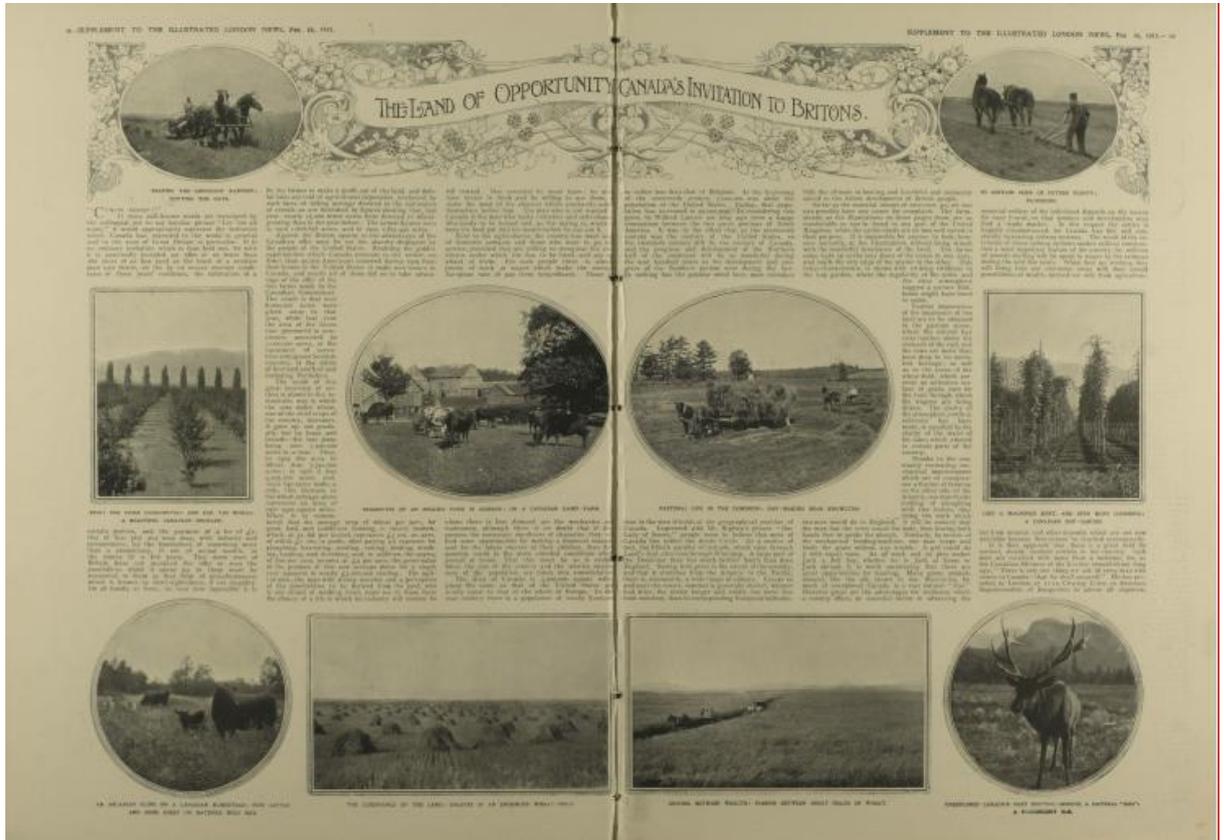
'The Land of Opportunity: Canada's Invitation to Britons,' Great Dominion: Canada (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (February 18, 1911), pp.vi-vii.

The Illustrated London News included additional supplements pushing Canada to the British immigrant in the 1910s.[95] Where there were pages dedicated to the cities and towns, they were portrayed as markers of progress. The dominant image for the emigrant was of the rural opportunity and around 75 per cent of the supplements were pages full of images of farms and produce. 'Greater Britain' was transformed from a landscape of resources to a source of land. The supplement in the February 1911 edition of the *News* included a page titled 'The Land of Opportunity: Canada's

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[95] *The Illustrated London News* (February 18, 1911, March 09, 1912, March 15, 1913)

Invitation to Britons' (Figure 1.7). Images of farm land, orchards and tractors and horses working the land were placed alongside text describing the opportunity available in Canada. Other pages in the supplements dedicated to Canada were devoted to the promise of the land and particularly its wheat including 'All the Fertility of the Soil: Agriculture in British Columbia,' 'A Tenth of the Dominion: British Columbia. The Province of Promise,' and 'The Topic of the Moment: Canada and its Wheat'[96]. A very clear image emerged of a landscape of opportunity, agriculture and resources.[97] The image was clearly commercialised and there to sell Canada to Britain, but it did so by using particular images and 'pull' factors that added a layer to the image of the settler societies. In an examination of the Empire Marketing Board David Meredith has argued that within Empire advertising 'hyperbole ran riot'.[98] And this was certainly the case earlier in the representation of the exaggerated pictures of the blue skies, open space and fresh produce distributed in advertisements across the period. Newspapers featured adverts and reports of land available in the settler societies as well as opportunities on the land.[99] Exhibitions also represented this vision of the settler societies. The Canadian court at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition promoted emigration through numerous notice boards, 'which cannot fail to catch the

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[96] 'Great Dominion: Canada' (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (March 15, 1913), pp.vii; Great Dominion: Canada (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (February 18, 1911), pp.xxiv-xxv; xxvii.
[97] 'The Land of Opportunity: Canada's Invitation to Britons,' Great Dominion: Canada (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (February 18, 1911), pp.vi-vii.
[98] David Meredith, 'Imperial Images: The Empire Marketing Board, 1926-32,' *History Today* 37:1 (January, 1987), p.32
[99] 'Land For Settlers In Canada,' *The Standard* (April 16, 1897), p.5; 'Free Grants Of Land In Canada,' *The Essex County Standard West Suffolk Gazette, and Eastern Counties Advertiser* (January 21, 1893), p.2; 'Land In Canada,' *The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland, and Yorkshire* (March 31, 1888), p.3; 'Northern Australia Explored 25,000,000 Acres Of Pastoral Land,' *The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (December 29, 1879), p.4; 'Australia: The Land Of Promise,' *The Leeds Mercury* (June 7, 1890), p.2; 'Land In New Zealand,' *The Standard* (September 26, 1894), p.5; 'Emigration to the Colonies,' *The Speaker: The Liberal Review* (September 15, 1906), p.553.

eye'.[100] Alongside pamphlets and exhibits, *The Times* stated that 'no visitor to the Canadian section will emerge from the pavilion without having had forcibly borne in upon him the fact that Canada is wanting him, and that 160 acres of fine rich land are waiting for him if only he will go and settle upon them'.[101] The majority of the exhibits were focussed on the land and what it could yield. Wheat formed the basis for the Canadian exhibits. Wheat ears decorated the walls as well as forming the basis for the central trophy, which according to reports dominated the entire hall.[102]

James Belich has examined the importance of 'booster literature' in the Anglo settler revolution, where money and effort were put into the promotion of parts of the Empire in Britain to boost population in the colonies.[103] The work of Clifford Sifton, Canadian minister for the interior in Sir Wilfred Laurier's government between 1896 and 1905, was one example of the sort of promotion that was being undertaken. A large increase in budget and personnel under Sifton transformed the promotion of Canada in Britain. So much so that Canada was circulating three million pieces of promotional literature by 1914.[104] As well as government guides and advertisements, travellers and settlers published accounts specifically aimed at the new settler. As well as the leaflets, the colonial governments also issued accounts, for example Alfred Richard E. Burton's *Cape Colony for the Settler* written 'for the guidance of those who may seek a home in Cape Colony,' and many settlers published accounts and letters in order to provide advice to potential settlers.[105] Like the travellers, settlers wrote

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[100] 'Canada at the Exhibition,' *The Times* (July 2, 1908), p.3.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] 'The Franco-British Exhibition,' *The Times* (June 11, 1908), p.4.
[103] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p.410.
[104] *Ibid.*
[105] Alfred Richard E. Burton, *Cape Colony for the Settler: An Account of its Urban and Rural Industries, Their Probable Future Development and Extension* (London: P. S. King & Son, 1903), preface.

instructive and informative accounts. J.K. Arthur wrote his account 'directly for those

who may propose to try their fortune in Australia or New Zealand [...] To such as these

the hints or items of information contained in this book may prove useful or

interesting, as they may be desirous of forming some idea of Colonial life and

surroundings'.[106] William Hay Delisle published his account so that young gentlemen

could decide whether they were personally adapted to become colonists in Northern

New Zealand or not.[107] James Seton-Cockburn's family published his letters in order to

provide an account of actual experience, difficulties of young emigrants, rather than

half-truths given by agency literature.[108]

The opportunity was also depicted through the success of the emigrants. Travel

and emigration accounts relayed countless stories of those who had succeeded in a

very short space of time. An example is in Harry Brittain's 1908 account *Canada: There

and Back.* The author met a driver on an excursion, a Cornishman who had emigrated

to Canada years previously as a boy of twelve. In this time in the country, according to

Brittain, he had travelled west, started earning money by hiring out bicycles and

extended his business. Due to his success he was able to be one of the first to supply

motorcars. He owned a garage and also made money in real estate.[109] Brittain had met

a large number of these young men as had many other travellers and emigrants.

Reading these accounts, combined with newspapers, periodicals and

emigration literature, the average Briton would see 'Greater Britain' as a society

where workers were in high demand. The newspapers featured advertisements that

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[106] J. K. Arthur, *Kangaroo and Kauri: Sketches and Anecdotes of Australia and New Zealand* (London: Sampson Low, Makston & Company, 1894), p.vi.
[107] Hay, *Brighter Britain!*, p.ix.
[108] James Seton-Cockburn, *Canada for Gentlemen, Being Letters From James Seton Cockburn* (Kessinger Publishing, 2004).
[109] Brittain, *Canada,* pp.119-120.

promoted openings in the colonies and assisted passages to Australia, New Zealand,

Canada and South Africa. Taking a cross section of newspapers from across the

country in late 1900 there were advertisements for agricultural labourers, farm

workers, police, manufacturing work, nurses, dressmakers, young farmers and

confectioners.[110] Free passages to Australia for women; assisted passages for farm

labourers or female servants in Canada; and young farmers and farm labourers

wanted in Queensland were just a few examples.[111] In 1899 the *Bristol Mercury and*

Daily Post advertised emigration to Queensland through 'Henry R. James and Sons'

which granted free passage to female domestic servants and assisted passage to small

capitalists, farmers, market gardeners, dairymen and orchardists with or without

families.[112] Accounts and letters in the press were also common.[113]

 This was also the picture painted in the settler accounts. In his *Canada For*

Gentlemen, Seton-Cockburn stated it was pretty easy to make money in Canada.[114]

Arthur Copping wrote that in England you had to plead, wait and scheme for

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[110] 'Advertisements & Notices,' *Glasgow Herald* (December 26, 1900), p.1; 'Multiple News Items,' *The Morning Post* (December 13, 1900), p.7; 'Multiple Advertisements and Notices,' *The North-Eastern Daily Gazette* (November 24, 1900), p.1; 'The New South African Police,' *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* (November 17, 1900), p.11; 'Multiple News Items,' *The Weekly Standard and Express* (November 10, 1900), p.2; 'Multiple Advertisements and Notices,' *The Morning Post* (October 24, 1900), p.1; 'Multiple Advertisements and Notices,' *The Standard* (October 22, 1900), p.1; 'Advertisements & Notices,' *Daily News* (September 22, 1900), p.2; 'Advertisements & Notices,' *Western Mail* (August 23, 1900), p.2; 'Advertisements & Notices,' *Glasgow Herald* (October 5, 1900), p.2.
[111] 'Multiple Advertisements and Notices,' *The Standard* (January 08, 1880), p.1; 'Multiple Advertisements and Notices,' *The York Herald* (February 03, 1887), p.1; 'Multiple Advertisements and Notices,'*Western Mail* (July 11, 1900), p.1.
[112] 'Advertisements,' *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* (Bristol), February 10, 1899.
[113] 'Two Miles Of Gold,' *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (November 15, 1884), p.3; 'Experiences Of An Emigrant To Western Australia,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (March 3, 1887), p.2; 'Experiences Of An Emigrant To Western Australia,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (March 5, 1887), p.2; 'Letter From An Ipswich Emigrant In Australia,' *The Ipswich Journal* (March 16, 1887), p.7; 'An Emigrant's Experience In Canada,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (March 10, 1894), p.7; Jno. Courtenay, 'Emigrant Life in Canada,' *The Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser* (December 17, 1892), p.3; 'Emigrant Life In Canada,' *Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury* (July 26, 1884), p.4; 'An Emigrant's Experience In Canada,' *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* (July 21, 1883), p.6; 'An Emigrant's Experience In New Zealand,' *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* (May 14, 1880), p.2; 'Emigration To Australia And New Zealand,' *The Morning Post* (October 07, 1887), p.7.
[114] Seton-Cockburn, *Canada for Gentlemen,* np.

opportunities to earn small wages that are almost given to you in Canada. Copping described not being on Canadian soil more than an hour before the first of many opportunities came his way.[115] Similarly, William Delisle Hay described the rush to engage newcomers to Auckland in employment. Hay stated that servants and labourers, mechanics and artisans were in such demand that emigrants did not have to wait long to find work.[116] This did not just apply to working-class emigrants. Peter Barlow felt confident of success when he travelled to New Zealand in the 1880s to work as a civil engineer for a land company. Barlow described the current situation in New Zealand as perfect for professional men, and the cheap land suited gentlemen with even a small fixed income.[117] Whether it was related to success for workers or the professional classes, the settler societies as a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain' was a site of opportunity for those at 'home'.

A certain amount of cynicism must have surrounded these images. Not everyone took what they saw as fact and the problem of identifying the opinions of what Belich has called the 'silent majority' is a point that should be recognised. However, the periodicals pushed a particular, selective image of the settler societies, and there were various examples of this penetrating the public consciousness. Katherine Bates travelled to Canada to investigate the 'emigration question' in 1887 and described the influence of emigration officers and their literature upon the perception of Canada. Lectures given by 'kindly, enthusiastic gentleman' in halls in the East End described emigration as the 'sovereign cure for all the ills that poor suffering

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[115] Copping, *The Golden Land*, p.39.
[116] Hay, *Brighter Britain!, p.*50.
[117] Peter Barlow, *Kaipara: Or Experiences of a Settler in North New Zealand* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1889), p.219.

London flesh is heir to'.[118] Canada is an 'Aladdin's Lamp, and an "assisted" passage

thereto an "open sesame" to a veritable Earthly Paradise'.[119] It was a solution, based

on the selective images presented. Emigrants were drawn in by these images and

Taken In: Being a Sketch of New Zealand Life was written as a warning against

emigration literature. Published by the author 'Hopeful', she was brought to tears by

her first introduction to New Zealand, describing it as rugged, gloomy, melancholy and

lonely. 'Oh! How different the present scenes; my heart sank at the sorry show!'[120]

The importance of this aspect of the representation of the settler societies was

also reflected in the expectations of settlers making the journey to Australia, New

Zealand, Canada and South Africa. In one of his first letters home, Seton-Cockburn

stated his first impressions of Canada were different from what he expected.[121] The

colourful hopeful vision created by the government and emigration literature was

influential, and Bushell described these images as deeply imprinted on the minds of

prospective emigrants.[122] So much so, that many emigrants were often disappointed

when these images did not live up to reality.

Agencies and their literature left little time for the difficulties encountered by

emigrants and left them with a sense of false hope.[123] For example, Holyoake

complained in his article that few of the land agents had actually seen the land they

were dealing with.[124] But the created image was so idealistic that any expectations

based on it could not realistically be met. There was also no separation between the

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[118] Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic*, p.11.
[119] *Ibid.*, pp.11-12.
[120] Hopeful (Maggie), *Taken In: Being a Sketch of New Zealand Life* (London: W.H. Allen, 1887), p.66.
[121] Seton-Cockburn, *Canada for Gentlemen*, np.
[122] Bushell, *Australia for the Emigrant,* p.1.
[123] Seton-Cockburn, *Canada for Gentlemen*, np.
[124] George Jacob Holyoake, 'Emigrant Education,' *The Nineteenth Century: A Review,* 44 (1898), p.432.

opportunities available, and many thought openings were available for all classes.

Seton-Cockburn was surprised at the lack of openings for professional men: 'I used to

think there must be lots of openings for engineers, doctors, etc., in the small towns

that were almost daily springing up along the line, but that is not so'.[125] Katherine

Bates stated in 1887 that clerks had no chance in Canada, as the profession was

already overstocked by the inhabitants themselves.[126]

Figure 1.8 Photograph of the Canadian Emigration office in London, England, 1911.

National Archives of Canada [NAC]: C-063257, The Canadian Emigration office in London, England, 1911.

Mary J. Sansom argued that there was as much unemployment in Canada as

there was in Britain and described the thousands of men who journeyed west to

Winnipeg and Regina only to end up in a state of despair and starvation. She recounts

the story of a friend who travelled to Regina and in three months stay only had three

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[125] Seton-Cockburn, *Canada for Gentlemen*, np.
[126] Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic*, p.15.

weeks of work. The cost of living was high and with little money they were soon 'stoney broke'.[127] Katherine Bates wrote of the common misconceptions of Canada in her 1887 account, *A Year in the Great Republic*. A man, she wrote, could earn from two to four pounds a week in favourable conditions; however, what is not taken into account was the cost of living.[128]

In *Australia for the Emigrant*, a book published in 1913 to advise future settlers, N. Keith Bushell stated that the image of Australia as a paradise, with perfect climate, plenty of jobs and money for everyone was a 'mythical idea…born of gazing into shop windows resplendent with rosy apples and wheat-ears, oranges and lemons, and fascinating pictures of farm life'.[129] An image of the Canadian Emigration office in London in 1911 (Figure 1.8) shows just these displays, images of wheat and opportunity in the landscape, in this case the Prairie West.[130] Bushell was describing the commercialised images of Australia, but whether it was advertisements or emigration posters these images drew on particular recognisable tropes. A key part of the image of opportunity was linked to ideas of health and rejuvenation.

Health and Rejuvenation

Descriptions of the settler societies within representations in Britain often highlighted the atmosphere and climate. Fuller described South Africa as creating a new conception of earth and air; there were no clouds, no haze, even at its clearest in England the sky was not nearly as remote; clean, wide and open.[131] It was the

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[127] Mary J. Sansom, *A Holiday Trip to Canada* (London: The St Catherine Press, 1900), pp.32-33.
[128] Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic*, p.14.
[129] N Keith Bushell, *Australia for the Emigrant* (London: Cassell, 1913), p.1.
[130] National Archives of Canada [NAC]: C-063257, The Canadian Emigration office in London, England, 1911 http://www.lac-bac.gc.ca/canadian-west/052920/05292044_e.html [accessed 1 July 2011].
[131] Robert H. Fuller, *South Africa at Home* (London: George Newnes, Limited, 1908), p.2.

atmosphere that was, as Dudley Kidd described it, 'washed white and clean'.[132] The

idea that the settler societies were a theoretical contrast to the Britain that had

suffered the consequences of industry is central to the ideas of 'Greater Britain'. In the

illustrated review of the Franco-British exhibition in 1908, Herbert Shaw stated that

the men that walked through the Canadian exhibit had 'replied to the strong call of

Canada with a real longing for the Dominion's spaces and clean air'.[133]

A letter published in *The Times* in 1881 described the importance of the climate

of Tasmania, 'one of the most healthy and delightful in the world,' as a large part of its

appeal.[134] Articles, particularly focussed on emigration, highlighted the superior

climate of the settler societies.[135] In an article published in the *Westminster Review*

William Cunningham MacGregor described New Zealand as a '"playground" in the

widest and truest sense of the term'.[136] MacGregor stated that New Zealand was the

healthiest British possession, the 'fogs of Old England and the mists of Bonny Scotland

are alike conspicuous by their absence from this Brighter Britain of the South'.[137]

Examining why travellers went to the settler societies was a good indication of

the overall image the British had. The travel accounts produced a much clearer idea of

the representation of the health benefits of the settler societies and when describing

the reasons for making the journey, travellers often cited health. The benefits of the

colourful, bright, clean images in the ephemera were articulated in the traveller and

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[132] Dudley Kidd, *Peeps at Many Lands: South Africa* (London: A. and C. Black, 1908), p.1.

[133] Herbert Shaw in F.G. Dumas (ed.), *The Franco-British Exhibition: Illustrated Review 1908* (London: Chatto and Widnes, 1908), p.274.

[134] Robert S. Duff, 'Tasmania,' *The Times* (October 19, 1881).

[135] Walter B. Paton, 'A Plea for Emigration to the Colonies,' *The St. James's Magazine*, 4:42 (April 1882), pp.413-430; Stephen Thompson, 'The Lessons of Emigration,' *The National Review*, 13: 75 (May 1889), pp.369-376.

[136] Wm Cunningham MacGregor, 'New Zealand-The Playground of the Pacific,' *Westminster Review,* 143 (January, 1895), p.319.

[137] *Ibid.,* p.320.

settler accounts. In 1889, in the preface of his account Edwards Peter Mathers described South Africa as increasingly 'one of the favourite health resorts in the world'.[138] In the late nineteenth century travellers saw the settler societies as having health benefits. In Sir Henry Barkly's address to the Royal Colonial Institute, 'South Africa as a Health Resort,' he stated that 'The public mind is slowly awakening to the knowledge that the British Empire has climates adapted for every form of constitutional defect'.[139]

The first impressions of the travellers also reflect the idea of a rejuvenating quality. Dudley Kidd described the first impression of Table Bay as 'one of exhilaration'.[140] As he approached Cape Town, Kidd summed up this aspect of the imperial landscape describing the combination of the sunshine, the crystal clear air and the brilliance of the colouring as so stimulating and invigorating.[141] The combination of these three elements of the landscape was often described as atmosphere. When Robert Fuller first arrived in Cape Town he described the scene as 'enhanced by the open vastness of the atmosphere'.[142] The atmosphere of Britain was nothing compared to the clean, bright atmosphere of the colonies. The climate of 'Greater Britain' was seen as having a rejuvenating force that improved the health of those who travelled there. Similarly, George Sutherland described a trip to Australia as to 'the great benefit of one's health and spirits'.[143] When James Ewing Ritchie decided to travel to Australia he stated that his friends in the medical profession encouraged it,

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[138] Mathers, *South Africa, and How to Reach it by the Castle Line,* preface.

[139] Sir Henry Barkly, 'South Africa as a Health Resort,' *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute,* 20 (1888-9), pp.6-7.

[140] Kidd, *Peeps at Many Lands*, p.1.

[141] *Ibid.*

[142] Fuller, *South Africa at Home*, p.2.

[143] George Sutherland, *Australia, or England in the South* (London: Seeley, 1886), p.10.

'"You can't do better," was the unanimous reply, "you will come back ten years younger," said they all'. Ritchie's friends described the journey as worth the trouble and expense as it would allow him to regain some of his manly prime.[144]

Despite the importance of the health benefits of the Empire promoted through ephemera and travel literature, for settlers the immediate health benefits of the imperial landscape were not as important as they were for the travellers. Emigrant guides saw the health benefits from a much more long-term perspective and for them, running alongside the health and familiarity, was a danger and a sense of adventure. The settler societies were also a landscape to be overcome. A conflict emerged in the literature between 'Greater Britain' providing an atmosphere beneficial to health and the need for emigrants to be healthy to succeed and overcome the hardships presented in the colonies. The idea of 'Greater Britain' was a complex and often contrasting imagining that was designed to create a 'Better Britain' and 'Better Britons,' but in fact it was the strong and healthy that were seen as more likely to succeed.[145]

An article in 1906 argued that the vast uncultivated lands and undeveloped natural resources cry out for men 'but for strong, hardy, active men in the flower of youth or early manhood, men who are not afraid of long hours, and hard work and rough living'.[146] Sir Charles Nicholson wrote of the freshness of the young communities, a vigour and heartiness that one failed to find in the old European societies. The people had much more vigour of mind and body than the 'mass who

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[144] Ritchie, *An Australian Ramble,* pp.2; 2.
[145] Alicia M. Cecil, 'The Needs of South Africa,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review*, 51: 302 (April, 1902), pp.683-692; May Hely Hutchinson, 'Female Emigration to South Africa,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review,* 51: 299 (January, 1902), pp.71-87.
[146] 'Emigration To The Colonies,' *The Speaker: The Liberal Review* (September 15, 1906), p.553.

remain struggling, starving, and multiplying at such a fearful rate in this country'.[147]

E.Y. Brabant stated it would be possible for a man of small capital to succeed in South Africa provided he was healthy and strong. As long as he is not afraid of work, Brabant argued, he would have no difficulty at all.[148] Similarly, William Delisle Hay described the process of emigration and success in New Zealand as full of hard work, difficulty, and bodily hardship. However, those strong, able bodied men between sixteen and twenty-six years of age would have a better chance of overcoming the rough, hard struggle and leading a healthy, happy, and fairly comfortable life.[149]

Theories of acclimatisation concluded that the mid-latitude climates of the settler societies provided a perfect climate for European settlement. It was thought that Europeans were unable to adapt to tropical climates. In contrast, Morag Bell has argued South Africa presented a 'coherent vision of a healthy society' in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[150] It was in this climate that women could 'thrive and reproduce the imperial race'.[151] Regeneration was a vital part of the idea of 'Greater Britain'. However, this was not, Bell has argued, the 'primitive pastoralism' of the American Romantic Movement or a desire to follow the Dutch trek. Instead, Britain's regeneration had to be undertaken in a familiar landscape, on the same level as Britain in terms of modernisation and progress. British technology and skills could transform the material and cultural environment to create a familiar landscape.

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[147] Sir Charles Nicholson in Haweis, *Travel and Talk, p.*171.
[148] E. Y. Brabant, 'The Resources of South Africa,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review,* 54 (1903), p.398.
[149] Hay, *Brighter Britain!* p.59.
[150] Morag Bell, '"The Pestilence that Walketh in Darkness" Imperial Health, Gender and Images of South Africa, 1880-1910,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 18:3 (1993), p.339.
[151] *Ibid.,* p.328.

Modernity

Even though agriculture and the land were an important aspect of the representation of the settler societies, the British sources also highlighted the progress of the settler societies connected to a progression towards modernity. Alongside the depiction of vast expanses of land was a desire to see a modern society. Newspapers, periodicals and other sources portrayed evidence of progressive modern settlements.[152]

It could be argued that the panoramas and exhibitions were simply part of the late nineteenth century culture of the curiosity and sensationalism and the panoramas of New Zealand and Sydney were just part of the trend for these types of entertainments. Indeed, panoramas such as 'The Voyage to Australia and Visit to the Gold Fields' were simply part of the broader desire to see the world. Companies were satisfying the same public who were visiting the panoramas of Paris, Lisbon, San Sebastian, Switzerland and Venice. However, it is the way these places were exhibited that was important. The fact that they displayed the Empire meant that they were inherently political in their context. The exhibitions featuring the settler societies demonstrated the progress of the British overseas.

Early in the century, exhibits featured signs of growth. An early panoramic exhibition on Australia held in London in 1841 is a good example of this. The panoramas featured a coal river, steam boat, signal stations, the quarry, new town, government gangs in their occupations and ship building. The industry and evidence of

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[152] 'Australian Progress: Melbourne,' *The Illustrated London News* (December 29, 1888), p.783; 'The Birth of a New City,' *The Illustrated London News* (December 20, 1913), p.1042; 'The Chicago of Canada: Winnipeg,' *The Illustrated London News* (March 28, 1914), p.ix; 'Britannia Park: A Town of the Immediate Future,' *The Illustrated London News* (March 28, 1914), p.iv.

infrastructure demonstrated the development of Australia and consequently reflected well on Britain. The exhibition was advertised as 'combining all subjects interesting or peculiar to the Australian colonies, presenting the visitors the most splendid examples of the dauntless spirit and enterprise of the British nation'.[153]

The panoramas usually provided the British with a general picture of the settler societies and included a variety of features from cityscapes to the natural environment, pastoral districts, indigenous populations and gold fields. And despite the contradictions, what unified them was the importance of the broader view of what they provided Britain and how far the societies had come since early settlement. The British latched onto these outward signs of progress in Australia and New Zealand in particular.

For many, Trollope's Australia, New Zealand and South Africa provided the first detailed window on the landscapes of these parts of the Empire. In 1889, Edward Peter Mathers described how Anthony Trollope's volumes on South Africa had done a great deal to familiarise the English reader with that continent.[154] Progress and the British connection were highlighted throughout.

By their very nature exhibitions portrayed the settler societies as landscapes of resources.[155] However, the official catalogues and souvenir booklets of the larger nineteenth-century exhibitions highlighted the progress of the settler societies using the products and industries as the main evidence. Representation of the settler societies in the illustrated review of the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition highlighted the products of the colonies as evidence of the growth and progress of the societies.

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[153] BoL: JJC Dioramas 2 (15t), 'Model of Hobart Town and Panorama of Sydney,' 1841.
[154] Edward Peter Mathers, *South Africa, and How to Reach it by the Castle Line* (London, 1889), p.4.
[155] 'The Grocers' Exhibition,' *The Times* (September 19, 1908), p.10; 'Franco-British Exhibition,' *The Times* (July 4, 1908), p.18; 'Canada at the Exhibition,' *The Times* (July 2, 1908), p.3.

Australia was described as a 'triumphant young lady' demonstrated by the resources and products of each colony. The Victorian arch of gold, also a feature of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, alongside displays of coal, wool, pearls and fruit were all represented as indicators of growth.[156] Representations of outward signs of progress were a large part of the portrayal of the settler societies within exhibitions, with harbours, railways, institutions and mines were included. The press and accounts that described these exhibits emphasised these features. *The Times* article on the Canadian exhibits within the Franco-British Exhibition stressed the map of the railway system alongside pictures of 'nation builders' Sir Wilfred Laurier and Sir John Macdonald.[157]

The representation of the settler societies was of a flexible landscape of opportunity; modernity was an important part of this. It was rural and could provide a multitude of different opportunities, but it also needed a future and this was centred on the positives of the industrial revolution. The representation was a 'best of both worlds', the benefits of the rural were important but so were the progressions of industrial Britain. The progression towards a familiar modern British society was looked upon favourably and sought out by the British. The representation was full of evidence of societies that were progressing and for the most part that was linked to the settlements; however the settler societies were also improvements on 'home'. An aspect of the representation that was associated with this modernity was the political and social freedom that the settler societies provided. The travel and emigration literature discussed settlers 'throwing off' the shackles of class structure and hierarchy

[156] Dumas (ed.), *The Franco-British Exhibition,* pp.271-272; 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Victoria,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 7, 1886), p.156.
[157] 'The Franco-British Exhibition,' *The Times* (June 11, 1908), p.4.

in their new lives in the settler societies. This was part of the representation of the settler societies as a frontier of Britain, a landscape that provided regeneration and rebirth of society as well as freedom to live out ideas of imperial masculinity.

Freedom

The settler societies were represented as egalitarian places, where one could move up in the social scale. In his account, Hay stated that in New Zealand government immigrants drawn from the peasant class were now 'wealthy proprietors of broad acres, flocks and herds, and are able to send their sons to college and their daughters to finishing schools'.[158] The servant was now riding in their own carriage.[159] One article highlighted that no one 'holds a position of influence through the power of a family name or the possession of hereditary wealth and lands'.[160] This freedom was also political. An earlier article stated that 'amateur reformers of the British Constitution are very ready to hold up for our admiration the progress of our Colonies towards a political perfection hitherto unattainable in the Mother country'.[161] Universal suffrage, vote by ballot, 'freedom from the despotism of a House of Lords' were 'blessings which Englishmen at present must emigrate to enjoy'.[162] The political 'experiments' of the settler societies were reported in periodicals and journals.[163] One

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[158] Hay, *Brighter Britain*, p.52
[159] *Ibid.*
[160] 'The Boer At Home,' *The Monthly Review*, 4: 10 (July 1901), pp.3.
[161] 'Novelties From Australia,' *Saturday Review Of Politics, Literature, Science And Art,* 19: 481 (January 14, 1865), p.49.
[162] *Ibid.*
[163] Wm Cunningham MacGregor, 'New Zealand-The Playground of the Pacific,' *Westminster Review,* 143 (January, 1895), p.319.

highlighted the idea that the ballot, equal electoral districts, payment of Members of Parliament and free education had strengthened Australia.[164]

One aspect of the representation of the settler societies was as a predominantly masculine landscape. As well as a sense of freedom connected to the egalitarian nature associated with the settler societies, freedom was linked to ideas of imperial masculinity. The settler societies also provided a location for adventure. It was within the fiction of the period in particular that Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa became the epitome of adventure. These ideas, explored in chapter three in relation to the frontier, were connected to nineteenth-century ideas of masculinity. The settler societies provided a landscape where men could prove themselves. Joanna de Groot has argued that 'manliness and empire confirmed one another, guaranteed one another [and] enhanced one another'.[165] John Tosh has explored these ideas in *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain*. He has argued that the Empire as a whole provided for British men a resource, refuge and object of desire. He has argued that 'pessimistic appraisals of masculinity and of the empire played off each other' which conditioned the popular response to empire.[166]

The masculinity of the frontier of the settler societies and South Africa as a whole as represented within fiction, periodicals and travel accounts, while seen as a positive and with a capacity to fulfil a freedom that could not be had at home, could also be regarded as a problem that needed to be fixed. Women's place within this

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[164] 'Some Australian Experiments,' *The Review of Reviews* (August 1892), p.62.
[165] Joanna de Groot, '"Sex" and "Race": The Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century,' in Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall (eds.) *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1989), p.122.
[166] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), p.194.

aspect of the representation of the settler societies was as a solution. The British also saw the colonies as a masculine landscape that needed to be domesticated.

The opportunity for women was linked to what women could provide to the settler societies. An article published by Alicia M. Cecil in 1902 entitled 'The Needs of South Africa' argued that if South Africa were to become one of the 'great governing colonies of the British Empire, warm in sympathy and attachment to the mother country, it must be peopled with loyal British women as well as British men'.[167] In a similar article on female emigration to South Africa, May Hely Hutchinson argued that 'our colony depends largely for its future success and relative position among the nations on the influence of the mother in early years over the mental, moral, and physical qualities of her sons and daughters'.[168]

It was argued that women of 'high moral character' were needed in the colonies, particularly South Africa.[169] Cecil argued that a high class of women would 'raise the tone of their surroundings'.[170] Female emigration was portrayed as solving the 'problems' of the settler societies both in terms of 'domesticating' the masculine landscape and also providing wives for British settlers in order create a British population to win out against a dominating Boer settlement. Laws and legislation within the settler societies that dealt with the control of drink, gambling and the sale of drugs were associated with the enfranchisement of women.[171]

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[167] Cecil, 'The Needs Of South Africa,' p.683.
[168] May Hely Hutchinson, 'Female Emigration to South Africa,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review,* 51: 299 (Jan 1902), p.81.
[169] Cecil, 'The Needs of South Africa,' p.684 also Elizabeth Lewthwaite, 'Women's Work in Western Canada,' *Fortnightly Review,* 70: 418 (October, 1901), p.709; 'The Paradise of Women,' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art,* 66 (1707) (July 14, 1888), p.35.
[170] Cecil, 'The Needs of South Africa,' p.688.
[171] 'Woman Suffrage at Work,' *The Review of Reviews,* 35: 205 (January, 1907), p.41.

Figure 1.9 Emigration Cartoon in *Punch*, 1897.

THE FORLORN HOPE.

Miss Tabitha (reading to herself from "Times," September 22). "'WOMEN ARE WANTED (IN CANADA) AS SERVANTS OR HELPS, AND THEY 'RE ALSO WANTED AS WIVES.' H'M—WELL——I'LL RISK IT!"

'The Forlorn Hope,' *Punch* (October 02, 1897), p.146.

Periodicals also provided articles on emigration and who would fare best, such as 'Openings for Women in the Colonies' in *The Women's Signal*.[172] Articles such as 'Female Labour in Australia: An Appeal for Help' by Jeannie Lockett in *Nineteenth Century* (1885) and 'South Africa and Her Labour Problem' by Charles Sydney Goldmann in *The Nineteenth Century and After* (1905) furthered the impression that the colonies were in desperate need of emigrants.[173] A cartoon in *Punch* in 1897 satirised the sort of demand for women in the colonies. The cartoon depicted an older woman reading a newspaper with the tagline, 'Women are wanted (in Canada) as servants or helps, and they're also wanted as wives. Hm –well-I'll risk it!' (Figure 1.9).[174] There was a general notion that emigrants, particularly women, would find employment easily. Lockett stated that dressmakers, school teachers, and domestic servants all would find work in Australia and, generally, if her work was undertaken well she had no complaints of the remuneration.[175]

Opportunity not only lay in employment but also in terms of society. The settler societies were portrayed as providing women with an opportunity for independence. Lisa Chilton has argued that the female imperialists of the late nineteenth century 'nurtured' ideas of a 'new class of women for the colonies'.[176] Due to the 'rigid class structure and male privilege,' these women had not been 'allowed to

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[172] 'Openings for Women in the Colonies,' *The Women's Signal* (March 16, 1899), p.167 see also 'Openings for Women in the Colonies,' *The Englishwoman's Review* (January 14, 1888), p.6; 'Employments for Gentlewomen,' *Myra's Journal* (July 01, 1898), p.12.
[173] Jeannie Lockett, 'Female Labour in Australia: An Appeal for Help,' *Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* 18 (1885), pp.651-657; Charles Sydney Goldmann, 'South Africa and Her Labour Problem,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review*, 55 (1905): 848-862.
[174] 'The Forlorn Hope,' *Punch* (October 02, 1897), p.146.
[175] Lockett, 'Female Labour in Australia,' p.652.
[176] Lisa Chilton, *Agents of Empire: British Female Migration to Canada and Australia, 1860s-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p.94.

come of age in their own British society'.[177] Emigration societies promoted places where the 'new woman' could thrive.[178] An article in *Quiver* in 1908 emphasised that Canadian women were 'working women'.[179] Just as the men could live out ideas of masculinity, representations of women in the settler societies portrayed independence that was manifested through work, overcoming hardship within the landscape and political freedom.[180]

Articles highlighted the greater rights women enjoyed within the settler societies.[181] Vida Goldstein argued that Australian women had 'good reason to glory in the advance' of the country with absolute political equality with men.[182] One 1907 article highlighted the New Zealand legislation, traced to women's suffrage, which raised the age of consent, led to family maintenance acts as well as improving the life of children.[183] It also highlighted similar acts in Australia that related to a mother's right to maintenance.[184] Lisa Chilton has argued that 'women saw in the colonies possibilities unavailable in Britain'.[185] It was this idea that underpinned the ideas of the settler societies as a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain' for women as well as for men.

Progress

Opportunity was the key to the representation of the settler societies. The crises in Britain in the city and the countryside provided a backdrop for the ideas of a

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[177] *Ibid.*
[178] *Ibid.*
[179] Georgina Binnie-Clark, 'Women's Chances in Canada,' *Quiver*, 435 (October, 1908), p.108.
[180] Emily Hill, 'Openings for Women in the Colonies,' *The Woman's Signal* (March 09, 1899), p.149; Emily Hill, 'Openings for Women in the Colonies,' *The Woman's Signal* (March 16, 1899), p.167.
[181] Vida Goldstein, 'The Political Woman in Australia,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review,* 56: 329 (July, 1904), p.105.
[182] *Ibid.*
[183] 'Woman Suffrage at Work,' *The Review of Reviews,* 35: 205 (January, 1907), p.41.
[184] *Ibid.*
[185] Chilton, *Agents of Empire,* p.94.

'Better Britain.' The settler societies provided an opportunity to solve the problems associated with increasingly crowded and unhealthy cities and the depopulation and 'wasting' of the countryside. The settler societies became a landscape of contrasts by providing what the 'home' country could not, from land ownership and employment to the ability to move up the social ladder. The layers of representation portrayed the settler societies as a flexible British landscape of opportunity. It was created as a healthy, rejuvenating rural yet also modern landscape where contradictory ideas of male and female ideas of freedom emerged.

The settler societies were represented as a landscape where the British could progress, and the opportunity that the landscape provided underpinned this. The idea of progress was a key part of the representation of the settler societies. The development of 'Greater Britain' towards what the British considered a functioning and developed society was a key part of the Imperial landscape, and whether it was the cities or towns, the settlements were the main marker of this progress.

Chapter 2
SETTLEMENTS

At first glance the representation of the settler societies appeared to be associated with a predominantly rural landscape with wide open spaces, vast skies, rolling fields and a healthy climate, a 'Better Britain' to create 'Better Britons'. However, this focus on the countryside did not mean that representations of the settler societies were completely non-urban or anti-urban, far from it. The rural landscape was vital to the imagining of the settler societies, but it was the representation of the settlements in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa that demonstrated that 'Greater Britain' was not just a nostalgic desire to go 'back to the land'. Ideas of opportunity were also associated with modernity. A 'Better Britain' was also modern and progressive. This showed a desire for the best of both worlds, highlighting the idealism and complexities within the wider imagining of the colonies. The representation was a malleable image, altered to fit different ideas of opportunity in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain. The representation combined the positives of pre-industrial Britain with the modern advances of the nineteenth century. It represented a clean slate for the British town and city.

This chapter will look at how these ideas were portrayed by those who travelled to the colonies alongside the visual representations of the settler societies in periodicals, newspapers, exhibitions and panoramas. This chapter will form the first 'case study' of the representation of the settler societies and expand on the idea of an urban crisis introduced in chapter 1 and look further at ideas of familiarity,

regeneration, modernity and progress as understood through the representation of the cities and towns of the settler societies.

It was a representation driven by ideas of a modern British city, and British travellers were quick to highlight the familiar in their accounts. Their description of the settlements often reflected the importance of development and focussed on the location of the city and its ability to expand. Travellers were content if they saw Auckland's equivalent of Oxford Street, Ottawa's Houses of Parliament, churches, universities and other civic institutions because the architecture or even the general atmosphere and associational life of a city provided not just evidence of the British connection, but also acted as a measure of progress towards what was considered a recognisable modern city.

Settlements were not just replicas of British cities, however; they were an improved version, another part of a 'Better Britain'. Just like the rural images of 'Greater Britain', the urban settlements were portrayed as a vast contrast to the dark, smoky industrial cities in Britain. The cities of a 'Greater Britain' were created as new, fresh and vibrant, and elements of the real settlements were overlain with idealistic and ideological images of what Britain sought from these new societies. Industrious settlers and the idealistic perception of no obvious poverty were key factors in this selective representation. The portrayal of 'French cities' Montreal and Quebec as lacking the progress of the British cities was another manifestation of these ideas. So, even though the settler societies as a 'Greater Britain' were seen as a chance for Britain to go 'back to the land' it was also an opportunity to advance. British representation of the settler societies described not just a 'Greater Britain' and its improved cities in the British style, but Britain itself.

Travellers' First Impressions: 'It Looks and Feels Like Home'

When John Davies Mereweather settled in Australia in the mid-nineteenth century he described Melbourne as a replica of a British city. He highlighted the 'genius of the British colonist' to have reproduced the atmosphere of home under the most unfavourable auspices, and found the British character in the smallest details in society from details of private and domestic life down to the furnishing of a house and manner a dinner was arranged: 'Old ideas born in him, as it were, and customs pertinaciously upheld, are the Sacred Fire, the Penates, which the Englishman carries with him from the old shores wherever he goes'.[1]

The 'British connection' continued to be vital in the travellers' representation of the colonial cities and towns through the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. The nature of their portrayal highlighted not only the importance of the familiar but also that selectivity was fundamental to the representation of the settler societies in Britain during this period. The majority of travellers selectively sought out and noted similarities with British cities and towns when travelling to all four settler societies.

Like Mereweather had done earlier in the century, travellers saw the settlements as resembling British cities both in look and feel. While Sydney, Wellington and Toronto had some architectural similarities to British cities, their own unique atmosphere and features were often overlooked as travellers latched onto and emphasised the British, and particularly English, similarities and connections. Writers carefully picked features of the settlement to back up their claims, drawing on

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[1] John Davies Mereweather, *Diary of a Working Clergyman In Australia and Tasmania, Kept During the Years 1850-1853; Including his Return to England By Way Of Java, Singapore, Ceylon, and Egypt* (London: Hatchard and Company, 1859), p.18.

architecture, an aspect of associational life, or even the atmosphere of a morning walk to emphasise the connection.

Signs of 'home and comfort' were not just seen in the buildings, or the green pastures, but also in the trim hedges which added to the British feel.[2] William Delisle Hay highlighted the 'English fashion' of the hotel he was staying at during his time in Auckland, and described it as 'resembling any first class family and commercial hotel of the old country'.[3] Lady Hardy described the dinners in Toronto as 'strictly arranged on the "home principle".[4] Harry Brittain described the familiarity of a Sunday morning in Toronto when the hustle and bustle of the working week had gone, all the shops were closed and the streets were deserted. The only noise he could hear was the peals of bells from the numerous churches across the city. Brittain did not feel he was in a foreign land at all; it was just like a Sunday morning in Oxford. During the service, the author stated that it seemed so like England he could not believe he was thousands of miles from Westminster, with the atmosphere, the people and the Union Jack on display.[5]

Through an examination of first impressions, there appears to be no question that the travellers considered the settler societies to be a landscape resembling 'home', picking and choosing aspects to make their point. On his arrival in South Africa Dudley Kidd stated that 'the visitor at once feels at home'.[6] The English tongue could be heard, the Union Jack was flying and hansom cabs were lined up to meet him.[7]

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[2] R.A. Loughnan, *New Zealand at Home* (London: George Newnes Ltd, 1908), pp.52-53.
[3] William Delisle Hay*, Brighter Britain! or, Settler and Maori in Northern New Zealand* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1882), p.24.
[4] Lady Mary McDowell Duffus Hardy, *Through Cities and Prairie Lands: Sketches of an American Tour* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1881), p.55.
[5] Harry Brittain, *Canada: There and Back* (London: John Lane, 1908), p.51.
[6] Dudley Kidd, *Peeps at Many Lands: South Africa* (London: A. and C. Black, 1908), p.3.
[7] *Ibid*.

These aspects alone did not make Cape Town feel British or feel like 'home'. In their descriptions travellers corralled features together that emphasised the familiarity, culminating in a selective portrayal of the settler societies which runs throughout the literature.

Comparison was made predominantly with non-industrial English towns and cities and as such Southern locations dominate. Brittain's description of Toronto was not a comparison with the atmosphere of an industrial city, and towns like Leeds or Newcastle did not feature.[8] Despite this, London – and usually central London - was frequently used as a point of comparison possibly due to its centrality as the capital and its familiarity. In 1894, James T. Goudie described Sydney as 'very home-like' in its architecture. He even described Collins Street in Melbourne as an 'ornament to London itself'.[9] E. Elkington Way described the shops, offices, theatres and hotels on the main street of Auckland as resembling a bit of Knightsbridge with Sloane Street knocked into it.[10]

Even if we allow for the unconscious substitution of the term British rather than English for many travellers the comparison with British towns really meant a comparison with English towns, and other countries in the union did not feature. For example, H.T.B Bush described Christchurch, New Zealand as having 'a real British look' and in fact with very little imagination 'you would think yourself in England'.[11] While travelling in South Africa in 1900, the Reverend John Dickie described the

[8] Brittain, *Canada,* p.51.
[9] James Ewing Ritchie, *An Australian Ramble, or, a Summer in Australia* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1890), p.68.
[10] E. Way Elkington, *Adrift in New Zealand* (London: John Murray, 1906), p.9.
[11] H.T.B. Bush, *Letters from Abroad or Scraps from New Zealand, Australia and America* (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1884), p.76.

houses and streets of Port Elizabeth as 'thoroughly English'.[12] He described Maritzburg

similarly and stated that on arrival the traveller is struck with the 'English aspect of

everything'.[13] In 1908, R.A. Loughnan described Christchurch as the 'most English-

looking place in Australasia'.[14] The type and people of the town were unmistakable to

Loughnan, who saw it as essentially an English cathedral town. He really felt that you

would believe yourself to be in England but for the gum trees that gave the landscape

an Australasian character.[15]

These images and descriptions of the settler societies have returned to

Stephen Constantine's argument that travellers who arrived half a century after the

pioneers were reacting to the adaptation carried out by the early settlers.[16] However,

the representation was not just an accurate reflection of what they were seeing. These

descriptions revealed how the travellers wanted to see the settler societies. This was a

perception and subsequent representation that sought out the British aspects of the

settlements.

A Framed Picture

The selective and idealistic representation of the settler societies could be

described as a 'framed representation'. Travellers, but also periodicals and even

panoramas, framed their representations of the settlements to highlight particular

aspects and make their point. As will be argued, this included signs of progress but the

Britishness of the settlements was also part of this. Indeed, some travellers based the

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[12] Rev. John Dickie, *South Africa: Personal Experiences and Impressions* (London: Kelso &c. 1900), p.24.
[13] *Ibid*., p.36.
[14] Loughnan, *New Zealand at Home,* p.52.
[15] *Ibid*., p.52-53.
[16] Stephen Constantine, 'British Emigration to the Empire-Commonwealth since 1880: From Overseas Settlement to Diaspora?' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 31: 2 (2003), pp.22-23.

comparison on tiny details, removing or framing out the colonial features from the representation. This was particularly the case for smaller towns where aspects of colonial style were more in evidence. Edward Peter Mathers described Grahamstown's broad tree-lined streets and gardens as 'thoroughly English'.[17] Similarly, Hulme Nisbet described Bathurst, New South Wales as like an English town with old-fashioned square, built towers and irregular houses.[18] While many of these towns had British aspects to them, most travellers ignored other aspects such as the planned nature of many colonial towns and the use of the grid system. This selection, however, tells us more about the British idea of the settler societies than an accurate description of Sydney or Wellington or even Bathurst and Grahamstown. Periodicals contained particularly good examples of this selective framed representation.[19]

In August 1910 *The Illustrated London News* featured a full page on London, Middlesex, Canada (Figure 2.1) with the by-line, 'Its Piccadilly, Its Oxford Street'. The page was part of a supplement on Canada, advertising emigration to the British public. Amongst the images of London, Ontario were drawings of London landmarks, St Pauls, the Tower of London and Piccadilly Circus. The pictures included images of Covent Garden with such captions as 'not unlike our own great fruit and vegetable market'

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[17] Edward Peter Mathers, *South Africa, and How to Reach it by the Castle Line* (London: Simpkin & Marshall, 1889), p.61.

[18] Hume Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp: Travels and Adventures in Australia and New Guinea* (London: Ward & Downey, 1891).

[19] 'Sketches in Australia: Ballarat,' *The Illustrated London News* (February 2, 1889), p.147; Frederick Dolman, 'Cities of the Empire,' *Idler,* 15 (July 1899), p.383-391; Stewart McLeod, 'Capitals of Greater Britain: Ottawa,' *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 15: 62 (June 1898), p.185-195.

Figure 2.1 Photographs of London, Ontario in *The Illustrated London News*, 1910.

'London, Middlesex, Canada: Its Piccadilly, Its Oxford Street,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 6, 1910), p.218.

and the Thames 'Like a scene on our own Thames'. It also included images of London's

St Paul's, 'less elaborate and more modern than Wren's fine work,' and Piccadilly,

'Bungalows in place of great mansions and great shops'.[20] Similar representations of

colonial cities and towns can be found in periodicals throughout the period,

highlighting the familiar and equivalent buildings in cities and towns in the settler

societies.[21]

It was not just tangible objects which travellers chose to frame as examples of

'Britishness' within the cities and towns of the settler societies, but the absence of

certain features was also emphasised to reinforce the sense of familiarity – and

perhaps the idea that these were parts of a 'Better Britain.' Lady Hardy described

Toronto as a city that was not just English in look, but also in feel, which she

apportioned to the lack of Americanisms. People in Toronto 'were more English than

we are ourselves […] you may hear Americanisms in London, but never in Canada'.[22]

Similarly, in Auckland, Loughnan 'felt' the British atmosphere when he arrived via the

United States in 1908. The noise of the crowded bus in Auckland was in stark contrast

to the 'ringing, swinging electric tramways of America'.[23] For a time after arrival, he

stated, one could notice nothing else but the British character of the population. For

some travellers, the settlements were familiar despite the native flora and fauna, and

in describing the social aspect of settler society they drew upon elements more deep-

seated than the aesthetic to make comparisons with Britain.

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[20] 'London, Middlesex, Canada: Its Piccadilly, Its Oxford Street,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 6, 1910), p.218.

[21] W.A.G Brunton, 'What Shall I Be?: IV Jackeroo Life,' *The Boys Own Paper* (June 4, 1898), p.574; 'A Letter from South Africa,' *The Friendly Companion: A Magazine for Youth and the Home Circle* (April 1, 1900), p.101; Godfrey Bosvile, 'New Zealand: Town and Country,' *Ludgate*, 7 (April 1899), p.562;

[22] Hardy, *Through Cities and Prairie Lands*, p.55.

[23] *Ibid.*, p.38.

Comparing the towns and cities in the settler societies with those in Britain allowed travellers to demonstrate that these societies had moved away from the image of the colonial settlement - typically wooden, unplanned and irregular - to resemble a modern city built from stone, with a planned layout and established civic institutions. The framed representations highlighted particular buildings. An article on the British Association of Toronto in *The Illustrated London News* (1897) included illustrations of parliament, the law courts, the University and King Street, key civic institutions, 'testament to handsome architecture'.[24] It was a representation in which, from travellers in particular, there was a clear idea of what features settlements required in order to show progress. Even though a version of rural, pre-industrial Britain was still held up as an ideal, the cities and towns could not resemble British towns of the previous centuries and still satisfy the longing for a 'Better Britain'. They had to be progressive and modern. Settlements needed to have a future, and were discussed and described and represented in relation to their potential to create opportunity for those who lived there at present and in the future.

'It Must Someday be a Great City'

In his 1907 account of his travels to Australia and New Zealand, Frank T Bullen described Palmerston, New Zealand as filling him with 'the idea that it must someday be a great city.' It had a railway and surroundings that would allow for a thriving farming life. There was a hotel being built that would be worthy of a town ten times the size. But most of all, it was the spaciousness that was 'delightful'.[25] In particular,

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[24] 'The British Association at Toronto,' *The Illustrated London News* (14 August, 1897), p.221.
[25] Frank. T. Bullen, *Advance Australasia a Day-to-Day Record of a Recent Visit to Australasia*, 2nd edition (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907), p.243.

travellers discussed the cities and towns of the settler colonies in terms of their progression to what they perceived as modernity.

Surroundings which included good soil and land that could be utilised for agriculture were considered markers of the future of the settlement. In 1910, Frank Yeigh discussed the situation and surroundings of Calgary and was confident of the city's future. The lack of a commercial rival for hundreds of miles, the vast agricultural and ranching area surrounding the city and its relation to the Rockies assured its future.[26] Dickie highlighted the importance of the position of Queenstown, South Africa. Its situation 'in the midst of a fertile country' had created a 'progressive and prosperous town'.[27] Similarly, in *Australian Pictures* Willoughby was keen to point to the positive surroundings of the town of Warwick, in south west Queensland. The town was surrounded by 'rich soil and thriving farmers, and enjoying, from its elevation, a pleasantly cool climate'.[28]

In the same vein, travellers were also quick to point out poor prospects. In his 1892 account on New Zealand, W.E. Swanton criticised the selection of the site of Wellington because of the inability to expand the city in the future. It was 'cramped by the encircling hills, and little space is left for its extension'.[29] Similarly Anthony Trollope criticised Gladstone, North Queensland for its lack of back country and its close proximity to mountains, allowing for no opportunity to expand and lack of means to persuade people that it could meet their hopes in life.[30]

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[26] Frank Yeigh, *Through the Heart of Canada* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1910), p.216.
[27] Dickie, *South Africa*, p.71.
[28] Howard Willoughby, *Australian Pictures: Drawn from Pen and Pencil* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886), p.122.
[29] W.E. Swanton, *Notes on New Zealand* (London: Eden, Remington & Co. 1892), p.7.
[30] Anthony Trollope, *New South Wales and Queensland* (London: Smith, Elder, 1873), p.85.

The inclusion of these criticisms can be seen primarily as part of the ambition for the settler societies to progress. It was through the description of settlement's position in particular by which the travellers could also show the resourcefulness of the British overseas. They were always keen to highlight the ingenuity of the settlers and how they overcame some of their difficulties. In his writings on Albany, Western Australia, Willoughby emphasized the importance of the settlers in advancing the settlements and described it as flourishing despite its position. While there was nothing behind the settlement due to the dismal country surrounding the town, the colonists hoped to construct a railway to overcome this barrier and 'utilise the harbour and to elevate it to the position it should occupy'.[31] Harry Brittain stated that in Winnipeg, 'Canada's great half-way house', 'the very most has been made out of a situation which does not owe too much to the lavish hand of Nature'.[32] Brittain stated that despite the situation of the city on a flat open plain between two sluggish unattractive rivers and a scarcity of trees, it cannot fail to impress the visitor. Alongside the bright, clear atmosphere and the large municipal buildings, there was an air of 'go' and cosmopolitanism which was unequalled in Canada.[33] The travellers highlighted not only progress to modern cities, but also how the settlers overcame the landscape and brought civilisation to it. In many cases representations portrayed settlements that had undergone rapid growth.[34]

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[31] Willoughby, *Australian Pictures,* p.138.
[32] Brittain, *Canada,* p.134.
[33] *Ibid*.
[34] Stephenson, T B. 'Notes on Australasia,' *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (April 1883), pp.269-273; 'Victoria,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 7, 1886), p.153; 'Early Annals of the Australian Colonies,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 6, 1888), p.401; 'Sketches in Australia: Ballarat,' *The Illustrated London News* (February 2, 1889), p.147; 'Canadian Supplement,' *The Illustrated London News* (March 4, 1911), p.290.

As early as 1855, in an article on Toronto, *The Lady's Newspaper* stated that

little more than a century before, 'The voyager would have looked in vain for this

beautiful city'.[35] In a similar type of description over half a century later, P. St Michael

Podmore highlighted the speed of the transformation of Fremantle in Western

Australia. The author was surprised to discover on returning to Fremantle after a four-

year ramble through Australasia a 'dirty, dreary town transformed into a neat,

prosperous port'.[36] Similarly, he described Beverley, west of Perth as making

wonderful progress. Out of what was bush land three years previously, a 'flourishing

settlement' had emerged with a school, churches, a good hotel and stores.[37] This was

also the case with the larger cities. Howard Willoughby was keen to highlight the

rapidity with which Melbourne had grown; a village which had become a metropolis in

less than fifty years.[38]

Panoramas often depicted this growth of the city or town. This was a key

aspect of displays, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century when new

settlements were emerging; however there are examples during the later period. The

Australian scenes in the diorama 'Second great tour round the world' depicted three

scenes of the outback and also one contrasting image of the 'whole extent' of

Melbourne.[39] When Annie Robina Butler visited New Zealand in the 1880s she visited a

panorama in Dunedin, on the South Island. In her account *Glimpses of Maori Land*, she

said the advance in civilisation made in New Zealand was 'brought home to us' by the

panorama. The first panorama depicted Dunedin as 'the village' in 1841 [sic], 'with

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[35] 'Western, or Upper Canada: Toronto and Kingston,' *The Lady's Newspaper* (October 13, 1855), p.236.
[36] P. St Michael-Podmore, *Rambles and Adventures in Australasia, Canada, India, etc.* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 1909), p.2.
[37] *Ibid.,* p.7.
[38] Willoughby, *Australian Pictures,* p.43.
[39] BL: JJC Bridgnorth Collection III.C. (499), 'Second Great Tour Round the World,' no date.

moon and lamps, and lights in the windows of its 240 inhabitants'. Visitors were then moved onto a contemporary panorama of the town, 'the Chicago of Australasia' and its enormous places of business. 'One may take courage' and think of the progress that could take place in another forty years.[40] The modern city, however, had a particular look and its resemblance to aspects of the towns at 'home' was important. Evidence of provincialism was at odds with the travellers' desire for progress and modernity.

In 1910, Marion Cran described the provincial towns of Canada as 'utterly unlike anything English'; they spring up like mushrooms out of the ground. But what separated them from the 'English look' most for Cran was that they were built of wood.[41] Even though they had good surroundings and the ability to expand, until a town showed evidence of a majority of stone buildings built in recognisable styles of British or European architectural styles and a number of civic institutions they were still colonial and provincial in the eyes of British travellers and settlers. The settlements of 'Greater' or 'Better Britain' had to be made of stone and travellers considered towns that were built otherwise as far from complete.

Stone and Institutions

For travellers during the late nineteenth century many of the cities in the settler colonies were full of inconsistencies. In 1887 Katherine Bates described Ottawa as a mixture of advanced civilisation and provincial incompleteness. The rough unfinished roads were contrasted against the 'brilliant electric light' of the streetlights and the large handsome brick buildings were next to 'wooden hovels'. Bates' travelling

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[40] Annie Robina Butler, *Glimpses of Maori Land* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886), pp.58; 59.
[41] Mrs George (Marion) Cran, *A Woman in Canada* (London: John Milne, 1910), 154-155.

party walked upon roads covered in rocks, mud and pools of water up to the 'beautiful

Government buildings of pink and cream sandstone'.[42]

In her description of Christchurch, New Zealand in 1887, the emigrant who

published under the name Maggie pointed out that the majority of houses and shops

built in early settlement were being replaced with brick houses in a more English

style.[43] Similarly it was the *stone*-built churches and houses in Portland Bay, Glenelg,

South Australia that gave it an English look. The whole area including the town, white

cliffs and bold headlands was described as resembling the Sussex coast. Willoughby

stated that due to the English pioneer the town was 'not Australian in any of its outer

characteristics'.[44] His use of the term 'Australian' was linked to provincialism,

something wooden and temporary. The travellers wanted to see progress away from

this and towards a 'modern' settlement.

Stone was seen as a key indicator of such progress and a sign that the

settlement had a future. In 1908, Harry Brittain described Winnipeg's Main Street as

one of the widest business thoroughfares in existence. It was, most importantly for the

author, splendidly paved and contained many important buildings. At one end stood

the Hudson Bay Stores and the colossal Departmental Store that could supply the

needs of many cities the size of Winnipeg. The Union Bank was a particularly

impressive structure, a large square sky-scraper. However, many of the buildings did

not impress Brittain. Tumble down shanties were dotted amongst imposing brick

structures, and Brittain highlighted one example where a bank with classical white

pillars on a background of pale green sat in-between two 'forlorn little wooden

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[42] Katherine E. Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic* (London: Ward & Downey, 1887), p.18.
[43] Hopeful (Maggie), *Taken In: Being a Sketch of New Zealand Life* (London : W.H. Allen, 1887), p.80.
[44] Willoughby, *Australian Pictures,* p.67.

stores'.[45] In the same vein, Bullen thought that Wellington's title the 'Empire City' was a misnomer. He thought it a beautiful city, orderly and prosperous, but it was inappropriate to call a 'collection of shacks a city'.[46]

Figure 2.2 Illustrations of Port Elizabeth in *The Illustrated London News,* 1881.
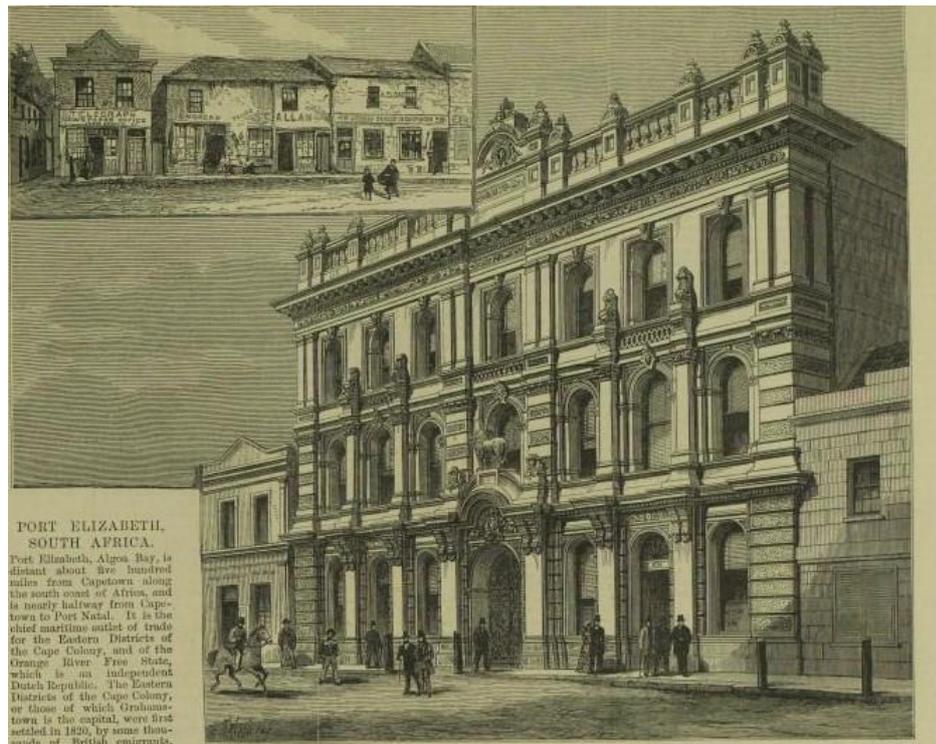
'Port Elizabeth, South Africa,' *The Illustrated London News* (July 9 1881), p.33.

Travellers emphasised parts of the settlements that had moved on from the colonial provinciality of early settlement. In 1897, Lady Howard felt the need to describe Toronto as a city exceedingly well built of very handsome material.[47] Willoughby was also impressed with the buildings of Adelaide for the same reason. He

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[45] Brittain, *Canada*, p.137.
[46] Bullen, *Advance Australasia,* p.255.
[47] Lady Winifred Howard of Glossop, *Journal of a Tour in the United States, Canada and Mexico* (London: Sampson Low, Maeston & Company, Limited), p.16.

described them as 'showing very well', the majority in white freestone.[48] It was

important that there was evidence that the buildings were going to last. Willoughby

even described the citizens as 'building for posterity' and not 'running up miserable

flimsy structures'.[49]

In periodicals, this need for progress was also evident. Descriptions of

settlements included lists of institutions that featured in the city or town.[50] An article

on Australian progress in *The Illustrated London News* in December 1888 was a good

example of this. It highlighted the public buildings of Melbourne, which 'mostly

constructed of an imperishable blue stone, excel those of any other city of the same

size in any other part of the world'.[51] Similarly, periodicals published images of key

public buildings. [52]Statistics were often used extensively to illustrate growth,

particularly in terms of the cost of buildings or population growth rate.[53]

One method used to demonstrate the progress of a city in periodicals was to

include one picture of the wooden settlement alongside new imposing institutions.

The Illustrated London News included a short piece on Port Elizabeth, South Africa,

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[48] Willoughby, *Australian Pictures,* p.104.

[49] *Ibid*., p.50.

[50] Isabella Bird, 'Australia Felix: Impressions of Victoria,' *Leisure Hour* (January 20, 1877), p.39-45; Our Special Correspondent, 'First Impressions of Melbourne,' *The Times* (March 27, 1880), p.11; 'A Trip to New Zealand and Back,' *Leisure Hour* (June 26, 1880), p.412-416; 'The Sudden Growth of Great Towns,' *All Year Round*, 27 (652) (May 1881), pp.196-201; Mrs Brewer, 'Our Australian Colonies and New Zealand,' *The Girl's Own Paper* (July 28, 1883), p.676;; J.C. McCoon, 'Seven Weeks in Australia,' *Westminster Review*, 129: 1 (January 1888), p.52-77; R.W. Dale, 'Impressions of Australia,' *Contemporary Review*, 54 (November 1888), p.623-641; 'Sketches in New South Wales,' *The Illustrated London News* (February 16, 1889), p.214; 'Early Annals of Australian Colonies,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 6, 1888), p.401; 'The British Association at Toronto,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1897), pp.221; 'A Letter from Our Correspondent in Toronto,' *The Times* (October 6, 1900), p.11.

[51] 'Australian Progress: Melbourne,' *The Illustrated London News* (December 29, 1888), p.783.

[52] 'Public Buildings in Adelaide, South Australia,' *The Graphic* (March 17, 1877), p.249.

[53] Castletown, 'The Canadian Pacific Railway,' *The Times* (October 4, 1883), p.4; 'The Growth Of The City Of Melbourne,' *Glasgow Herald* (January 18, 1889); Stewart McLeod, 'Capitals of Greater Britain: Ottawa,' *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 15: 62 (June 1898), p.185-195; Frederick Dolman, 'Cities of the Empire,' *Idler*, 15 (July 1899), p.383-391;; 'The New Australian Commonwealth,' *The Standard* (December 25, 1900); Dr A Shadwell, 'Industrial Canada,' *The Times* (April 4, 1908), p.6.

which showed two street views to demonstrate the progress of the town (Figure 2.2). The old style houses are shown to have been replaced with fine warehouses in architecture and the second image also included many more people.[54] This was an example of selective representation, framed to promote a specific ideal. The stone building could have been surrounded by wooden buildings, but the images were designed to portray a complete city. This framed representation of the settlements was also presented to the public through exhibitions.

The displays in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 used settlements and infrastructure to denote the progress of the colony. In the Canadian exhibit at the Glasgow exhibition in 1888, photographs and pictures of the nine principal cities were featured highlighting the achievements of the Dominion.[55] Exhibitions often gave the British public the opportunity to see the settlements on a grand scale. The Festival of Empire held in 1911, as part of the coronation of George V, included the 'All Red Route' which exhibited 'the features of a gigantic Empire'.[56] The majority of these features were key buildings. Patrons travelled around the exhibit in a car moving through three quarter sized examples of parliamentary buildings of each colony including the parliament buildings of St John's, Ottawa, Cape Town and Melbourne (Figure 2.3).[57]

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[54] 'Port Elizabeth, South Africa,' *The Illustrated London News* (July 9, 1881), p.33.
[55] Dr Robert Walker, *Pen and Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*, (London: JS Virture and Co., 1888), p.67
[56] 'The Festival of Empire,' *Review of Reviews*, 43: 257 (May, 1911) p.460.
[57] *Ibid.*, p.461; 'A "World" in a Suburb: The All-Red Empire in Miniature,' *The Illustrated London News* (November 12, 1910), p. 744

Figure 2.3 Photographs of the 'All Red Route' at the Festival of Empire, 1911 in *The Illustrated London News,* 1911.
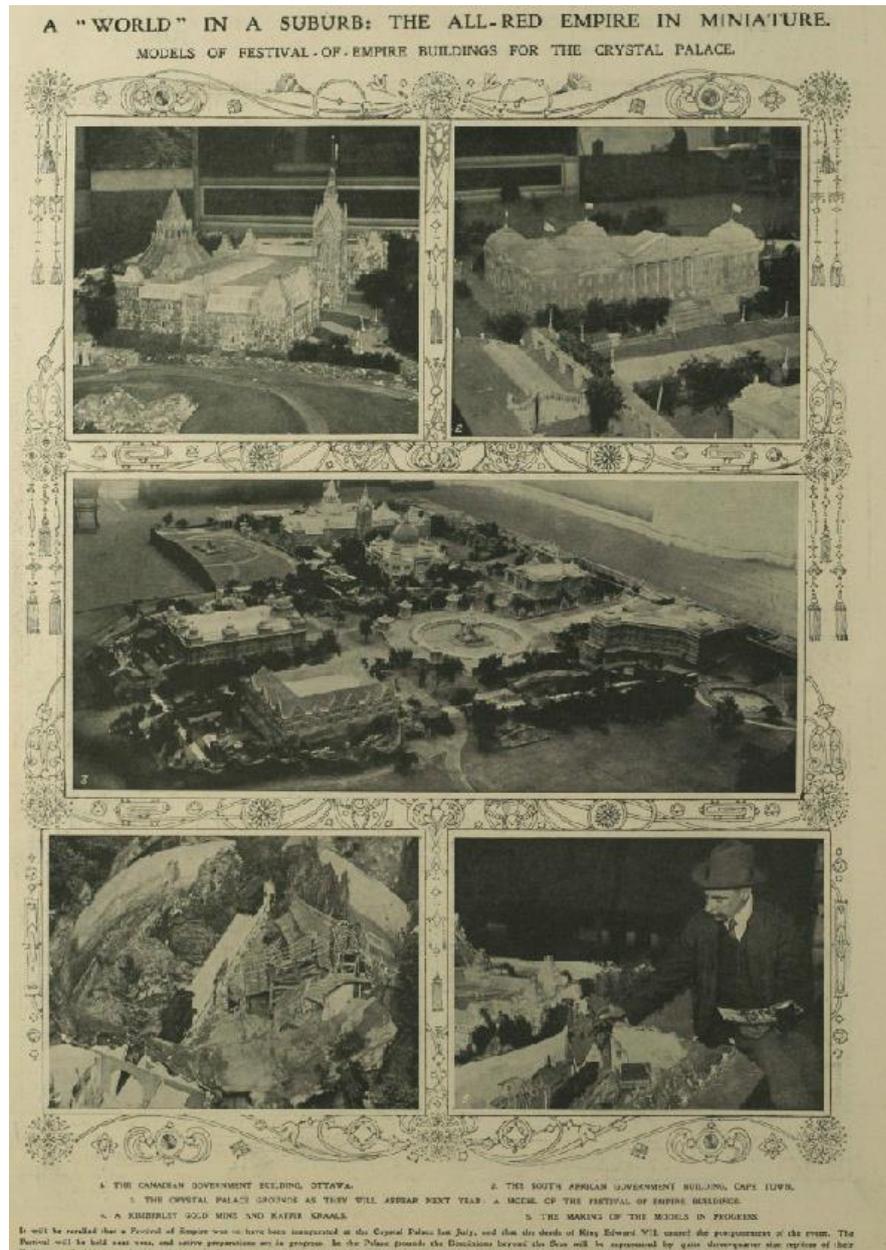
A "WORLD" IN A SUBURB: THE ALL-RED EMPIRE IN MINIATURE.
MODELS OF FESTIVAL-OF-EMPIRE BUILDINGS FOR THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

'A "World" in a Suburb: The All-Red Empire in Miniature,' *The Illustrated London News* (November 12, 1910), p. 744

As in the periodicals and exhibitions, travellers seized upon any evidence of the advancement towards the completion of institutions and stone buildings, constructed in familiar architectural styles, as positive evidence of progress to British modernity in the settlements. The majority of British travellers saw the cities as in transition in

terms of completion. In his diary from his voyage to Australia and New Zealand in

1893, James T. Gouldie's descriptions of Melbourne typified those of travellers' to the

cities of the settler societies. The author's first impression of Melbourne was that it

was one of the finest cities he had seen, but it was one of fine buildings and

institutions alongside unfinished thoroughfares and, on closer inspection, it was not

complete. Gouldie described the way that the varying heights of the buildings resulted

in large spaces of rough wall becoming exposed, giving an 'unfinished' appearance

throughout most of the principal thoroughfares. This was alongside his descriptions of

the important institutions in the city. He was also keen to highlight the 'many splendid

specimens of architecture among the public and private buildings some equal to any of

their class in Europe'.[58] The bank buildings on Collins Street were considered very fine

buildings and superior to those of Lombard Street in London. Other public buildings,

such as the Houses of Parliament, the Free Public Library, the Art Gallery, Post Office

and City Hall were all handsome structures.[59]

Peter Barlow's descriptions of Auckland in 1888 portrayed a city far from

complete. He stated that Auckland had an unsubstantial appearance. However, a great

many improvements had been made since he first landed there in 1883. These all

involved the construction of stone and civic institutions. It was very important that 'a

great many brick buildings' had been built. The town now had a railway terminus, and

Barlow described the Post-Office, the New Zealand Insurance Company Building and

the Bank of New Zealand as all substantial-looking buildings of brick and stone.[60] The

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[58] James T. Goudie, *Notes and Gleanings: being Leaves from the Diary of Voyage to and from Australia and New Zealand in 1893* (Edinburgh: R and R Clark, 1894), p.41.
[59] *Ibid*.
[60] Peter Barlow, *Kaipara: Or Experience of a Settler in North Zealand* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1888)*,* p.21.

Auckland Freezing Company had erected an extensive 'building of brick' and the art gallery and library were contained in a 'handsome building'. *The Star* newspaper was now housed in large new offices and the shopping arcade rivalled London in style and finish.[61]

In her account, Lady Hardy was very impressed with the parliament buildings in Ottawa. She described their appearance in great detail, from their position on the loftiest point of the city surrounded by beautifully laid out gardens, to the stone they were constructed with. Stone and European architecture were key, and the buildings, in the Italian gothic style, were composed of cream-coloured Potsdam stone with ornamental sections in Ohio and Arupois marble. There were numerous buttresses, pinnacles and towers which were silhouetted against the bright blue sky. Hardy described the buildings as objects of imposing and majestic beauty seen for miles around.[62] For Hardy, the city had to include these types of structures before it was complete, and the author described the rest of the city as 'in a perfectly unfinished state'. It was only a 'thing of promise' but had the 'making of a very fine town in the future'. She stated the city would have to keep growing and work hard for at least another century 'before it reaches the level of its magnificent Parliament buildings'.[63]

The city was the measure of progress for both the travellers and those at home. In February 1911, *The Illustrated London News* featured a full page article on the cities of Canada called 'Signs of the Dominion's Growth: Great Cities of Canada' (Figure 2.4).[64] It featured images of institutions and industry including wharves, parks

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[61] *Ibid.,* p.22.
[62] Hardy, *Through Cities and Prairie Lands,* pp.39-40.
[63] *Ibid.,* p.42.
[64] 'Signs of the Dominion's Growth: Great Cities of Canada' Great Dominion: Canada Supplement, *The Illustrated London News* (February 18 1911), p.x.

and streets lined with shops and businesses. Similarly, the Canada supplement in *The Illustrated London News* in March 1912 included a page dedicated to Brandon, Manitoba, with images of industry, farming, and also views of the city including wide tree-lined streets and pavements as well as churches. The description of the city in the title was 'Well Awake!'[65]

For travellers it was most important to see permanent institutions built in the settlements. Institutions were seen as evidence of progress due to what they represented, whether this was churches, government buildings, schools, universities or newspapers. It was interesting to note which institutions were important to the British, as essential parts of the city. In his description of Albany (Western Australia) as a 'town growing rapidly,' James Ewing Ritchie highlighted the institutions that were already established in the town. Not only were there churches for three denominations - Church of England, Wesleyan and Presbyterian - but the town also boasted a newspaper.[66] William Delisle Hay was particularly impressed with Auckland's institutions, which were 'highly creditable to so young a community.' Travellers regularly compared the institutions in this city with those in Britain and Europe. Hay noted that Auckland was also well served with ecclesiastical and educational establishments and carefully listed all religious institutions in the city: two bishops, Roman and Anglican, as well as a Presbytery and governing bodies for other

[65] 'Well Awake!—In Brandon, Manitoba's Second City,' *The Illustrated London News* Great Dominion: Canada (Supplement) (March 09, 1912), p.vii.
[66] Ritchie, *An Australian Ramble,* p.65.

Figure 2.4 Photographs of Canadian cities in *The Illustrated London News*, 1911.

'Signs of the Dominion's Growth: Great Cities of Canada' Great Dominion: Canada Supplement, *The Illustrated London News* (February 18 1911), p.x.

denominations. In terms of education, Hay catalogues the college, grammar school and University as well as a training school and ship at a coastal suburb, common and private schools of all denominations and sects, and a convent school and establishment for young clergymen. There were also organisations for dependents: asylums, orphanages and refuges.[67]

Even though it was important to highlight the establishment of institutions and associated activity as evidence of progression towards a familiar modern city, the travellers' representation of associational life reflected the idea that opportunity in a 'Better Britain' not only lay in the land but in the society as a whole. In describing the associational life centred on various institutions in settler society, travellers highlighted its energetic and unrestricted nature, portraying it as bustling.[68] In Hunter, Pitt and George Streets in Sydney, 'the stream of life [...] is already flowing strong and full'.[69] Hay described the 'throngs' of people that poured into the theatre, Choral Hall, the Mechanics Institute and Odd Fellows Hall as well as other places of amusement or instruction. Hay stated that with this aspect of society, 'it is almost possible sometimes to imagine oneself back in the old country, in the streets of some English town'.[70]

Hay went on to describe the key difference between Auckland and England as the 'lack of conventiality [sic]'. The gentlemen mingled with the 'roughest of the rough'.[71] Travellers described the mingling of classes at dinners and other occasions.

[67] Hay, *Brighter Britain!* p.48.

[68] W. Lawrence Liston, 'In Southern Lands,' *The Girl's Own Paper* (June 6, 1891), p.572; 'Social Life in Australia,' *The Graphic* (September 3, 1887), p.266; 'Life in New Zealand,' *The Newcastle Courant*. (November 24, 1882); 'Lecture on Life in New Zealand,' *The Preston Guardian* (December 23, 1882); 'Life in New Zealand,' *Daily News* (London), p.3; 'Life in Cape Colony,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (December 13, 1881), p.2.

[69] 'Sydney in September,' *Temple Bar, with which is Incorporated Bentley's Miscellany*, 90: 358 (September, 1890), p.111.

[70] Hay, *Brighter Britain!*, pp.32-33.

[71] *Ibid.*, p.33.

William Archer complained that a ball had not been very select in the invitation: 'it was rumoured that even butchers and bakers might be expected to be present'.[72] Even though it was important to highlight institutions as evidence of a progression towards a familiar modern city, the representation of associational life expressed the idea that opportunity in a 'Greater Britain' not only lay in the land but in the society as a whole. An article in *John Bull* in 1891 described the club life in Australian cities and the co-operative spirit that existed within them.[73] The settler societies provided an opportunity to undertake a different way of life, 'a delightfully easy going fashion of doing things' as one periodical described the inhabitants of Sydney.[74] Another journalist described the inhabitants of the main Australian cities as differing from English towns of the same size because they were 'more cosmopolitan and more "go ahead"'.[75] He continued, 'The fabric of Australian social life is composed of variegated types lending colour and diversity which are frequently wanting in the more conventional atmosphere of English society'.[76]

'Better Britains' did not just refer to 'Greater Britain' as a whole; it could also refer to town settlements. After all, 'Greater Britain' as an idea was a positive view of the settler societies. The travellers' portrayal of the familiarity, progress and ability to grow within the settlements of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa was a select view, but highlighted the idea that a 'Greater Britain' was a landscape where the British could advance. This was not just carried out in the rural wide open spaces of the prairie and outback, but in modern cities and towns where the social life

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[72] William Archer, *Tourist to the Antipodes: William Archer's Australian journey, 1876-77* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1977), p.20.
[73] *John Bull* (March 21, 1891), p.189.
[74] 'Sydney in September,' p.111.
[75] W.C. Mackenzie, 'Some Phases of Australian City Life,' *Good Words*, 40 (December, 1899), p.780.
[76] *Ibid.*

represented through institutions reflected a society where social mobility was the norm. Despite the need to highlight familiarity and similarity, the settlements of a 'Greater Britain' were not just British settlements, they were ideal British settlements. Within the modern cities a freer, religious, industrious and moral population with a lack of visual poverty was also represented. These settlements were represented as free of the features that were seen to have tainted the British industrial cities. 'Greater Britain' was a clean slate for the British.

'No Slums, No Workhouses and No Poverty'[77]

In a lecture given in Blackburn in 1889 on the growth of Toronto, C.C. Taylor was struck in particular by the absence of drunkenness in the streets. It was also the first aspect of the lecture reported in the article on the lecture.[78] Those who travelled to the colonies described towns and cities as models of health and sobriety. A good example was James Ewing Ritchies' description of a Sunday morning in Melbourne in 1890. The public houses were closed, the tramcars were not running and the hustle and bustle of the weekday was nowhere to be seen. Instead the city was full of well-dressed, sedate and orderly church-goers. Ritchie described this scene as something that might be seen anywhere in England on the Sabbath.[79] W.H. Koebel described an unnamed New Zealand township as 'pleasantly free from the fever of rank and bustle.' Instead there was a healthy sense of occupation in the inhabitants' comings and goings, with no evidence of the 'passive ease of the loafer'.[80] While travelling around Canada, investigating the 'new nation' for the emigrant, Harry Richmond Whates

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[77] Brittain, *Canada,* p.29.
[78] 'Toronto Called Back: The Growth of the City and the Dominion,' *The Blackburn Standard and Weekly Express* (August 17, 1889).
[79] Ritchie, *An Australian Ramble,* pp.68-69.
[80] W. H.Koebel, *In the Maoriland Bush* (London: S. Paul, 1911), p.35.

highlighted his similar perception. He stated, 'You see no drunkenness in the streets; no public- houses crowded with men — and women — swilling away their week's wages'.[81] Unlike home, there were no groups of men waiting for bars to open.[82]

The population was seen as British but a far healthier version, both morally in terms of religion and a lack of vices and also in appearance. When John Murray Moore arrived in New Zealand he described the 'cheerful, well-fed, well-clothed appearance of working men, women and children' as completely 'un-English'.[83] This again highlighted the perception of a particular type of town and sense of 'Englishness' within the travellers' description and comparison. Whates argued that nowhere in England, especially in the manufacturing centres, did the working people look as prosperous as in Canada. Whates described them as well-fed, well-clad and content with life. The author searched them for the signs of alcoholism and physical degeneracy that are 'so marked in the industrial populations of the Old World,' but found little to comment on.[84]

The prosperity and industry of the settlers was reflected in the settlements themselves. While travelling through Western Australia, Frank T. Bullen passed through many thriving townships. He saw no 'tumble-down hovels' with neglected fences and overgrown forecourts. None of the houses were unpainted and none had a sense that the occupants 'didn't care' about appearance. These settlements were being portrayed as idealised British cities. The townships were 'glaringly new to all

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[81] Harry Richmond Whates, *Canada, the New Nation: A Book for the Settler, the Emigrant and the Politician* (London: J.M. Dent, 1906), p.52.
[82] *Ibid.,* p.50.
[83] John Murray Moore, *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Seale and Rivington, 1890), p.6.
[84] Whates, *Canada, the New Nation,* p.52.

appearance,' but most importantly for Bullen they were 'free from squalor'.[85] Similarly

Dickie described Durban in 1900 as making rapid strides from the scattered village it

was thirty years ago. This, he argued, was principally 'due to the perseverance of

industry of the settlers'.[86]

Harry Brittain described Canada in 1908 as a 'land of no slums, no unemployed,

no workhouses' and, as we have seen, travellers were quick to highlight the lack of

obvious poverty.[87] However, they often deliberately sought it out in ports and

industrial centres. While touring the major cities of Canada Mary J. Sansom did not

find the squalid and abject poverty that was seen in Britain. Making the point to visit

the poorer parts of the cities, Sansom did not see one 'wretchedly fed or raggedly

clothed person or child'.[88] In his tour of Canada, Whates described St. John as having

no poor people despite being a port of entry for immigrants.[89] This was not just unique

to Canada and was an aspect that set 'Greater Britain' apart from Britain itself.

The settlements of 'Greater Britain' were represented as untainted by the

extremes of poverty that, in the traveller's words, spoiled the cities and towns of

Britain. When George Lacon James looked at Sydney, a city that he thought so

thoroughly English, he asked himself 'what is it that we miss? - The slums'.[90] This was

also noted by Bullen about Adelaide, a city similarly thriving and without poverty. It

was a town that lacked the squalor or appearance of poverty that 'painfully disfigures

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[85] Bullen, *Advance Australasia*, p.15.
[86] Dickie, *South Africa,* p.31.
[87] Brittain, *Canada,* p.29.
[88] Mary J. Sansom, *A Holiday Trip to Canada* (London: The St Catherine Press, 1900), p.85.
[89] Whates, *Canada, the New Nation,* p.24.
[90] George Lacon James, *Shall I Try Australia? Or, Health, Business, and Pleasure in New South Wales. Forming a Guide to the Australian Colonies for the Emigrant Settler and Business Man* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 1892), p.11.

the fairest and most romantic of our villages at home'.[91] Whates argued that in London 'wretched looking men' can be met by the score, however, in Canada this was not the case. The poverty in St. John was not 'as we understand it in England,' there were not the extremes of poverty or riches in the city.[92] Just like the image created in adverts, periodicals, ephemera and early travel accounts, 'Greater Britain' was described as healthy, fresh and new.

On the whole, statistics that compared the health of those in the settlements and in Britain reflected these idealistic perceptions. A comparison of the death rates in London and Sydney in 1890, for example, shows a higher rate at 'home' - 21.1 deaths per 1000 in London compared to 14.218 in Sydney.[93] New Zealand cities had very low death rates when compared with Britain in the late 1890s. In 1898, Auckland had figures of 13.13 per 1000, Wellington 11.94 and Christchurch 10.63. And these were even lower if deaths of children under 1 were excluded.[94] In Canadian cities the incidence of infant mortality was also much lower than in London; Montreal had figures of 27.9 per 1000 live births, and Toronto 21.5, compared with London's 151.1.

While there was plenty of data to support the popular images of the settlements as filled with the rural vigour and the moral and physical 'health' of pre-industrial Britain, a study of the statistics reveals that a level of artifice had a part in contriving this image. Sydney had a higher rate of deaths of children under one compared with London - 166.11 deaths per 1000 compared to 151.10 in the British capital. Other areas of 'Greater Britain' also had a much higher rate. But while there were representations of the poor and unemployed of the settler societies in Britain,

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[91] Bullen, *Advance Australasia*, p.38.
[92] Whates, *Canada, the New Nation,* p.24.
[93] *New Zealand Official Yearbook* (Department of Statistics, 1899), p.826.
[94] Auckland 9.97, Wellington 8.52 and Christchurch 8.10 per 1000. *Ibid.*, p.112.

they were few and far between and even when they did appear it showed this section

of society in a positive light. In one incidence an artist for *The Illustrated London News*

who travelled to Melbourne for the opening of the Melbourne Exhibition in 1889,

included an illustration of a queue for a 'free dinner for the poor'.[95] Indeed, the

travellers, and to an extent journalists, found what they wanted to see, particularly the

notion of a 'blank slate' for British society.

According to Robert Fuller, Cape Town was 'free from the smoke and grime

which nearly always accompany manufacturing industries'. The city was as healthy as

it was beautiful.[96] Similarly, Dickie's descriptions of the main towns and cities of South

Africa were a far cry from the images of industrial London, Birmingham or Manchester.

Durban was a picturesque town surrounded with exquisite scenery. The cloudless sky

and the 'glorious South African sun' made it a picture never to be forgotten.[97] Instead

of smoke-filled air, Bloemfontein, a long time health resort, had clear, bracing and

balmy air.[98] Even Dickie's descriptions of the products of Cape Town created the image

of a healthy city where flowers, grown in abundance, 'scent the air for miles around,'

and grapes, peaches, apricots, plums, pears, melons, oranges and lemons were grown

and all sold very cheaply.[99]

Annie Robina Butler described the air of Napier, New Zealand as 'life-giving'.

She stated she had never breathed anything like it and the city should be used as a

sanatorium for places far and wide.[100] Cities across 'Greater Britain' were described

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[95] 'Sketches in Melbourne, the Capital of Victoria, Australia,' *The Illustrated London News* (December 29, 1888), p.784.
[96] Robert H. Fuller, *South Africa at Home* (London: George Newnes, Limited, 1908), p.57.
[97] Dickie, *South Africa*, pp.50; 31.
[98] *Ibid*., p.65.
[99] *Ibid.*, p.18.
[100] Annie Robina Butler, *Glimpses of Maori Land* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886), p.146.

this way. Howard Willoughby stated that Adelaide could never be anything else but a healthy city.[101] William Delisle Hay described Auckland as 'so white and clean'. Stretching from the shore the city was a picture of streets and terraces, steeples and villa-roofs right across the valleys.[102] The author even went as far as to highlight the 'aquiline noses' of the settlers, recalling the explanation of a resident: 'after inhaling this magnificent air of ours for a year or two, your nose will grow bigger to receive it'.[103]

It was not just the lack of squalor but the general 'healthy' appearance of the cities of the settler societies that highlighted these points in the eyes of the British. Bullen described Adelaide as a city that basked in golden sunshine, surrounded with luxuriant vegetation and totally picturesque. Not only were the towns perceived as lacking poverty and squalor, they were portrayed as picturesque and healthy. When a town looked good in terms of scenery, sunshine and luxuriant vegetation it was represented as healthy. This was a contrast to the descriptions of the industrial cities of 'home,' and in fact travellers painted a picture of settlements that were the antithesis of British cities. They were not dark, smoky, unhealthy places - far from it. 'Greater Britain' was an idea contrived from many contrasting elements and the settlements and their societies fitted perfectly into it.

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[101] Willoughby, *Australian Pictures,* p.103.
[102] Hay, *Brighter Britain!* p.18.
[103] *Ibid.*, pp.21-22.

Figure 2.5 Illustration of the Future Capital of Australia in _The Illustrated London News_, 1913.

'As It is to Be: The Future Official and Social Centre of Australia,' _The Illustrated London News_ (January 25, 1913), pp.108-9.

The cities of 'Greater Britain' were represented as new, unmarked neo-British cities. They could demonstrate all the progress and advances of the nineteenth century without the negatives that were connected to the industrial revolution.[104] Free of squalor, grime and poverty, the images of the settlements depicted spaciousness and light, a vast contrast to the cramped narrow streets of industrial London or Manchester. These ideas linked closely to the garden city movement that formed in Britain during this period. Standish Meacham has argued that the movement was a 'vision of the future from a mythic past, constructing a green and

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[104] David Cannadine, 'The Present and the Past in the English Industrial Revolution 1880-1980,' _Past & Present_, 103 (May 1984), pp.131-172.

pleasant heaven to replace an ugly and unhealthy urban hell'.[105] The same ideals are

central to 'Greater Britain': an idealisation based on ideas of Britain's past, present and

future.

An example of this came at the end of this period with the presentation of

Canberra. In 1913, *The Illustrated London News* featured a section on Australia's new

capital city entitled, 'As it is to be: The Future Official and Social Centre of Australia'

(Figure 2.5).[106] The site was an important part of the growth of the city. The section

included images of the land where Canberra would be built and showed the land

stretching out to the west and also the Molonglo River which would run through the

city with the caption highlighting the 'willow fringed Molonglo' (Figure 2.6). The

second picture showed what the city would look like on completion; a modern

planned city, full of trees, parks and gardens.[107] The new settlements were an

opportunity for the British to create ideal settlements for the future. The image of

Canberra in *The Illustrated London News* was idyllic, reinforcing the idea of space and

nature.

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[105] Standish Meacham, *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p.1.
[106] 'In Land Partly Unknown: The Site of Australia's New Capital,' *The Illustrated London News* (January 25, 1913), p.II.
[107] 'As It is to Be: The Future Official and Social Centre of Australia,' *The Illustrated London News* (January 25, 1913), pp.108-9.

Figure 2.6 Photographs of the Site of the Future Capital of Australia in *The Illustrated London News* 1913.
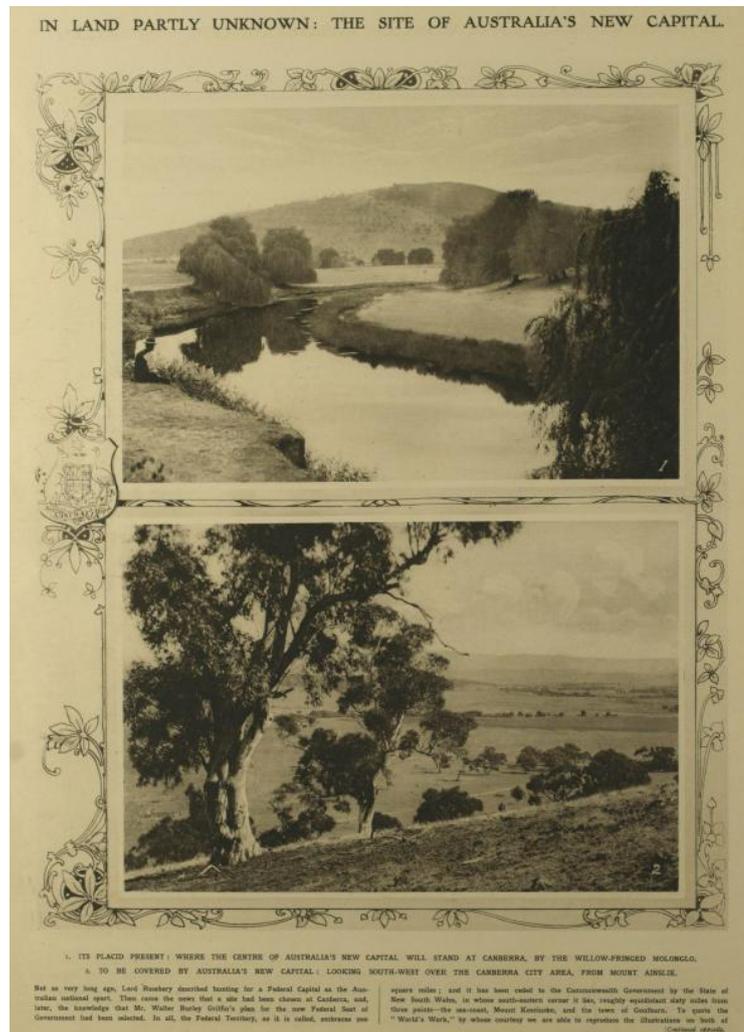
'In Land Partly Unknown: The Site of Australia's New Capital,' *The Illustrated London News* (January 25, 1913), p.II.

Opportunity was an important theme, and it was manifested through ideas of space, health and modernity. It can also be seen through the representation of the 'non-British' cities in the settler societies. However, features of Montreal and Quebec did not always align with the idealised images of 'Better Britains'. There were travellers who described the French cities in a positive light - Harry Brittain described the people in Montreal as having a healthy appearance and a general air of alertness

and the children as bright, clean and neatly dressed even in the workers' quarters.[108]

The importance of modernity, progress and familiarity that appeared in the

representation of the British settlements was made clearer when seen against the

more negative depiction of Montreal and Quebec.

Montreal and Quebec

The French settlements were not seen as forward thinking. When Marchioness

Ishbel Gordon arrived in Montreal she noted that it was strange that the emigrant's

first acquaintance with the 'New World' was an old world, remarking that the

associations with the past and the inhabitants transported her to France two or three

centuries ago.[109] Unlike the 'British' cities that were clean, healthy and new, the

French cities were dirty, unkempt and showing signs of decay.

Quebec and Montreal displayed characteristics that were totally 'other' to the

main 'British' settlements in 'Greater Britain'. For the travellers, these cities were not

modern, they were not progressive and most of all they were not British. While

travelling around Montreal, Mary J. Sansom found it hard to believe that she was in

Canada, a country with such strong links to England; there was very little Englishness

there.[110] Not only was it not 'English', it was in poor condition. Despite the handsome

buildings, Sansom highlighted the bad pavements and roads, but was also able to look

past similar untidiness in Toronto. There, she remarked, the streets were better kept

compared to Montreal, and there were some very fine shops. [111] The stores were

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[108] Brittain, *Canada,* p.38.
[109] Marchioness Ishbel Gordon of Aberdeen and Temair, *Through Canada with a Kodak* (Edinburgh: W.H. White, 1894), pp.11-12.
[110] Sansom, *A Holiday Trip to Canada*, p.67.
[111] *Ibid.,* p.66.

similar to London, the hotels more comfortable, and the street lighting was very good. Overall, Sansom considered its general appearance much better than Montreal.[112]

The perceived difference between the French and British cities was also evident in Katherine Bates' account. Bates was very disparaging about Quebec, describing its dirt, dullness and general provincial aspect. Instead of a beautiful and progressive city, she described it as in possession of 'more or less the look of a buried city with the mourners still lingering round the grave'.[113] To Bates, Quebec was dirty and dismal whereas, like Sansom, when she moved onto Toronto her descriptions changed. At first she thought Toronto was as dusty and unfinished as Quebec. However, contrary to her treatment of the French city she was willing to look closer and overlook these negative points. Bates became accustomed to contrasts within the city and was able to admire the many fine buildings including the colleges, suburban houses and the parks.[114]

To the British, the French cities were not part of the progressive imperial landscape that was so crucial to their representation of the settler societies. In her account, Lady Winifred was very negative towards Ottawa describing it as vastly inferior to other cities in Canada in almost every respect, ex*cept* for one point: 'it is English and not French'.[115] Clara Rayleigh described Quebec as 'thoroughly like a French town'. Not only was French spoken everywhere but there was French dirt and an air of poverty and untidiness. Rayleigh likened the city to the remoter and older

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[112] *Ibid.*
[113] Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic,* p.8.
[114] *Ibid.*, p.24.
[115] Howard, *Journal of a Tour in the United States, Canada and Mexico,* p.14.

towns of France.[116] It was a city considered stuck in the past, it was not bustling and

progressive. She described Montreal similarly; despite being pretty and better kept

than Quebec it did not impress the author. She stated that 'the town is too French and

idle-looking to be impressive'.[117] This was a vast contrast to the descriptions of

Toronto, dominated by the busy look and general air of English prosperity and

neatness.[118] Bates included the story of a British settler who had lived in Quebec for

fifty years. He had raised fourteen children in the city, but they no longer resided

there. She stated that nothing would induce them to return to, in the words of the

settler, 'stupid old Quebec'. The days of a gay and flourishing city where balls and

parties were the order of the day ended when the British garrison was removed.[119]

In Canada, the British cities were moving towards being complete and

functioning and the institutions and buildings were built in a uniform recognisable

architecture. This was not considered to be the case in Montreal. Lady Hardy

described the houses as a mixture of old and new and representing every style of

architecture and non-architecture: red brick, grey stone and latticed windows. There

was no uniformity or regularity. The pavements were wooden and generally rotten

and the un-cobbled streets were full of holes and ruts.[120] Montreal was a 'delightfully

old historic city' but full of grimness and decay, and unlike the descriptions of the new

institutions and buildings being constructed in Melbourne, Auckland or Ottawa, the

'ancient buildings' in Montreal were described as grey and worn. They were not being

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[116] Clara Rayleigh, *The British Association's Visit to Montreal, 1884: letters by Clara Rayleigh* (London: Whitehead, Morris and Lowe, 1885), p.24.
[117] *Ibid.*
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic,* pp.12-13.
[120] Hardy, *Through Cities and Prairie Lands,* p.24.

looked after and the whole town had the appearance of a 'bankrupt estate, with little life or money left in it'.

Lady Hardy also described the lack of contact between the French and English residents in Montreal. There was an undercurrent of the old hostility between the two peoples that was still flowing. However, it never came to the surface. Instead the two populations kept apart, a situation Lady Hardy found particularly strange; indeed the upper classes of both societies were rarely seen together. She described walking through this 'British Colony' and never hearing the sound of the native language. This was a France of the past: 'They cling to the ancient French of their forefathers, with no innovations or modern improvements'.[121] For the British visitor, Montreal was far from bustling; it reflected the slow growth of France compared to Britain and the United States. It was a place where, 'as a rule, life seems to flow on in a dull, sluggish fashion'.[122]

The descriptions of the French cities were not just a point of settlements being seen negatively because they were not British. 'Greater Britain' was not created along demographic lines, it was an image based on the ideal. On the one hand, 'Greater Britain' was a frontier of British society pushing out into the romantic wilderness that could create a regenerated version of the 'old' Britain and on the other it was the frontline of modernity and progression. Morag Bell has argued that the British wanted to bring enterprise and civilise the landscape, or in other words, have the best of both worlds: the positives of the rural landscape with the modern enterprise of the nineteenth century.

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[121] *Ibid.*
[122] *Ibid*, p.25.

The Edge of the Frontier?

Dutch settlements in South Africa were often included in the travellers'
descriptions of healthy vibrant cities and towns. To Dickie, Johannesburg was full of
life and enterprise.[123] In August 1895, to mark the opening of the Delagoa Bay
Railway, *The Illustrated London News* published two pictures of Johannesburg (Figures
2.7 and 2.8). The first image, entitled 'The Making of a City' showed Johannesburg in
1880, an expanse of wooden houses dotted over large plots of land with no clearly
defined roads and a limited amount of fencing. There were also no visible people in
the scattered settlement. The second image showed Johannesburg in the present day,
in 1895, a modern city with multiple stone buildings, telegraph poles and a defined
layout. Here the city was bustling with people, horses and carriages, representing the
transformation 'from a collection of shanties into a city'.[124] The wilderness had
become a prosperous state.

R.A. Loughnan urged anyone who wanted to see what colonial cities used to
look like in successive stages of settlement to walk outwards from the centre.[125] The
author described Auckland along these lines. As Loughnan moved away from the
centre, the buildings were increasingly made of wood, unequal and single storey and
the style of the buildings 'degenerates' into a style the author calls 'Carpenter's
Gothic'.[126] The cottage and the 'shanty' vie for prominence and the majority have an
appearance of faded old age.[127] He argued that no book or statistical study would
provide you with a better indication of the early settlement than the edges of a city

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[123] Dickie, *South Africa,* p.49.
[124] 'Johannesburg, South Africa,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 24, 1895), p.228.
[125] Loughnan, *New Zealand at Home,* p.40.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] *Ibid.*

where the stores, stables and cottages tell the story of colonisation.[128] The barn-like

structures reflected the time of the pioneer, but it was the evidence in the centre of

the towns and cities that demonstrated the 'current chapter' […] 'illustrated by those

steeples and spires of the central areas'.[129]

Figure 2.7 Photograph of Johannesburg in 1880 in *The Illustrated London News*, 1895.

THE MAKING OF A CITY: JOHANNESBURG IN 1889.
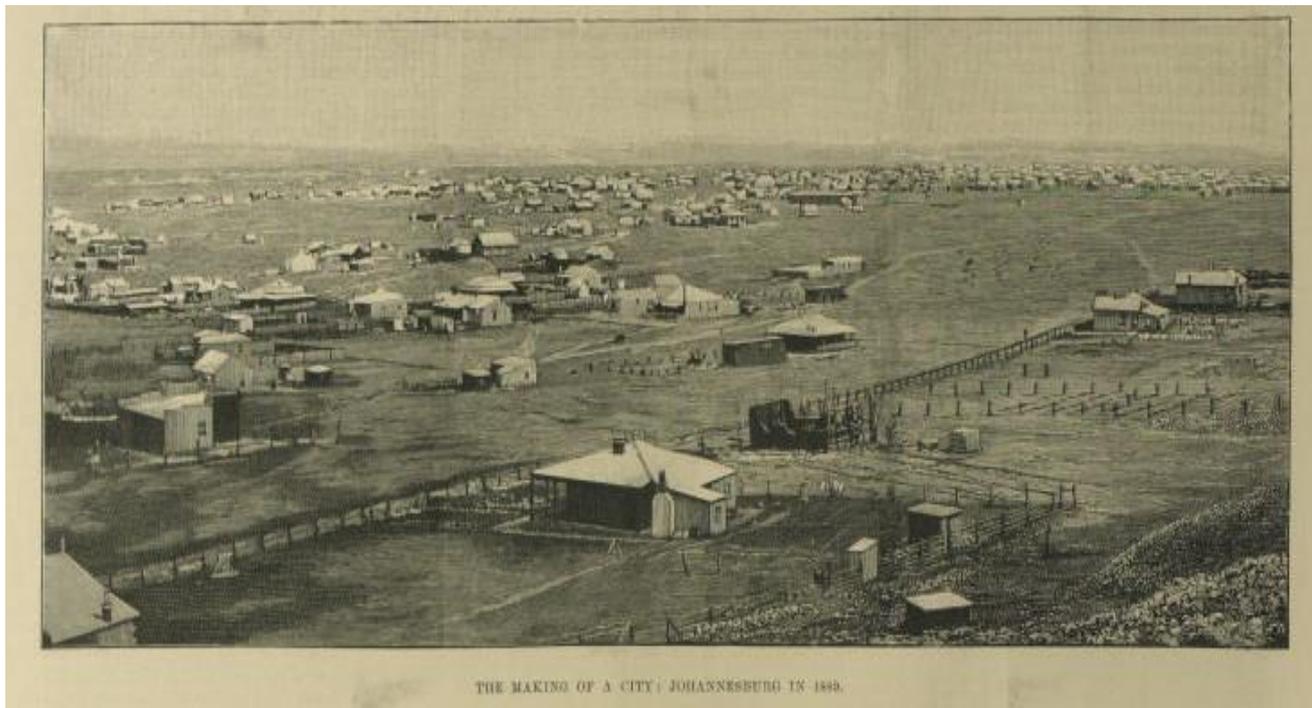
'Johannesburg, South Africa,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 24, 1895), p.228.

Lady Hardy summed this up in her description of the edge of Ottawa in 1881.

She described the streets as stretching away out of sight, becoming rough and wood

paved, and once she travelled past the principal line of shops on Sparkes Street she

described houses built for temporary convenience with wide tracts of waste land

between them. She stated that it was as though the settlers were in a hurry to see

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[128] *Ibid.*
[129] *Ibid.*

who could reach the end of the street first, 'the end that seems to be creeping back to the primeval forest, which civilization and time has left far behind'.[130]

Figure 2.8 Photograph of Johannesburg in 1895 in _The Illustrated London News,_ 1895.

THE MAKING OF A CITY: JOHANNESBURG IN 1895.
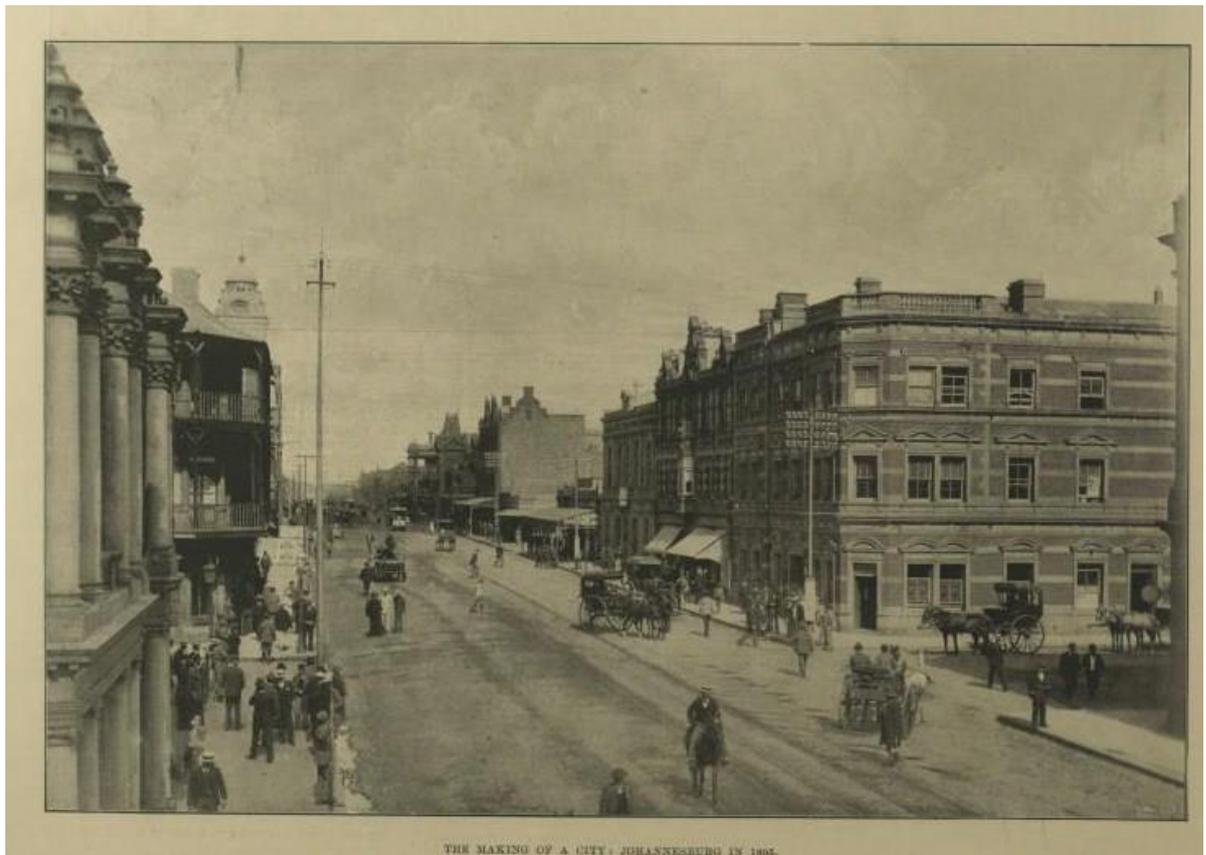
'Johannesburg, South Africa,' _The Illustrated London News_ (August 24, 1895), p.228.

The towns of the frontier had a contrasting role; they were both part of civilisation and also part of the frontier. Like the cities, they needed to show signs of progress and have a good location or capacity to progress. In his descriptions of the towns of the Darling Downs in Queensland, Howard Willoughby saw a variety of towns

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[130] Hardy, _Through Cities and Prairie Lands_, p.42.

with a positive future because of the railway that was connecting them to the coast. As Willoughby moved west on his journey, he noted that the bush townships he passed through would soon become towns.[131]

The bush towns of Queensland were the edge of the frontier, often desolate and isolated. Harold Finch Hatton's description of Mackay, in North Queensland, in 1886 was of a town at the edge of civilisation, a far cry from the cities of the south. There was no sign of a population and the main street was made up of a series of low uneven wooden buildings: 'It might have been the city of the dead'.[132] According to Hatton, the coastal towns of Queensland are all alike, the houses almost entirely built of wood, not a green thing to be found and dust everywhere.[133]

As the travellers pushed out into the frontier a different settlement was described. Albert F. Calvert stated that Boorabbin in Western Australia could be 'likened to the halting place of people fleeing with their household goods from Etna in eruption'.[134] There was no unity or organisation that would provide evidence of a future. Calvert described it as a 'thing of threads and patches', thrown together in the ugliest and flimsiest guise. It was all temporary. There was a railway station but no sidings and no goods sheds, nothing to show it was going somewhere. The hotel was a barn, 'the palace of the town,' and a row of shanties made up the rest of the accommodation. Calvert argued that Boorabbin was a frontier town, somewhere that could only spring into existence in the wilderness.[135]

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[131] Willoughby, *Australian Pictures,* pp.122-123.
[132] Harold Finch-Hatton, *Advance Australia: An Account of Eight Years' Work, Wandering, and Amusement in Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria* (London: W.H. Allen, 1886), pp.27-28.
[133] *Ibid*, pp.28-29.
[134] Albert F. Calvert, *My Fourth Tour in Western Australia* (London: Dean & Son, ltd: 1901), p.34.
[135] *Ibid.*

The settler societies as a 'Greater Britain' were composed as a landscape of progress, and it was the towns and cities that were considered its main markers. The transition from wood to stone and the establishment of institutions illustrated the progress from a colonial settlement to a recognisable modern city, the point where travellers could describe a place as 'British' both in appearance and feel. The selective and framed representation of the settlements made in travel accounts, periodicals, newspapers and exhibitions sought out and highlighted particular aspects of the settlements, but the cities of the settler societies were not just described as replicas. The idealistic image of industrious settlers, healthy atmosphere and surroundings lacking in poverty, portrayed the cities in the settlements as an improved version of those in Britain: part of a 'Better Britain'. It was the frontier, however, that provided a different kind of regeneration.

The settlements of the settler societies were part of a larger British frontier and the new push outwards from Britain to create healthy, industrious settlers based on ideas of rejuvenation and rebirth. However, there was not just one frontier within the settler societies. The settlements in the bush, veldt, prairies and forests were another type of frontier settlement. In Charles C. Harper's account of his trip from London to Land's End in 1893, he came across a town in Hampshire that he likened to a frontier town, '[...] we left Christchurch, and came to the parched and desolate undulations of that sandy waste, Pokesdown, like nothing so much as a bankrupt outpost of civilisation in the back blocks of Australia'.[136] There was a contrast between the major towns and cities and the settlements towards the frontier. The descriptions of these settlements reinforced the perceived difference between colonial and modern

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[136] Charles C. Harper, *From Paddington to Penzance: the Record of a Summer Tramp from London to the Land's End* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1893), p.76.

settlement and they were not always progressive. Instead, these settlements were the

edge of civilisation, part of the frontier, a landscape associated with different ideas of

freedom associated with adventure, egalitarianism and a rejuvenated society.

Chapter 3
FRONTIER

The notion of the frontier is vital to the understanding of the representation of the settler societies and ideas of a 'Better Britain' during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The physical frontiers, the vast tracts of land away from the cities and towns, were a mixture of cultivated and uncultivated land; defined simply, as the edge of society where 'un-civilisation' met 'civilisation'. In Australia, this was the vast often inhospitable interior known as the bush, the outback, or the 'Never Never'. In South Africa it was the veldt or the veld, the vast grassland and scrubs stretching across thousands of square miles through the centre of the Cape and through Transvaal and Natal. Canada's frontier was seen as the North West of the Dominion. New Zealand did not have as clearly a defined notion of a frontier or an 'outback', however the bush, forest and backcountry were all used to describe the areas outside the settlements. These landscapes played a large role in the imagining of the settler societies during this period. Firstly, as physical landscapes the frontier dominated the popular representation of the settler societies. The frontiers reflected the freedom key to the representation of these parts of the Empire and provided settings for adventure that were represented in fiction, periodicals, newspapers, and travel and emigration accounts. Representations created a landscape of romance, hostility and space where men were free and the hardy and tough succeeded. However, frontier was not just important in terms of the physical landscape. Secondly, the four settler societies were

a united frontier of Britain and British society and were represented as places of rebirth and rejuvenation, both for population and society as a whole.

This chapter will examine ideas of frontier within the representation of the settler societies. It will look at the importance of the physical landscape, the veldt, the prairie and the outback in the representation of the settler societies in Britain. It will then go on to examine how the sense of adventure, romance and freedom associated with the representation of the physical frontier was connected to broader ideas of nineteenth-century notions of masculinity, rejuvenation and regeneration of race and how this connected to the ideas of 'Better Britain'.

Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis on the American frontier has informed these ideas. The settler societies as a 'Greater Britain' provided a setting for rejuvenation; an untouched 'blank page', but whereas Turner saw the American frontier as creating the independent American, the British frontier created a rejuvenated Britain, both in terms of society and population.[1]

The ideas surrounding frontier came together in the representation of the two Boer Wars (1880-1881 and 1899-1902). In terms of landscape, representation of the veldt and battlegrounds focussed on adventure and the romantic, even including sites of British defeat. The Boer War also provided an illustration of the type of egalitarian and rejuvenated men that the frontier was seen to create. The descriptions of the colonial soldiers of South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and Australia depicted a strong, healthy and egalitarian antithesis to the British man from the industrial centres plagued by ill-health and poor physique.

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[1] Frederick Jackson Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History' in George Rogers Taylor (ed.), *The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History* (Lexington: Heath, 1972).

Image of the Frontier

In his 1906 account of travels to New Zealand, E. Ellkington Way described his surprise at the complete lack of 'men with top-boots, long spurs, big sombrero hats and blazing red shirts' in the crowd on the wharf.[2] Marion Cran also wrote of being misled by the prominent image of the Canadian prairies. Writing in 1910, she complained, the romantic image of 'cowgirls flying across the prairie on horseback, picturesque in wide- brimmed hats and loosely-knotted neck-scarfs red for choice' was far from the truth.[3] In his 1897 account, H.R Haweis recounted a discussion with an 'old pioneer' in Australia who felt Britain knew little of Australia. He believed that most Britons thought the majority of Australians lived out in the bush and the rest are squatters or cowboys. Haweis was guilty of this himself and confessed he was 'surprised at the magnificent buildings' in the cities.[4] The physical frontier was important in the British image of the settler societies. Certainly, Elkington Way expected cowboys and was disappointed when the expectation did not live up to reality. There is no doubt that the frontier was dominant in the representation of the settler societies during this period. Sources built a layered image of a romantic, adventure-filled landscape.

Exhibitions and panoramas that featured the settler societies during the period usually included a representation associated with the frontier. The 'Greater Britain Exhibition' in 1899 featured Boer sharp shooters as well as a display of 'Lassoing and

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[2] E. Elkington Way, *Adrift in New Zealand* (London: John Murray, 1906), p.4.
[3] Mrs George (Marion) Cran, *A Woman in Canada* (London: John Milne, 1910), p.103.
[4] H. R. Haweis, *Travel and Talk, 1885-93-95: My Hundred Thousand Miles of Travel through America, Australia, Tasmania, Canada, New Zealand, Ceylon, and the Paradises of the Pacific* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897), p.93.

Riding of Wild Zebras'.[5] The Australian scenes within the diorama 'Second Great Tour Round the World' held in Shropshire featured kangaroo hunting and a squatter's home including sheep farming and an exploration party.[6] The three scenes of Canada included in the panorama 'Over the Pacific Railway to California' were of the 'west', 'Hamilton, Canada West, London, Canada West and Oil Wells of Canada'.[7] W.H Edwards' exhibition in Norwich included anecdotes of his excursions to the far west of Canada.[8] It could be argued that the prominence of the frontier in exhibitions was trying to profit from a public fascinated by the Wild West with Buffalo Bill's travelling Wild West show particularly popular during this period.[9]

The image of the frontier in film did not have as much influence in this period as it would in the years after 1914; however, frontier was part of the image presented.[10] James Chapman and Nicholas J. Cull have argued that the influence of juvenile imperial literature can be seen in films such as the Lieutenant Daring series released between 1911 and 1914 by the British and Colonial Kinematograph Company. The series of 13 films told the story of a naval officer and his various adventures saving Great Britain from anarchists and spies.[11] The heroes of these films were of the same type as those in the *Boy's Own Paper* and *Young England* and the countless frontier stories. These films tapped into the spirit of adventure connected with the Empire

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[5] BL: JJC London Playbills Empress-Fortune (1), 'Greater Britain Exhibition, 1899,' 1899.
[6] BL: JJC Bridgnorth Collection III.C. (499), 'Second Great Tour Round the World,' no date.
[7] BL: JJC Entertainments 7 (58), 'Over the Pacific Railway to California, 1880,' 1880.
[8] BL: JJC Tickets Show Places (26a), 'W.H. Edwards's Popular Excursions to Canada, America and the Far West,' no date.
[9] Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna the Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); John Springhall, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West: American Culture Crosses the Atlantic,' in *The Genesis of Mass Culture Show Business Live in America, 1840 to 1940* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 105-128.
[10] The Empire was still a feature of early newsreels and films. Imperial spectacles such as the Diamond Jubilee in 1897 and the Delhi Durbar in 1903 and 1911, were some of the earliest 'topicals' shown in Britain. James Chapman and Nicholas J. Cull, *Projecting Empire: Imperialism and Popular Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), p.1.
[11] *Ibid.*, p.2-3.

during this period and particularly the frontier. The popular image created in film would have more influence later when cinema drove the creation of popular images. But during this period, the few films available enhanced the image created in pictorial and written sources. Representation of the frontier was connected to a romanticism of a particular landscape.[12] Combined, these sources in Britain represented the frontier as a romantic place of adventure, a vast, majestic landscape that created a solitary existence. It was *a* pure landscape, uncontaminated by civilisation creating strong, hardy men.

Travellers who traversed the bush or prairie represented the image of the romantic landscape through their accounts and reinforced the ideas appearing in other sources. The majority created a grand, majestic landscape with a strong sense of loneliness. The opening passage of 'Tales of the Veldt' by R. Popham Lobb published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1900 described a sense of complete isolation: it 'seemed too remote, and the bare earth, stretching away into the dim, starry distance, so empty and limitless'.[13] This idea of the grand, romantic landscape was linked to the aesthetic trends of the eighteenth and nineteenth century particularly Edmund Burke's 1757 treatise *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and*

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[12] 'With Tom Toke, The Australian Bushranger,' *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts,* 20: 1013 (May 26, 1883), pp.321-325; A.C. Yorke, 'The Jackeroo,' *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 45: 267 (May 1899): 833-840; Arthur Patchett Martin, 'The Poet of the Australian Bush,' *Murray's Magazine: A Home and Colonial Periodical for the General Reader*, 10: 55 (July 1891), pp.93-102; Hugh L. Heber-Percy, 'Mustering 'Scrubbers' In Queensland, *The Badminton Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, 6:34 (May 1898), pp.486-496; Jack the Shepherd, 'On The Wallaby Track: A True Story,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* 144: 877 (November, 1888), pp.708-715; 'The Riders Of The Plains,' *All the Year Round*, 2: 41 (October 12, 1889), pp.342-345; Moira O'Neill, 'A Lady's Life on a Ranche,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 163: 987 (January, 1898), pp.1-16; Michael Davitt, Impressions Of The Canadian North-West,' *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review,* 31: 182 (April, 1892), pp.631-647; W Baillie Grohman, 'Cattle Ranches In The Far West,' *Fortnightly Review*, 428: 166 (October, 1880), pp.438-457; C. Hanbury-Williams, 'The Riders Of The Plains,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* 167: 1014 (April, 1900), pp.474-491; Roger Pocock, 'A Forecast Of The Legion Of Frontiersmen,' *Fortnightly Review*, 79: 472 (April, 1906), pp.720-732.

[13] R Popham. Lobb, 'A Tale of the Veldt,' *The Pall Mall Magazine,* 10: 81 (1900 Jan), p.78.

Beautiful whose theories saw a shift away from the idea that beauty was simply a pleasurable quality. Julia Horne has examined the influence of these aesthetic trends on early travel and tourism in Australia.[14] However, these theories were also important in the representation of the frontier and it became part of the romance of the landscape. Burke's work linked the notion of the sublime to the passion of fear linked to vastness, infinity, difficulty and solitude. Burke classified the sublime as that which excites the ideas of pain and danger and produces 'the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling'.[15] Travellers latched onto the aesthetic features of the frontier and the loneliness and emotion it provoked. In her multi-chapter story 'Life in the Prairie Land' published in *Sharpe's London Journal,* Eliza W. Farnham, writing as her main character, described a smooth, open plain, undotted by tree or familiar object, 'the sublime spectacle'.[16]Through the fiction and travel accounts, the frontier became infused with romance and adventure.

In her 1886 account of New Zealand, Annie Robina Butler described the backcountry of New Zealand as sombre, a landscape of grand monotony, in which one did not have to go far before another beauty attracted or charmed the eye.[17] There was a definite romance in the representations of the frontier. Keith Bushell's description of the Australian bush was poetic: the black and still impenetrable forest where 'Giant gums raised their leafy heads to the moon, and the traveller on the river saw the top leaves glistening in the white light'.[18] Frank Yeigh's descriptions of the

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[14] Julia Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed* (Sydney: Miegunyah Press, 2005).
[15] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R&J Dodsley, 1759), pp.58-59.
[16] Eliza W, Farnham, 'Life in Prairie Land,' *Sharpe's London Journal*, 14 (July, 1851), p.340.
[17] Annie Robina Butler, *Glimpses of Maori Land* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886), p.132; 135.
[18] N Keith Bushell, *Australia for the Emigrant* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1913), p.12.

Canadian prairie were similarly descriptive. Yeigh's account pushed the image of a vast landscape, 'the billowy, mysterious, lonely prairie, swallowing up the little habitations of men in its immensity'.[19] The travellers created a landscape of mystery, an unexplored part of the Empire. W.H Koebel even described the 'Maoriland bush' as stately, silent and subtle, 'breathing out its mystery from every one of its evergreen leafy pores'.[20]

The bush was represented as an unspoiled wilderness, a retreat back to the primeval. Butler described the woodman's home in the bush of New Zealand as an Arcadian home, enough to inspire a sylvan life.[21] Mrs Wilson similarly described the backcountry of New Zealand as containing the 'bewildering enchantment of primeval forest'. This was a landscape 'from an era from which to date all after-events'.[22] The landscape was considered the antithesis of civilisation, but unlike the perceptions of the cities and towns of the settler societies this was not perceived as negative, if anything it added to the romance.

Unlike the importance of the progress of the cities, transformation of this landscape was seen differently. R.G. Moyles and Doug Owran have argued that within the frontier fiction featuring Canada the signs of progress were ignored.[23] Indeed, attempts to cultivate and transform this part of the landscape were looked upon negatively. Wilson commented on the upheaval caused by pioneering in the New Zealand bush. The 'once noble landscape' was full of fallen timber, stumps blackened

[19] Frank Yeigh, *Through the Heart of Canada* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1910), pp.169-170.
[20] W. H. Koebel, *In the Maoriland Bush* (London: S. Paul, 1911), p.19.
[21] Butler, *Glimpses of Maori Land,* p.137.
[22] Mrs. Robert Wilson, *In the Land of the Tui: My Journal in New Zealand* (London: S. Low, Marston & Company, Ltd., 1894), p.57.
[23] R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p.41.

by fire and trunks with no vegetation. Wilson saw this as the demolition of ancient

landmarks. The 'God -made grandeur of the woods' was replaced with civilisation to

which Wilson ascribed 'avarice, cruelty, and vice'.[24] W.H Koebel had a similar reaction

to a township he encountered within New Zealand, describing the 'sorry fall from the

poetry of the bush to the pattern of a man's tie or cut of his breeches.[25] The lack of

civilisation, as well as adding to the romance of the frontier, also added to its

perceived benefits.

This was a life away from the crowded industrial centres of Britain. It was a

landscape that was unspoilt. Lady Hardy described the 'primeval forests' of Canada as

sacred as yet from the increasing encroachments of man.[26] It was considered a place

where nobody had set foot before. While travelling across Australia in 1912, R.A Dyott

was faced with vast open country stretching out in all directions and a whole day

would pass without him encountering a living soul.[27] The feeling of space was one that

few of the travellers could comprehend. Cran stated she was unable to describe the

vastness of the prairie as there was no equivalent that an English mind could compare

it to. The horizon, the height of the blue skies and the rolling grass and scrub were

completely new to her eyes.[28] Harry Richmond Whates felt similarly and wrote in 1906

that the more he saw the vast prairie the more he realised how hopeless it was to

convey its immensity in the written word. Figures, he argued, were useless, the idea of

a five acre field was easy to comprehend but forty one million was impossible.[29] The

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[24] Wilson, *In the Land of the Tui,* p.71.

[25] Koebel, *In the Maoriland Bush*, p.23.

[26] Lady Mary McDowell Duffus Hardy, *Through Cities and Prairie Lands: Sketches of an American Tour* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1881), p.41.

[27] R. A. Dyott, *Travels in Australasia* (Birmingham: Cornish Bros., 1912), p.10.

[28] Cran, *A Woman in Canada,* p.129.

[29] Harry Richmond Whates, *Canada, the New Nation: a Book for the Settler, the Emigrant and the Politician* (London: J.M. Dent, 1906), p.108.

feeling of space and the consequent solitude only added to the romantic image of the frontier within the travel accounts. While travelling across Western Australia in the late 1870s Henry Taunton described a 'feeling of lonesomeness' as the scenery became wilder. Travellers were almost poetic in their writing. Taunton described a solemn stillness in the bush, a dreamy solitude.[30] Mrs Robert Wilson similarly described the New Zealand bush as an 'unpeopled wilderness', a place of unutterable solitude.[31] The travellers were drawing from the aesthetic ideas of the period, but it was this landscape that was seen to create a particular type of man.

'Greater Britain' or 'Better Britain' was an ideal. It was a representation of the settler societies that included contradictory ideas. These travellers were the same people searching for progress and modernity in the settlements. But for all the discussion of progress and advancement, during the late nineteenth century the settler societies were still very much associated with the frontier. The four settler societies still had an image of the edge of civilisation, inhabited by bushrangers and gold diggings. In his first descriptions of South Africa in his book *South Africa at Home* published in 1908, Robert Fuller only discussed the frontier. There is no mention in the initial descriptions of the cities of South Africa. For Fuller, South Africa was made up of scattered homesteads, vast open veldt, the wild animal life, the mountain kloofs and the open plains.[32]

The frontier was a landscape that provided a 'blank page' for Britain in terms of population and society. Even though it was not 'civilised,' the frontier landscape was

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[30] Henry Taunton, *Australind: Wanderings in Western Australia and the Malay East* (London: E. Arnold, 1903), p.16.
[31] Wilson, *In the Land of the Tui,* p.59.
[32] Robert H. Fuller, *South Africa at Home* (London: George Newnes, Limited, 1908), p.viii.

an important part of the representation of the settler societies because of what it

represented – imperial masculinity, rejuvenation and freedom.

Fiction and the Frontier

It was in the fiction of the period in particular, published in books, periodicals

and magazines, that the settler societies came to be associated with adventure and

freedom. Periodicals such as *The Boys Own Paper*, *Chums* and *Union Jack* and many

others published numerous stories featuring the settler societies during this period.[33]

Taking the example of Canada, *The Boys Own Paper* featured a Canadian story almost

every week from 1879 to the demise of the paper in 1967.[34] *Chums* also frequently

featured Canadian stories; between 1892 and 1907 they featured in approximately

100 of the weekly issues.[35] Australia also featured heavily in the stories of *The Boys*

Own Paper.[36] Alongside these popular publications, stories about adventure on the

frontiers of the Empire were popular across publications aimed at both adults and

children.[37] 'A Tale of the Veldt,' 'On the Veldt,' 'Some Neighbours On The Veldt,**'**

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[33] Gordon Stables, 'In the Land of the Lion and Ostrich: A Tale of Struggle and Adventure,' *The Boys Own Paper* (October 6, 1894 – March 30, 1895); R.M. Ballantyne, 'The Red Man's Revenge: Tale of the Red River Flood,' *The Boys Own Paper* (October 4, 1879 – March 27, 1880); E.G. Mears, 'Morgan, The Great Australian Bushranger, *Chums*: *An Illustrated Paper for Boys* (March 14, 1894), p.462; Reginald Horsley, 'Riding Down a 'Scrubber': A Wild Chase in Queensland,' *Chums*: *An Illustrated Paper for Boys* (September 26, 1894), p.75; Barrington Beaver, 'A Night of Horrors: An Adventure in the Australian Bush,' *The Union Jack: Tales for British Boys* (January 29, 1880), p.77; Robert Richardson, 'Ghost Gully,' T*he Union Jack: Tales for British Boys* (December 26, 1882), p. 203.

[34] R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p.37.

[35] *Ibid.*, p.38.

[36] Edward Roper, 'Some Australian Bush Yarns,' *The Boys Own Paper* (April 20, 1895), p.455; Lady Broome, 'Harry Treverton: A Story of Colonial Life,' *The Boys Own Paper* (October 1, 1887 – December 31, 1887); W.H. Timperley, 'Bush Luck,' *The Boys Own Paper* (December 14, 1889 - July 5, 1890); ReV. A. N. Malan, 'The Wallaby Man,' *The Boys Own Paper* (October 6, 1894 – March 2, 1895); Edward Roper, 'Such a Fine Night for Possums,' *The Boys Own Paper* (January 12, 1895 – January 26, 1895); Edward Roper, 'More Adventures of Two Young Nimrods,' *The Boys Own Paper* (October 31, 1896 - June 19, 1897).

[37] Herbert Maxwell, 'The Black Bushranger,' *The Halfpenny Marvel* (August 6, 1895); Mark Darran, 'War! A Story of the Transvaal,' *The Marvel* (December 2, 1899); George Douglas, 'The Cunning of the Boer: A

'Some Neighbours on the Veldt,' 'The Swagman,' 'Lost in the Bush,' Misadventures in the Bush,' 'Bush Life in Australia,' 'Life in an Australian Bush Town,' 'Our Neighbours on the Prairie,' and 'Some Prairie Incidents' are just some of the typical examples of frontier fiction titles from a range of publications during the period.[38] Some of these stories also went on to be published in books.

Fiction about the settler societies was written by authors such as Jules Verne, W.H.G. Kingston, G.A. Henty and R.M. Ballantyne, many of which were first published in publications such as *The Boys Own Paper*.[39] The stories, both short and long, imbued the frontier with romance and adventure, a positive view of the frontier and the Empire in general. The fiction drew on the accepted image of the frontier and featured the strong frontiersmen, the bracing romantic landscape, completely separate from any civilisation. Titles emphasising adventure usually centred on gold, bushrangers or a threat from an enemy, for example the indigenous populations or the Boer. Some examples include George Manville Fenn's *The Dingo Boys: or the Squatters of Wallaby Range*, Rolf Bolderwood's *Robbery Under Arms: A Story of Bush*

Tale of the Natal Frontier,' *Young England* (Date Unknown), 'In the Australian Bush,' *Young England* (Date Unknown), p.278.

[38] Lobb, 'A Tale of the Veldt,' pp.78-82; John Sinjohn, 'On the Veldt,' *Outlook*, 4: 100 (December 1899:), pp.717-718; J.H. Spettigue, 'Some Neighbours on the Veldt,' *Sunday at Home* (January 1900), pp.728-731; M. Forrest, 'The Swagman,' *The Pall Mall Magazine,* 48: 220 (August 1911), pp.238-330; M. Gaunt, 'Lost in the Bush,' *Argosy: A Magazine of Tales, Travels, Essays and Poems*, 52 (July 1891), pp.78-88; J.G. Rose, 'A Misadventure in the Bush,' *Sunday at Home,* 1622 (May 1885), pp.345-347; Anton Bertrum, 'Bush Life in Australia,' *Windsor Magazine* (May 1899), pp.701-708; Charles Dumaresq, 'Life in an Australian Bush Town,' *English Illustrated Magazine,* 93 (June 1891), pp.678-683; 'Our Neighbours on the Prairie,' *Leisure Hour* (September 1891), pp.755-759; 'Some Prairie Incidents,' *Pall Mall Magazine,* 9: 38 (June 1896), pp.284-300.

[39] R.M. Ballantyne, *Six Months at the Cape* (London: James Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1879); R.M. Ballantyne, *The Prairie Chief* (London: James Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1886); G.A. Henty, *A Final Reckoning: A Tale of Bush Life in Australia* (London: Blackie and Son., 1887); W.H.G. Kingston, *Twice Lost* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons., 1876); W.H.G. Kingston, *Adventures in Australia* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1885); W.H.G. Kingston, *The Young Berringtons, or, The Boy Explorers* (London: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1891); W.H. Timperly, *Harry Treverton, His Tramps and Troubles* (London: Routledge, 1889); Jules Verne, *Among the Cannibals* (London: Ward, Lock and Tyler, 1876)*;* Jules Verne, *Voyage Round the World* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1877); Jules Verne, *The Fur Country* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1879); Jules Verne, *On the Track* (London: Richard Butterworth, 1900).

Life and Adventure in the Bush and on the Goldfields of Australia, William Howitt's *A Boy's Adventures in the Wilds of Australia: Or, Herbert's Note-book*, Gordon Stables' *In Search of Fortune: A Tale of the Old Land and the New* and F. Frankfort Moore's *From the Bush to the Breakers.*[40]

Juvenile fiction legitimised a frontier where a particular view of Empire predominated. The frontier of the settler societies became a romantic image in Britain, a setting where the ideal traits could be highlighted. This was a celebration of a particular type of man. The characters and their personal traits were a manifestation of the ideas and ethos promoted in the British public school system in the late nineteenth century.[41] John Mackenzie has argued that the mould of juvenile literature of this period was the result of a coming together of the new morality and the New Imperialism with the revolutionary expansion of publishing and popular readership.[42] Improvement, self-help and aggressive individualism came together with the patriotic, racial and militarist factors of imperialism with the frontier as a dominant setting.[43]

The story 'On the Veldt: A South African Adventure' was typical of the stand-alone short stories published in periodicals of the period. It followed the tale of an English man who travelled to his uncle's farm deep in the heart of the South African veldt. The narrator described a vast, lonely landscape: 'Around me, as far as the eye

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[40] Rolf Bolderwood, *Robbery Under Arms: A Story of Bush Life and Adventure in the Bush* (London: Macmillan, 1889); George Manville Fenn, *The Dingo Boys: or the Squatters of Wallaby* Range (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1893); F. Frankfort Moore, *From the Bush to the Breakers* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1893); Professor J.F. Hodgetts, *Tom's Nugget, A Story of the Australian Gold Fields* (London: Sunday School Union, 1888); William Howitt, *A Boy's Adventures in the Wilds of Australia* (London, George Routledge, 1880); B.B. Kennedy, *Blacks and Bushrangers: Adventures in Queensland* (London: Sampson Low, 1889); Gordon Stables, *In Search of Fortune: A Tale of the Old Land* (London: John F. Shaw and Co., 1902); W.H. Timperly, *Bush Luck: An Australian Story* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1892).

[41] John Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p.199.

[42] *Ibid*.

[43] *Ibid.*

could reach, it stretched away in great, hummocky swells, oppressive in its vast

solitude and death-like silence.' The frontier was portrayed as the antithesis to the

city. In the eyes of the protagonist, 'fresh from the busy scenes and bustling life in

London town,' the veldt felt like another world. The landscape was hostile and lifeless;

no sign of a tree or another human being to be seen.

Figure 3.1 Title Illustration from the Story 'On the Veldt,' by J. L. Hornibrook in *The Captain.*
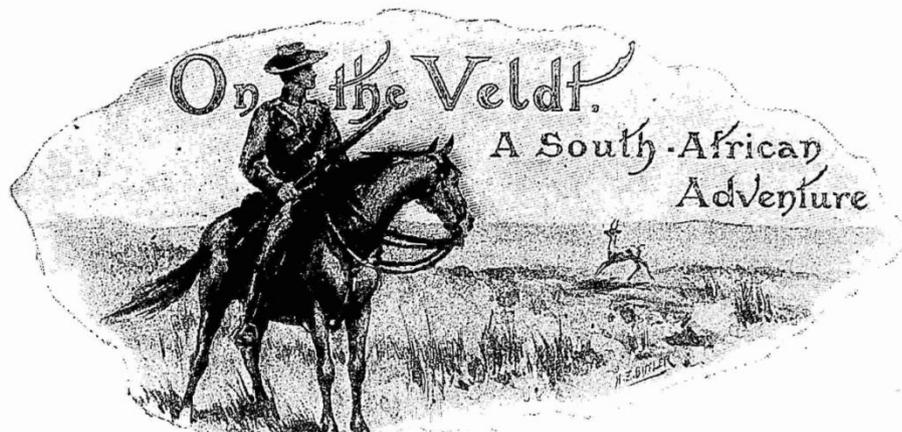
J. L. Hornibrook, 'On the Veldt,' *The Captain* (Date Unknown).

When he eventually met another British man he was a typical frontiersman. He

was 'as robust and burly as a trooper of the Life Guards' and had strong regular

features with a deep tan. He was described as looking like a man who had never had

an ache or pain in his life. He was self-sufficient and resolute. When the protagonist

started out on his journey he also endeavoured to look the part and swapped his

frockcoat and top hat for a 'Cape outfit' (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). The images included in

the story show a man in khaki and a slouch hat; the perceived typical man of the

frontier. As the protagonist travelled across the veldt he encountered a 'hostile Boer'

who shot him in an unprovoked attack. The story ends in a chase for gold across the veldt as the protagonist fights the Boer and frontier trooper for his uncle's land. The chase took them through the gullies, plunging in and out of the hollows of the landscape. He described it as a 'ride for life and death', 'a wild, mad rush across the open veldt'. In the end, the protagonist overcame the hostility in the landscape, shot the Boer and took possession of the farm and the gold.[44]

The descriptions of the frontier and events in 'On the Veldt' summed up the main images of the veldt, prairie, backcountry and the bush and were replicated in countless stories across the period. Just as in the other sources, the frontier was represented as romantic but hostile. It was this hostility, within the landscape and its inhabitants that created the adventure and allowed ideas surrounding imperial masculinity, particularly individualism, self-help and improvement, to come to the fore. 'On the Veldt' saw descriptions of a self-reliant, strong, vigorous and healthy man, and it was these particular traits and attributes that were an important feature throughout the stories.

In the first pages of *Adventures in Australia* by W.H.G Kingston, the boys in his story struggle with the lack of water in the outback.[45] The boys had no experience of the bush, all the information they had was gained from books. They had been sent to the bush with few supplies, and in their travel, encountered bushrangers, wildlife and the indigenous population.[46] 'On the Veldt' featured all the key features of the imagined frontier: descriptions of the vast open plains, hardy colonial men created and

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[44] J. L. Hornibrook, 'On the Veldt,' *The Captain* (Date Unknown), pp.561-568.
[45] Kingston, *Adventures in Austraila,* p.3.
[46] Ibid., p.10.

strengthened by their surroundings, the hostile 'other' that fitted into the landscape,

and the 'Boy's Own' adventure.

Figure 3.2 Illustration from the Story 'On the Veldt,' by J. L. Hornibrook in *The Captain.*

THERE, THE SMOKE STILL OOZING FROM THE BARREL OF HIS RIFLE,
WAS THE FREE STATE BOER.

J. L. Hornibrook, 'On the Veldt,' *The Captain* (Date Unknown).

Jeffrey Richards has argued that popular fiction both generated and reflected the popular attitudes and preconceptions of the period.[47] Joan Rockwell has argued similarly that 'Fiction is a social product but it also "produces" society'.[48] It was a selective writing; it provided images to the public that were constructed of selected aspects of real life that were organised into a form directed by underlying presuppositions. According to Richards, this fiction legitimised and romanticised particular mind-sets.[49]

The settler societies of the stories were more often than not the landscape of the frontier. It was a landscape, however, that was usually ill-defined; very few stories featured specific places, particularly large urban centres. Instead small fictional towns were common, most with stereotypical Australian or Canadian names. Indeed R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram have argued that one could 'have read *The Boys Own Paper* for almost fifty years and never have known there were large cities like Montreal or Toronto'.[50]

Stories emphasised the solitary nature of the frontier in particular. One story in the *Union Jack* described the 'extreme stillness' of the Australian bush, and how the monotony of passing endless trees of the same type 'caused an indescribable feeling of loneliness'.[51] But it was this aspect of the landscape that allowed the desired traits to be represented in the main characters. One theme of the stories was the hero spending a night alone in the bush, not only emphasising the emptiness but also the

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[47] Jeffrey Richards (ed.), *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p.1.
[48] Joan Rockwell cited in Jeffrey Richards, 'Introduction,' in Richards (ed.), *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, p.1.
[49] Richards, 'Introduction,' in Richards (ed), *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, p.1.
[50] Moyles and Owram, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities,* p.39.
[51] Barrington Beaver, 'A Night of Horrors: An Adventure in the Australian Bush,' *The Union Jack: Tales for British Boys* (January 29, 1880), p.77.

threats within the landscape. Overcoming the threats and the hostile landscape was an important part of the frontier fiction.[52] 'The Making of a Man' published in *The Illustrated London News* told the story of an artist who survived a night in the Australian bush after his horse bolted. He made it back to the station, and the story ended 'He was alive, and there was a man full grown in him'.[53]

War within the fiction also provided settings for these traits and brought together the ideas of the frontier landscape and adventure. The representation across sources highlighted the hostile but romantic landscape where men demonstrated a heroic patriotism that was connected to ideas of adventure, masculinity and freedom. Indeed, John Mackenzie has argued that juvenile literature exploited the interest in colonial warfare and linked it to the overseas adventure genre.[54] Many of the stories set in South Africa featured the war itself, its lead up and aftermath.[55]

A story in *Temple Bar* published in 1901 described the uncertainty in the landscape, the threat from wildlife and the landscape as well as the threat from the Boer.[56] The fiction represented the colonial or the settler as different to the British. It

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[52] Richard Rowe, *Roughing it in Van Diemen's Land* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1880); Ernest Favenc, *Marooned in Australia; The Narrative by Diedrich Buys of his Discoveries and Exploits in Terra Australis Incognita About the Year 1630* (London: Blackie, 1896); Mrs Aeneas Gunn, *We of the Never-Never* (London: Hutchinson, 1908); Edith Elias, *In the Great Colonial Bush* (London: Methuen, 1910); M. Gaunt, 'Lost in the Bush,' *The Argosy: A Magazine of Tales, Travels, Essays, And Poems*, 52 (July 1891), pp.78-88; 'One Night in the Bush,' *All the Year Round,* 4: 80 (July 12, 1890), pp.37-43; Rose, 'A Misadventure in the Bush,' *Sunday at Home,* pp.345-347; 'A Breath from the Veldt,' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 88: 2303 (December 16, 1899), p772.
[53] Mayne Lindsay, 'The Making of a Man,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 11, 1906), p. 193.
[54] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p.6.
[55] 'Britannia's Bodyguard,' *The Halfpenny Marvel* (February 5, 1898); Mark Darran, 'War! A Story of the Transvaal,' *The Halfpenny Marvel* (December 2, 1899); Paul Herring, 'Sergeant Dick of Mafeking: The Thrilling Long Complete Story of the Boer War,' *The Big Budget* (December 9, 1899), p.418; 'Stories of the Boer War,' *The Big Budget* (February 17, 1900), pp.162-165; 'Stories of the British Flag,' *The Big Budget* (May 5, 1900), p.346; Basil Marnan, 'The Transport River,' *Strand Magazine* 17 (99) (March 1899), pp.270-279; Edward S. Bond, 'The Utilander's Ride,' *Good Words,* 41 (December 1900), pp.237-245; B. Maude, 'Commandeered,' *Badminton Magazine of Sports and Pastimes* (June 1900), pp.657-667; Mrs Tom Godfrey, 'Belle of Bloemfontein,' *Ludgate,* 11: 61 (November 1900), pp.64-71.
[56] A D G G. 'A By-way of the Boer War,' *Temple Bar,* 123: 489 (August 1901), pp.466-479.

was the landscape of the frontier that transformed the settler. The pioneers and
settlers were of a group who had overcome the hardships in the landscape – 'Better
Britons'.

'A Somewhat Different Physical Being from the Englishman'

In his work 'Bush Life in Australia,' published in *Windsor Magazine* in 1899,
Anton Bertrum wrote about the Australian outback. The author took the reader
through the life of Australian squatters and selectors: independent men who took on
the landscape. Firstly, Bertrum explained the life of a squatter starting up a new
station in the Australian bush. He takes a lease from the Government for 10,000 acres,
takes the railway as far as he can and then rides out into the bush. Selecting a site for
his house, near a creek, he erected a shanty, a temporary shelter of wood and
corrugated iron. Bertrum painted the picture of setting up a station, the building of a
homestead, runs, paddocks and stables. The life without the luxuries, the only food
was mutton killed on the spot, 'billy-tea' and 'damper'. The life of the squatter started
proper when the stock was transported to the station. Bertrum's description of bush
life then moved on to the 'selector'. He was described as far from a 'gentleman' but 'as
free and independent as any squatter on the countryside', and the author took the
reader through the life of a selector as he gained enough money from shearing to gain
a stake in the land. It was these people, Bertrum argued, that the colonies were made
of. The squatter was not a landlord but a landholder, 'an adventurer, an
entrepreneur'.[57]

It was the bush, the veldt, the prairie and the backcountry that was seen as
creating the frontiersman and provided the true 'colonial experience'. In *Making Good*

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[57] Bertrum, 'Bush Life in Australia,' pp.701-708.

in Canada published 1912, Frederick A. Talbot described a frontiersman in the teeming city as like 'the Eskimo in the tropics'. The man from the frontier cannot stifle the longing for the solitude of the wilderness and the difficulties of the trail.[58] Similarly, in his 1891 account *The Colonial Tramp*, Hume Nisbet recounted a conversation with Australian Robert Russell about young city men in Melbourne. Russell was keen to point out that the city boys were not the true 'young colonials'. He pointed Nisbet to the bush to see what colonial 'sons and daughters' were really like.[59] They were the 'typical' colonials.

The statistics for Australia in the early twentieth century show 'primary producers' as the largest male occupation (excluding independents and dependents). Agriculture and pastoral work employed nearly 350,000 men in 1901.[60] This would be the group that the men of the frontier fell into, the stockman, those men who looked after livestock, usually based at a station, the farmers, and the drovers, who moved livestock over long distances. These occupations became the embodiment of the colonial frontiersmen, men who took on the landscape as the Empire pushed outwards.

In a description of a township in the New Zealand backcountry, Mrs Wilson highlighted the progress. Brave and courageous men had created a town in what was only twelve years earlier 'seemingly impenetrable bush'.[61] The pioneers on the prairie farms on the edge of 'the wild' suffered hardships, but also, Wilson argued, they

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[58] Frederick Talbot, *A. Making Good in Canada* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), p.1.
[59] Hume Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp: Travels and Adventures in Australia and New Guinea* (London: Ward & Downey, 1891), p.91.
[60] Sir George Handley Knibbs, *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia* (Canberra: Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics, 1907), p. 169.
[61] Wilson, *In the Land of the Tui,* p.67.

secured immense rewards.[62] Haweis described the old pioneers as sterling men; the

frontier was the survival of the fittest.[63] Marion Cran stated 'I remember the squalor,

disease and alcoholism of English cities, and I look at these narrow-minded, broad-

chested, hard-working men with unstinted respect'.[64] The climate and agricultural

lifestyle of the frontier was definitely considered to have health benefits. Taunton

described the atmosphere of Western Australia as immensely clear and clean. The

author was keen to point out the numbers of nebulae that he could see that were not

visible in 'our foggy and smoky England'.[65] Similarly, Cran described the 'healthy faces'

of a farmer's daughters and women in Canada and stated that the pastoral life of the

Canadian frontier was clean, fresh and sweet.[66]It was a rejuvenating landscape that

created a particular type of man.

Jessie Ackerman described the 'Never Never,' the outback in North Queensland

as the Soul of Australia. The people had 'battled on in the very teeth of adversity with

a courage which refused to be defeated'. They had overcome the frontier and made

their home there.[67] In all parts of 'Greater Britain' this image of the frontiersman

emerged. In his 1906 book on Canada, Harry Richmond Whates described the man of

the prairies and backwoods as the typical figure of Canada. This was a man of virile

character and keen intellect. His self-dependence and isolated life left him hardy. And

the long fierce winters and task of overcoming the primeval forest created a patient

man with an immense strength of will.[68] Whates described a race 'physically,

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[62] Cran, *A Woman in Canada*, p.17.
[63] Haweis, *Travel and Talk,* p.95.
[64] Cran. *A Woman in Canada*, p.54.
[65] Taunton, *Australind*, p.25.
[66] Cran. *A Woman in Canada,* p.94.
[67] Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View,* p.60.
[68] Whates, *Canada, the New Nation*, p.xiii.

intellectually, and morally' superior to that of the Old Country.[69] The landscape created a particular type of person. Whates argued 'The Canadian, or the man or woman who has been there for many years, is a somewhat different physical being from the Englishman'. He described the native-born Canadian as larger in growth and 'hardier in physique, and certainly in temperament'.

The image of the man of the frontier was connected to the late nineteenth century notion of 'Anglo-Saxon manhood'. The image of the Empire during the 'new imperialism' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a concept based on patriotism, physical toughness, team games, fair play or sportsmanship, self-discipline, selflessness and bravery.[70] It was through sporting 'tests' that the Britons overseas could be assessed. Cricket, Richard Cashman has argued, was the 'most English of English games' and it expressed the concept of cultural bond and imperial ideas better than any other sport.[71] Cashman has argued that colonial success at cricket, matching the English masters of the game, was confirmation that British society, institutions and culture were flourishing in the Antipodes.[72] Indeed, the testing of the colonial man through sport was one way to confirm that the 'new stock' were 'Better Britons'. The British were not wilting in the Southern Hemisphere, far from it. Was it, however, a landscape that was only creating 'Better British' *men*?

Gender and the Frontier: A Masculine Landscape?

The representation of the frontier of the settler societies was associated with the masculine imperialist ideas of the period. Within the popular representation the

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[69] *Ibid.*, p.107.
[70]Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (Abacus: London, 1995), p.206.
[71] Richard Cashman, 'Symbols of Imperial Unity: Anglo-Australia Cricketers, 1877-1900,' in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire and Society* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.129.
[72] *Ibid*.

frontier made men real colonial *men*. The traits celebrated within the fiction, travel

accounts and other sources were predominantly masculine. Men dominated the

fiction and the main jobs associated with the outback and the prairie. It was a

masculine landscape. Marilyn Lake has described this image of the frontier as over-

represented in Britain.[73] The colonist was identified with the West or frontier with the

bushman ideal of roughness, self-reliance, independence, 'mateship' and the rejection

of domesticity.[74] The fiction of the period portrayed a landscape that tested

masculinity but was also primarily male dominated. The frontispiece to George

Sutherland's 1886 account *Australia, or England in the South* featured a stockman

herding cattle.[75] For the British this was the image of the Australian, the bushman or

the stockman working the land. This was also the case for the image of New Zealand,

Canada and South Africa.

Indeed, Tosh has argued that these representations were 'equated with the

complete antithesis of feminine domesticity'.[76] The story featured in *The Illustrated*

London News in which the protagonist, an artist who took an ill-advised trip to an

Australian outback station and spent a night alone in the bush decided to go to Sydney

as 'there were civilised people in Sydney, and women – especially women'.[77] While

travelling along a road in remote Western Australia, Marianne North and her female

companion were said to be the first women to travel that road alone according to the

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[73] Marilyn Lake, 'The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculine Context,' *Historical Studies,* 22 (1986), pp.116-31.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] George Sutherland, *Australia, or England in the South* (London: Seeley, 1886).
[76] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), p.206.
[77] Lindsay, 'The Making of a Man,' p.193.

coach company.[78] Lisa Chilton has described the frontier as 'masculine homosocial spaces' where 'danger, adventure and rugged independence thrived'.[79] The push for female emigration during this period was associated with providing a civilising and moralising presence. Chilton has argued that where the 'male' fiction and literature of the period focused on the frontier as a place where the reassertion of masculinity could take place, the literature that focussed on women saw these parts of the Empire as 'ideal locations for women to demonstrate what it meant to be true women' as these spaces were in the process of being 'claimed and civilised'.[80] Literature on the 'right sort of woman' looked to women to impose a moralising force on the settler societies.[81] The importance of women within the transformation of the frontier can be seen in the rejection of some women who were not considered to be in good physical and moral health.[82]

Morag Bell has argued that women were part of the transformation of the physical environment. Women could help the Empire move away from a 'bleak empty space into a comfortable and familiar cultural landscape'.[83] The acclimatisation to South Africa was not only physical but also moral and mental. Women would humanise the landscape.

In her account, *A Woman in Canada*, Marion Cran stated that wives were scarce in the North-West and 'a work of Empire awaits the woman of breed and

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[78] Marianne North, *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North* (London: Macmillan, 1892), p.125.

[79] Lisa Chilton, *Agents of Empire: British Female Migration to Canada and Australia, 1860s-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p.68.

[80] *Ibid.*, p.71.

[81] Julia Bush, 'The Right Sort of Woman': Female Emigrators and Emigration to the British Empire, 1890-1910,' *Women's History Review*, 3: 3 (1994), pp.385-409.

[82] Chilton, *Agents of Empire*, p.30.

[83] Morag Bell, '"The Pestilence that Walketh in Darkness" Imperial Health, Gender and Images of South Africa, 1880-1910,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 18: 3 (1993), p.332.

endurance who will settle on the prairie homesteads and rear their children in the best tradition of Britain'.[84] Cran described the prairies as 'crying out' for women. They were not looking for any woman though; it was particularly women of breeding and endurance, and educated middle-class women were best suited. And Cran argued that every woman who went out to Canada would make it easier for the next. Cran was very keen to point out that these women should not go to the cities; it was the prairies of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia that she recommended. The main reason was the scarcity of women within these provinces and their surplus and the overcrowding of Britain. More women in the population would make 'make both countries more comfortable'.[85] In similar sentiment, S. Staples stated that Natal would welcome gentlewomen 'prepared to love and labour for our land' as 'now more than ever before do we need the influence of the English motherland'.[86]

The need for a 'women's presence' was debated in the journals during the period.[87] And much of the published fiction written by female authors during this period was related to family life on the frontier.[88] The image of women in the frontier was as a moralising domestic factor within a masculine landscape. However, could this image of women and the frontier be reconciled with the representation of the settler societies as a place where women could live a freer independent life?

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[84] Cran, *A Woman in Canada*, pp.14-15.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 21-24

[86] S. Staples, 'The Emigration of Gentlewomen: A Woman's Word from Natal,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review,* 50 (August, 1901), p.221.

[87] Adelaide Ross, 'Emigration For Women,' *Macmillan's Magazine*, 45: 268 (February, 1882), pp.316; Staples, 'The Emigration Of Gentlewomen,' pp.214-221; 'Emigration For Women,' *Myra's Journal* (September 01, 1892), p.4;

[88] Ellen Campbell, *An Australian Childhood* (London: Blackie, 1892); Ella Chaffey, *The Youngsters of Murray Home* (London: Ward Lock, 1896); Mrs. F, Hughes, *My Childhood in Australia: A Story for My Children* (London: Digby, 1892); Mary Grant Bruce, *A Little Bush Maid* (London: Ward Lock, 1910); Mary Grant Bruce, *Glen Eyre* (London: Ward Lock, 1912).

Alongside the domestic representations was another that focussed on the independence and freedom that the settler societies could provide to women. A number of female authors wrote stories that featured female heroines in the frontier landscape.[89] Women were featured occasionally in other sources, often highlighting the capability of the 'bush girl'. The article in *John Bull* also described the 'bush girl' as equally at home on horseback as the men 'and will get her horse in from the paddock, saddle it, ride perhaps twenty miles to town and back again, and never dream of acquiring assistance'.[90]

Travellers in particular represented the settler societies as places in which women could have equality and independence. Ackerman was keen to highlight the 'enlarged powers' which had been bestowed upon the Australian. She stated that part of her account, *Australia from a Women's Point of View,* presented the natural, political, industrial, social, religious, and home settings of women in Australia and examines their equal citizenship with men.[91] Indeed, New Zealand and two Australian colonies extended the vote to women in the 1890s and then to all of the Australian colonies by 1908.[92]

For British men, the frontier was represented as a homosocial space that epitomised ideas of freedom from urban and domesticity. Tosh has argued that 'the colonial world symbolised the freedom which was in theory available to men (unlike women) of cutting a lone path, of deviating from the norm, of fashioning their own

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[89] Mary Grant Bruce, *Norah of Billabong* (London: Ward Lock, 1913); Jessie Mary Whitfield, *The Colters; An Australian Story for Girls* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912) and also a few by male authors for example, Hume Nisbet, *A Bush Girl's Romance* (London: F.V. White, 1895).
[90] *John Bull* (May 30, 1891), p.348
[91] Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View,* pp.vii; viii.
[92] South Australia 1894, Western Australian 1899, New South Wales 1902, Tasmania 1903, Queensland 1905, Victoria, 1908.

destiny'.[93] Women, however, were not excluded from these ideas of freedom,

particularly in their own representation of their place in the settler societies. Julia

Bush has argued that for some 'emigration meant opportunities for women to work,

to become self-supporting, to lead freer, more independent lives'.[94] Cran argued that

there was a surplus of women in Britain who spent their lives 'working savagely day by

day for bread and bacon, working at a ridiculous wage with no hope of ultimate

independence, no hope of marriage or motherhood'. [95] Moving to the prairies would

benefit them but also Canada. It would allow them to move out of the rigid social

structure of Britain to the less restrictive frontier. In her account, Miss Conybeare was

delighted to sit and watch Parliament in the Cape alongside gentlemen in the spacious

gallery after suffering the discomfort of the 'Ladies Cage' back at home.[96] To them it

was a place that offered more equality. The settler societies were seen as landscapes

of opportunity for both men and women.

Indeed, part of the representation of the settler societies was as a place of

social experiment and not just in terms of female suffrage. Bridge and Fedorowich

have pointed to the influence that the dominions had on Britain. Responsible

government, the secret ballot, free compulsory secular schools, and universal

manhood suffrage were all established in a number of the settler colonies during the

nineteenth century before Britain.[97] The Victoria League Industrial Committee was

formed in 1905 in order to utilise the ideas of the colonial 'experiments' in relation to

factory laws. A brainchild of Violet Markham and Edith Lyttleton, the committee aimed

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[93] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p.199.
[94] Bush, 'The Right Sort of Woman,' p.386.
[95] Cran, *A Woman in Canada*, pp.21-24; 247-248.
[96] 'Miss Conybeare in South Africa,' *Woman's Herald* (September 12, 1891).
[97] Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, 'Mapping the British World,' in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture, and Identity* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.5.

to publish a handbook of collated industrial laws from the settler colonies as well as comparative tables in order for Britain to benefit from the colonial experiments.[98] It was not just a place of opportunity in terms of land and jobs it was also a place where Britons could 'move up' in society.

In the 1890s Frederick Jackson Turner wrote of the importance of the frontier within American history and identity. He argued that the American frontier created the distinctive character of American society due to the 'continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society'.[99] For Turner, the advance into the frontier was a return to primitive conditions. Like the town, the wilderness was seen as a 'blank page', a place to start a new chapter 'in the story of man's struggle for higher type of society'. As a way of seeing the settler societies, 'Greater Britain' was a 'blank page' for British society. Just as the bush was the edge of Australian society, 'Greater Britain' was the edge of British society, 'A Frontier in British History'.

The British Frontier

In his thesis, Turner described the American advance west as the 'outer edge of the wave'.[100] It was the point where savagery met civilisation that forged the American character. Society adapted to the new conditions and saw a constant renewal as settlement moved west. Turner argued that 'From the beginning of the settlement of America, the frontier regions have exercised a steady influence towards democracy'. This was based on 'natural rights' and freedom of the individual as the settlers saw it as their right 'to establish their own political institutions in an area which they have

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[98] Eliza Riedi, 'Options for an imperialist Woman: The Case of Violet Markham, 1899-1914,' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* 32: 1 (Spring 2000), pp.77.
[99] Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History,' p.4.
[100] *Ibid.*

won from the wilderness'.[101] The frontier represented free conditions and 'promoted individualism, economic equality, freedom to rise and democracy'.[102]

As the American moved west he was constantly returning back to an earlier version of society. *The Turner Thesis* described the frontier as the 'line of most rapid and effective Americanisation'. 'The wilderness masters the colonist.' The pioneer began their journey in European dress, with European industries, tools, modes of travel and thought but the frontier took him from this to a birch canoe. He no longer wore the garments of civilisation and instead he was placed in moccasins and a hunting shirt. The frontier transformed the man and then 'Little by little he transforms the wilderness.' The new society that emerged was not the old Europe, but a new America.[103] The frontier transformed the man, and then men transformed the frontier. The settler societies as a frontier of Britain also fit into these ideas.

The settler societies were represented as having a greater sense of freedom and social equality. However, unlike at Turner's frontier, the Briton remained British when they emerged from the wilderness. Nevertheless, this was a 'Better Britain'. The representation of associational life highlighted the freer nature of life in the settler societies. In his description of New Zealand in the 1880s, William Delisle Hay, 'fresh from the crystallized decorum of English manners,' was struck by the freedom of interaction that prevailed in the city. Even though he noted that class prejudice had been imported to a small extent, overall there was 'a nearer approach to true liberty, equality, and fraternity' in the customs and manner of the colonists.[104] The lack of

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[101] *Ibid.*

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] *Ibid.*, p.6.

[104] William Delisle Hay, *Brighter Britain! or, Settler and Maori in northern New Zealand* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1882), p.29.

conventionality which Hay argued was the prerogative of colonists resulted in the mingling of people who seemed completely equal but presented the most extraordinary difference in appearance.[105] He described the fusion of people in Auckland as producing a 'very amiable and friendly state of things' and 'prejudice must not be entertained against any man on account of his birth, connections, education, poverty, or manner of work'.[106] It was a society that 'comprehends everybody'.[107]

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, emigration was no longer a last resort; it was undertaken in the hope of economic and social advancement. In 1913, Ackerman described Australia as attracting the attention of the world due to the social evolution it was undergoing. The role of women featured heavily in her account, particularly their place in the counsel of men in this capacity of citizens. Ackerman argued that even though the country was in its infancy it was fascinating to foresee what social order will evolve in this 'experimental station of social enactments'.[108] Like the cities of a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain', the frontier was a place where British society had a clean slate. Travellers and settlers were quick to highlight the freer society that showed the influence of Britain but without the social constraints of home.

The guide commissioned by the Canadian Department of the Interior, *Canada, or Descriptive Textbook* (1899) highlighted the utopian, egalitarian and romantic elements of Western Canadian life.[109] W.A. Carrothers argued that the peasant and artisan of the Old World were bound by chains of class and custom. The metaphorical

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[105] *Ibid.*, p.36.

[106] *Ibid.*, p.37.

[107] *Ibid*.

[108] Jessie Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View* (London: Gassell and Company Ltd., 1913), p.vii.

[109] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire,* p.206.

West provided an exit from this, not only 'greater well-being' in the heart of the resources that 'demanded manly exertion' but also social advance. The result was 'A belief in liberty, freedom of opportunity, and a resistance to the domination of class', as new settlers tried to create a more egalitarian society.[110] This idea occurred in the representation of the colonies. Carrothers argued that the opportunities in the Dominions were much greater; this fuelled the ambitions of 'young Britain' revolting against conventionalism.[111] The perceived freedom of other parts of the world could now be found 'under the flag' on the British frontier.

The egalitarian nature of the settler societies was considered a response to the landscape and how it was tackled. Willoughby stated that Australia was a society with English manners, sympathies and hospitality but yet in novel surroundings.[112] In his 1908 book *New Zealand at Home,* R.A. Loughnan argued that early immigration to New Zealand filled the colony with people 'who could set up an independent standard in any wilderness'. Overcoming the landscape required pride, self-reliance and determination. The necessity of building the society had forced the pioneers to reflect on parts of society that they would have not have done in Britain. The pioneers were left with the task of establishing laws based on old principles but to meet novel conditions and also to govern themselves. Loughnan described the progress New Zealand had made in sixty years with adult suffrage, a system of old-age pensions, State life assurance, and very nearly a State bank.[113] In his 1894 account, *Winter and Summer Excursions in Canada* C. L. Johnstone stated that the boy who goes out with a

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[110] W.A. Carrothers, *Emigration from the British Isles: With Special Reference to the Development of the Overseas Dominions* (London: P.S King & Son, Ltd, 1929), p.244.
[111] *Ibid.*, p.244.
[112] Howard Willoughby, *Australian Pictures Drawn from Pen and Pencil* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886)*,* p.16.
[113] R.A. Loughnan, *New Zealand at Home* (London: George Newnes Ltd, 1908), pp.1-2, 3.

strong pair of hands and a knowledge of farming may not make a fortune but could live a happy life amongst educated people in an exhilarating climate. But more importantly, he could even aspire to become a Member of Parliament or a provincial Governor.[114]

Copping described Canada as 'the country where privilege has no foothold, and wealth is only to be won by work'.[115] When Copping asked a fellow emigrant whether they missed the facilities and stimulus of English schools, they stated, 'Please under-stand I am not regretting what one may call the "social polish" side of the thing. God forbid that my children should grow up with any sense of class distinctions!'[116] The frontier was a 'blank page' in terms of class structure for Britain and those who lived there. Koebel described the society in New Zealand's backcountry as very equal. The author stated that there was 'evidence of a wide sociability everywhere'. Men in immaculate tweeds shook the hands of men in worn and soil-stained clothes. There was a democratic atmosphere throughout the streets of the towns.[117] In 1886 Howard Willoughby described Australia as having no aristocracy and no National Church and each state was a democracy 'pure and simple'.[118]

In a series of published letters, James Ward discussed the change in character one would have to make in order to survive in Australia. He stated that to be able to succeed in Australia the emigrant would have to become a new man, particularly in terms of society and his way of life. The man who can thus break through old habits

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[114] C.L. Johnstone, *Winter and Summer Excursions in Canada* (London: Digby, 1894), p.xiv.
[115] Arthur Copping, *The Golden Land*, *the True Story and Experiences of Settlers in Canada* (London: Hodder And Stoughton, 1912), p.51.
[116] Burroughs in *Ibid.*, p.54.
[117] Koebel*, In the Maoriland Bush,* p.34.
[118] Howard Willoughby, *Australian Pictures Drawn from Pen and Pencil* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886)*,* p.16.

and divest himself of old social prejudices is endowed with a force of character which would enable him to make his way anywhere; and in Australia he will certainly carve out for himself a sure though somewhat rough road to fortune.[119] Ward stated that the new emigrant must 'disturb' all their current ideas regarding their position in life and 'reconcile himself to the new conditions which are attached to the situation of servant, as well a master'.[120]

In his *Letters from Abroad or Scraps from New Zealand, Australia and America* published in 1884, H.T.B Bush stated that the pioneer must throw up English ties and the luxuries of an old civilisation. He described the work of the pioneer as hard and incessant work on the soil. This life was far from 'a bed of roses.' Bush described it as a manly, healthy, contented life.[121] Over twenty years later, in his 1911 account of New Zealand, *In the Maoriland Bush*, W.H. Koebel wrote about the men of the forests, peaks and grass lands of the clearings. These men of New Zealand had in marked degree the qualities that 'go hand in hand with perfect physical health and a strenuous life'.[122] They were staunch, reliable and open hearted, qualities that came with living in a limited society and the need to fend for themselves. Even though Koebel wanted to try and remove the misconceptions of the men from the bush, the 'wild man from the woods, crude as a bush pig in costume and manners,' he still added to the romantic image. One description features a stockman on horseback herding the cattle, 'the crashes of the stock whips echoing across the gullies'.[123]

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[119] James Ward, *Perils, Pastimes and Pleasures of an Emigrant in Australia, Vancouver's Island and California* (London: T. C. Newby, 1849), p.25.
[120] *Ibid.,* pp.30-31.
[121] H.T.B. Bush, *Letters from Abroad or Scraps from New Zealand, Australia and America* (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1884), p.77.
[122] Koebel, *In the Maoriland Bush,* p.20.
[123] *Ibid.*, pp.20-23.

The frontier of 'Greater Britain' encapsulated the idea that the imperial landscape was a spacious, healthy one full of opportunity. The image of the colonial man reflected this landscape. They were the men of the frontier, hardy and healthy but also classless; products of the social experiments of the British frontier. These traits were seen in the image of the frontiersman, the stockman, the farmer and the squatter. But it was during the Boer War that the qualities created in the frontier were really put on show.

The differences between the colonial man shaped by the frontier and the product of the industrial city were seen to be at their starkest during the Boer War. The colonial soldiers and the Boers were perceived as the antithesis of the British recruits and the large proportion of British volunteers who were unfit to serve.

Colonial Soldier: A Product of the Frontier

Glenn R. Wilkinson has argued that in 1899 the Boer War was depicted as beneficial to Britain. Linked to the ideas of social Darwinism, particularly the theories of Benjamin Kidd and Karl Pearson, war was seen as a test of national fitness. When the war broke out the general feeling in Britain was that the war would be over quickly. A *Punch* cartoon of November, 1899 portrayed an officer and a young man packing for South Africa.

> First officer: What on earth do you want with all those polo sticks?
> Subaltern: Well, I thought we should get our fighting done by luncheon-time, and then we should have the afternoons to ourselves and could get a game of polo![124]

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[124] *Punch* (November 1, 1899), p.214.

However, against all expectations the British forces failed to subdue a 'handful of farmers' in the time expected.[125] The defeats occurred alongside a large scale rejection of volunteers, and consequently degeneration became a major concern.[126]

Even early in the war, journalists were pointing to the ill-health of the volunteers. In an article in the *National Review* in 1899 Arnold White pointed to the forty per cent rejection rate from towns.[127] As a eugenicist, White's critique was based on national 'racial efficiency' and he raised fears that an industrial country with the majority of the population living in an urban environment could not supply the troops to defend itself.[128] White's ideas were later to be expounded by Earl Grey in a letter to *The Times* in 1901.[129] Grey argued that the population brought up in the 'sunless slums of our smoke-enveloped cities' deteriorate quickly. Grey argued that this current state ought to keep the nation awake at night if it were allowed to continue. If the existing conditions were allowed to go on for another generation, Britain would not be able to bear the burden of Empire.[130]

A Parliamentary Report in 1904, the 'Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration', questioned whether degeneration was occurring and the

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[125] Glenn R. Wilkinson, *Depictions and Images of War in Edwardian Newspapers, 1899-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp.51-52.

[126] Wilkinson argued that one of the images of war in Edwardian newspapers was that of 'an activity which was beneficial to society and the "race," and an acceptable and necessary antidote to degeneration'. War and health were often used in conjunction with each other, for example, the *Daily Mail* reported the conduct of the early stages of the war in the same way as medical practices, using terms such as 'symptoms' and 'special treatment'. Wilkinson, *Depictions and Images of War in Edwardian Newspapers*, pp.54, 52.

[127] A. White, 'The Cult of Infirmity', *The National Review*, 34 (1899), pp.239-241 and Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1995), p.41.

[128] Richard Soloway, ''Counting the Degenerates: The Statistics of Race Degeneration in Edwardian England,' *Journal of Contemporary History,* 17 (1982), p.140.

[129] *Ibid*, p.41.

[130] Earl Grey, 'Weights and Measurements of Our Children,' (Letters to the Editor) *The Times* (November 26, 1901), p.7.

best methods to prevent it.[131] The report highlighted the relationship between 'The impairment of vigour and physique among the urban poor' and the insufficient and poor quality food and an unhealthy environment, including defective housing, overcrowding and insanitary surroundings. The report stated that approximately 77 per cent of the population lived in towns, and of that population about 25 per cent ('appear from trustworthy investigations') were living in poverty. The report estimated that this came to about six million people who were unable to rear their children under conditions favourable to health and physical fitness. These were the people described by Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree during this period.[132] They were the product of miserable rooms, with bad ventilation and plagued with damp, in which typically one family 'shares one closet with six other houses, and one water-tap with three others'.[133] The majority of men who volunteered for enlistment in 1899 came from this section of the population.[134]

The 1904 report drew its information from articles by Sir Frederick Maurice. Maurice wrote on the state of Britain's men, the fear of degeneration, and future national security in the years after the Boer War. His article 'Where to Get Men' was published in the *Contemporary Review* in 1902 and this was followed by 'National Health: A Soldier's Study' in 1903.[135] Maurice highlighted the fact that only two in five men offering their services to the army were acceptable as soldiers. His articles examined this figure and looked into the reasons for this proportion.[136] In his second

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[131] British Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons (1904, XXXII.1) W. *Taylor, Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, Volume I,* pp.1-144.
[132] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London : Macmillan, 1902); Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty, A Study of Town Life* (London: Macmillan, 1902).
[133] Rowntree, *Poverty*, p.38.
[134] Taylor, *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, Volume I*, p.97.
[135] Sir Frederick Maurice, 'Where to get Men,' *Contemporary Review* (January, 1902), pp.78-86.
[136] Sir Frederick Maurice, 'National Health: A Soldier's Study,' *Contemporary Review,* 83 (1903), p.50.

article published in 1903 he asked why only two of every five volunteers were fit for service. Maurice looked to the class from which the army had drawn the bulk of the nation's defenders and questioned whether there was 'a cause or causes ceasing to supply the numbers of healthy men it used to do'.[137]

Maurice pointed to a number of factors that caused this poor fitness and health within the urban population.[138] The physical environment of the industrial cities, however, was a factor that recurred throughout his articles. He cited the continuous rush of people from the country to the town, the disappearance of the yeoman class, and the depression of the agricultural districts as the key factors in adding to the deterioration of physical vigour.[139] Maurice used historical examples in his work to highlight the importance of the countryside in the health of the nation. He pointed to the history of the Holy Roman Empire and its sourcing of 'healthy recruits'. Even though it had suffered defeat during its history, its vitality and longevity were due to the fact that, according to Maurice, 'it has within its borders a vast, healthy, and vigorous agricultural population [...which] supplies an almost limitless resource of healthy recruits'.[140] This could be describing any one of the colonies of 'Greater Britain'. The image of the men of 'Greater Britain' was linked to the frontier image of the tall, hardy man dressed in khaki, who had overcome the hostile landscape. Out of the fear of the degeneration within British cities came an admiration of the Britons

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[137] *Ibid.,* p.49.

[138] See Riedi, 'Options for an imperialist Woman,' pp.76-77 and Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood,' *History Workshop* 5 (1978), pp.9-65. And Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social and Imperial Thought 1895-1914* (London, 1960) and G.R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency* (Berkley, 1971).

[139] Maurice, 'National Health: A Soldier's Study,' pp.49-50.

[140] *Ibid.,* p.51.

overseas. The Boer War revealed that it was of the frontier where the new, strong Briton was being forged.

The Boer War essentially revealed and confirmed the fears in late nineteenth-century Britain surrounding rural decay and depopulation and urban degeneration and over population. A number of articles appeared post-war highlighting the strength of the 'country' recruits.[141] The health and moral fibre of Englishmen was under threat by the urbanisation of Britain. Paul Readman has argued that the ideas of Land Reform during this period were a result of this fear for national efficiency. Both Conservatives and Liberals put forward reforms to allow more Britons to have a stake in the land. Whether it was Balfour's push for more small ownership or the Liberal's Land Campaign, the reforms were driven by a combination of land politics but also patriotism. The Liberal's Land Campaigns sought to allow labourers access to the land, resulting in a self-sufficient lifestyle, which would inspire hard work and frugality: 'liberty begat moral virtue'. Labourers would 'be able to make a career on the land as an independent, upright and truly freeborn Englishman'.[142] This would not only ensure national character, but also result in a 'large strong robust population'.[143] Rural inhabitants produced the best fighting men.[144]

The image of the frontier needs to be placed within this frame of mind. It is already clear that the imperial landscape's regenerating force was important in the image of 'Greater Britain'. The healthy landscape was portrayed in advertisements,

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[141] W Beach Thomas, 'Training And National Degeneration,' *The Monthly Review,* 15: 45 (June 1904), pp.112-123; Alfred A. Mumford, 'Some Considerations on the Alleged Physical Degeneration of the British Race,' *Fortnightly Review,* 76: 452 (August 1904), pp.324-338; Alice Revenhill, 'Physical Training And National Development,' *The Monthly Review* (September 1904), pp.70-83;
[142] Paul Readman, 'The Edwardian Land Question,' in Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman (eds.) *The Land Question in Britain, 1750-1950* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.187-188; 193.
[143] David Lloyd George in *Ibid.*, p.193.
[144] *Ibid.*

exhibitions, travel accounts, emigration literature and settler accounts. However, it was not just the landscape that created these men, but it was living the frontier life that was seen to have the benefits. While journeying from Cape Town to Bulawayo, Lady Sarah Wilson described her life on the veldt. Wilson spent the time sleeping outdoors, riding ponies and mule wagons, a lifestyle she recommended 'as a splendid cure for any who are run down or overworked'.[145]

The qualities of the colonial soldier were highlighted in the press. One article argued that the, 'cowboys and others from north-west of Canada, boundary riders, stock tenders and others from the back blocks of Australia and New Zealand, loyal farmhands and pioneers in South Africa' could instantly endure the hardships that imperial soldiers needed weeks to get used to.[146] The article went onto argue that in the Maori wars the colonial forces were superior to the imperial forces.[147]

The importance of this outdoor lifestyle of the frontiersmen is evident in Robert Baden-Powell's foundation of the Scout Movement in 1907. Influenced by the reports on physical deterioration, Baden-Powell saw the benefit of the outdoor life for the youth of Britain and also the defence of the Empire. Baden-Powell was influenced by his experiences in the Empire, particularly of the siege of Mafeking, and his scouting was based on the outdoor life associated with the South African. In his description of peace scouts early in *Scouting for Boys,* Baden-Powell lists the men of Empire who

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[145] Lady Sarah Wilson, *South African Memories* (London: Edward Arnold, 1909), p.57.
[146] 'Imperial Irregulars,' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 89 (2309) (January 27, 1900), p.98.
[147] *Ibid.*

have the abilities he wanted from the scout. These were the frontiersmen: 'real MEN in every sense of the word'.[148]

The scout movement had evolved from, but also differed from, the other major youth movement of the period, the Boy's Brigade. Founded in Glasgow in 1883, the movement had around 75,000 members by the turn of the century.[149] William Alexander Smith started the first brigade for boys in their early to late teens, to fill the gap between Sunday School and the YMCA. The uniformed organisation was aimed at the boy's sense of patriotism and national spirit, but ultimately with a religious end.[150] The Brigade's object was 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness'.[151] This was the manly Christianity of Thomas Arnold. Baden-Powell was closely associated with the Boy's Brigade, and the first version of *Scouting for Boys* was published in the *Boy's Brigade Gazette* in 1906.[152] Scouting was taken up as *one* activity within the brigade. Baden-Powell took the idea of the scouting movement forward as a separate movement, moving away from the Christian ideas of the Brigade to the secular ideas of 'Empire' and 'citizenship'.[153] The Boy's Brigade was run on the lines of the British army, whereas the Scouts were influenced by the colonial experience.

Trappers of North America, hunters of Central Africa, British pioneers, explorers and missionaries over Asia and all the wild parts of the world, the Bushmen and

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[148] Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.13.
[149] John Springhall, *Sure and Stedfast: A History of the Boy's Brigade, 1883-1983* (London: Collins, 1983), p.46.
[150] John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p.24.
[151] Springhall, *Sure and Stedfast*, p.39.
[152] *Ibid.*, p.101.
[153] *Ibid.*, p.102.

drovers of Australia, the constabulary of North-West Canada and of South Africa all

had the skills Baden-Powell promoted. These men, he argued, could find their way

anywhere, knew how to look after themselves in remote places, they were strong and

plucky and ready for danger and also always keen to help each other. These were the

skills the boys would learn. Boys were encouraged to read *Kim* by Rudyard Kipling, *The*

Siege of Mafeking by Major F Ballie, *Heroes of Pioneering* by Edgar Sanderson and *Rob*

the Ranger by Herbert Strang, a story about boy scouts in the early days of Canada.[154]

The fiction published in the period featured the boys dressed in a wide-awake hat and

khaki uniform; they were created in the image of the colonial soldier (Figures 3.3 and

3.4).[155] John Mackenzie has argued that the movement brought an imperial frontier

vision to the training of the young, particularly boys.[156] The boy scouts were being

trained to know their landscape, trained in the idea of the colonial (or frontier) way of

life. It was this way of life that would create men who could defend the Empire.

In the Turner Thesis the frontier was linked to the idea of a Military Training

School, 'keeping alive the power of resistance to aggression, and developing the

stalwart and rugged qualities of the frontiersman'.[157] The militia force in Canada was

described in *The Times* as unorganised but 'powerful in physique, intelligent and eager

to learn'.[158] A similar comment was made about the Australian troops in the Sudan.[159]

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[154] Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, p.19.

[155] Harold Blind, 'The Double Trail,' *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 46:209 (Sept.1910), p.465 and 'Our Colonial Brother's in Arms: Australian Bushmen on the March,' *The Illustrated London News* (January 19, 1901), pp.80-81.

[156] John MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures,' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.282.

[157] Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History,' p.38.

[158] 'The Militia Force of Canada,' *The Times* (April 23, 1892), p.6.

[159] J. Henniker Heaton, 'Australian Patriotism,' *The Times* (April 4, 1885), p.11.

Figure 3.3 Illustration from the Story "The Double Trail," by Harold Blind in *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 1910.

"'All right! I'll go quiet   You've done me!'".
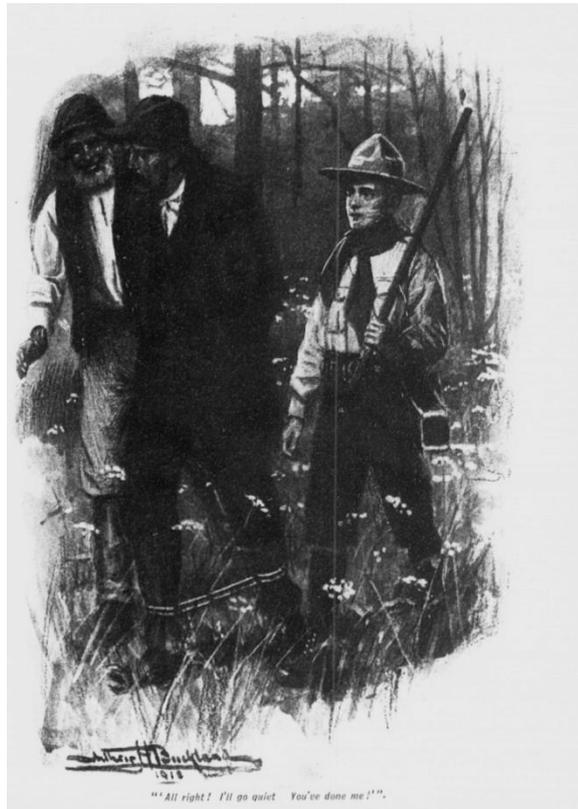
Harold Blind, "The Double Trail," *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 46:209 (Sept.1910), p.465.

The travel accounts and soldier accounts of the Boer War from British and colonial soldiers certainly created an image of 'stalwart and rugged' men. In a description of the Boer soldiers in an internment camp, the men were described by Filson Young as 'outdoor men'. Young listed characteristics such as stalwart, burned brown by the sun, stern looking and big. They had an 'air of large contentment they wear who live much alone and out of doors'. Even his descriptions of their activities created the picture of a strapping, healthy outdoor man. The soldiers were 'playing cricket with ponderous energy, bathing and sporting in the clear apple-green water'.[160]

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[160] Filson Young, *The Relief of Mafeking: How it Was Accomplished by Mahon's Flying Column; with an Account of Some Earlier Episodes in the Boer War of 1899-1900* (London: Metheun & Co., 1900), p.71.

The Times reported in 1899 on the 'large numbers of men, of excellent physique' who had signed up to the Utilander corps in Durban.[161] This was a stark contrast from the problems described by Maurice and the thousands of men rejected from the British army.

Figure 3.4 Illustration of the Australian Contingent in South Africa in *The Illustrated London News*, 1901.

'Our Colonial Brother's in Arms: Australian Bushmen on the March,' *The Illustrated London News* (January 19, 1901), pp.80-81.

The image of the South African way of life was highlighted in the diaries of Boer soldiers too. Deneys Reitz's *Commando: A Boer Journal of the Boer War* was published in London in 1902, and at the start he described his upbringing in Bloemfontein with his brothers. He depicted his life as a 'pleasant Tom Sawyer-like existence'. The author stated that they learnt to ride, swim and shoot as soon as they could walk. They were

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[161] Special Correspondent, 'Latest Intelligence,' *The Times* (October 16, 1899), p.5.

often out for weeks at a time riding over the game-covered plains, hunting and fishing 'camping to our heart's content' and then sleeping under the stars.[162]

This attachment to the frontier landscape took a different turn during the Second Boer War. During the conflict many of the authors of the war journals, both soldiers and war correspondents, described the landscape as hostile or even unimaginable. Richard Harding Davis stated 'No map, nor photograph, nor written description can give an idea of the country which lay between Buller and his goal'.[163] Harding Davis described the landscape as not following natural law, the mountains and hills had no lineal descent, abandoned across the country.[164] The river Tugela in Natal was equally deceptive. Harding Davis described the river as if it was trying to 'throw off its pursuers'; it darted through hills around Ladysmith, sank out of sight, ran uphill and then remained motionless on the incline. It twisted and turned so much that if crossed three times the soldier was not sure if he was on the same bank on which he started.[165] Harding Davis found the whole landscape misleading and confusing, the mountains hid or disguised each other, 'Each can be enfiladed by the other, and not one gives up the secret of its strategic value until its crest has been carried by the bayonet'.[166] The Boer, a product of this landscape, turned the romantic frontier with all the positive connotations of rejuvenation against the British.

In the late 1890s, Sir George Colley recognised the connection between the hostile Boer and the deceptive landscape and the problems they caused for the British

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[162] Deneys Reitz and J.C. Smuts, *Commando: A Boer Journal of the Boer War* (London: Faber & Faber, 1932), p.11.
[163] Richard Harding Davis, *Notes of a War Correspondent* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), p.140.
[164] *Ibid*., p.141.
[165] *Ibid*.
[166] *Ibid*.

forces. Unlike the British who were used to the teachings of drilling and collective movement, knowledge of the 'wild land' was 'imbibed' from an early age by the Boer. The training of the British was not designed for fighting in circumstances outside the barrack square.[167] In his published letters from the front, A.G Hales described the Boers as 'a particularly dangerous class of people to deal with' due to their in-depth knowledge of 'every inch of this most deceptive country'.[168] This idea is continued in a description of Slingersfontein. The country was made up of open veldt covered by small kopjes so the country resembled a forest of hills. Hales described this as a labyrinth, a landscape where a man could easily be lost and an army could vanish unless every soldier and officer had a comprehensive knowledge of it. The Boers knew the landscape by heart and would move around with dexterity and swiftness via paths and areas that were unknown to anyone else. The mountains surrounding the plain would be able to shelter hundreds of the enemy.[169] According to A.G Hales, the enemy had no fixed camping ground. Mounted on Basuto ponies and armed with rifles they would sweep incessantly from place to place. They would hover around the camps waiting for a chance to sneak in to the kopjes that overlooked the British position. The knowledge of the land resulted in these guerrilla tactics.

Other colonial soldiers were also seen in the same way; seen to resemble the Boer and to 'fit' into their landscape. In 1899, *The Times* described the colonial forces as 'especially suited for the exigencies of the present struggle'.[170] Newspapers highlighted their connection to the bush, prairie and outback when reporting the

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[167] Sir George Colley in John Gooch (ed.), *The Boer War: Direction, Experience, and Image* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.8.
[168] A. G. Hales, *Campaign Pictures of the War in South Africa (1899—1900): Letters from the Front* (London: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1901).
[169] *Ibid*.
[170] *The Times* (December 11, 1899), p.7.

enlistment and departure of colonial troops.[171] When reporting the departure of the

third Queensland contingent, *The Times* stated that 75 per cent of the troops were

bushmen, both expert horsemen and good shots.[172] A.G. Hales' published letters from

the front also described the Australian bushman. He was not a city man and had not

picked up any traits while at college in the city, 'There was nothing of the dandy about

this fellow'. Hales described him as 'full of the vim of living, strong with the lust of life'.

Hales was very keen to point out that it was this man who 'would prove the glory of

his Australian breeding in the teeth of an enemy's guns on African soil'.[173] An article in

John Bull described the typical bush man as 'sunburnt and with something of a devil

may care air...he bears but little resemblance to the British yeoman'.[174] He was a

'Better Briton'.

An article in *The Times* about the Canadian Mounted Rifles during the war

described the type of men from the North-West territories who were on their way to

South Africa as 'police and cowboys – men of splendid physique, accustomed to the

rough life of the prairies'.[175] The article highlighted that they 'looked none the worse'

after their 2000 mile journey.[176] The physique of the colonial troops was often

mentioned in reports on the progress of the war as was their connection to the

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[171] 'The War,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (December 29, 1899), p.5; 'War in South Africa,' *Birmingham Daily Post* (January 1, 1900), p.5; 'The War in South Africa,' *The Standard* (January 30, 1900), p.5; 'The War,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (January 30, 1900), p.5; 'The Boer War,' *The Essex County Standard West Suffolk Gazette, and Eastern Counties Advertiser* (February 17, 1900), p.5.
[172] 'The Colonies and the War,' *The Times* (March 2, 1900), p.5.
[173] Hales, *Campaign Pictures of The War in South Africa,* np.
[174] *John Bull*, (May 30, 1891), p.348
[175] From Our Special Correspondent, 'The Canadian Mounted Rifles,' *The Times* (January 20, 1900), p.7.
[176] *Ibid.*

frontier.[177] On reporting the deployment of the second Queensland Contingent in early 1900, the men were described as having 'splendid physique'.[178]

This is evident in the Australian book *Tommy Cornstalk: Being some Account of the Less Notable features of the South African War from the point of view of the Australian Ranks* by J. H. M. Abbott published in 1902. A play on the term Tommy Atkins or Tommy to describe a British soldier, Tommy Cornstalk was an Australian soldier, a different man from the English soldier. Abbott argued, 'Place the average bush-bred boy of eighteen beside the same aged English lad and note the difference'.[179] Abbott described the Australian soldier as 'not a new race it is rather the renewed, reinvigorated reproduction of an older one'. He has developed big and little traits of his own but also the transmitted characteristics of his forebears.[180] Still an Englishman, but a renewed, reinvigorated Englishman. It was these traits that, in the eyes of the British, made them perfect for fighting the Boer. Abbott argued that the Boer should be met by men who resembled them in their ways of living.[181] They were strong, part of the landscape. But they were also egalitarian; the lifestyle of the bush had freed them from the constraints of the class system in Britain. Abbott described Tommy Cornstalk as a 'free man', 'a law unto himself'. He was unaccustomed to any man being his 'superior'. He might have been to school with his officers and know them intimately in civilian life and even occupy a higher social position. Tommy Cornstalk would be 'irked' to have to address anyone as ' Sir,' or as '

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[177] 'War in South Africa,' *Birmingham Daily Post* (February 21, 1900), p.5; 'The War in South Africa,' *The Standard* (March 10, 1900), p.5; 'On the Western Border,' *The Pall Mall Gazette* (October 25, 1899), p.4.
[178] Through Reuters Agency, 'The Colonial Contingents,' *The Times* (January 15, 1900), p.5.
[179] J. H. M. Abbott, *Tommy Cornstalk: Being some Account of the Less Notable features of the South African War from the point of view of the Australian Ranks* (London: Longmans, Green, And Co., 1902), p.3.
[180] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[181] *Ibid.*, p.7.

Mister So-and-so.' [182] Thus, the frontiersmen were not only strong and renewed in look but also in attitude and politics. The bushman had not only thrown off the industrial smoke and ill-health of the British city but also the rigid social system. They were a 'Better Briton'.

A Rejuvenated *British* Population?

The frontier encapsulated the main points of the imperial landscape. It was a landscape of space, healthy atmosphere, romantic scenery and opportunity. The fiction published during the period drew from and reinforced the image of the frontier as full of adventure. The veldt, bush, prairie and backcountry were romanticised as vast, empty, scenic places that held danger and created the typical colonial man. The image of the frontiersman was a romantic one, not only because of the idea of a lone figure in a hostile landscape, but also he was a pioneer for Britain. His qualities were needed for Britain. These men, and women, were overcoming hardship to expand the British Empire. They took British society to the far-flung parts of Empire. This was recognised by Baden-Powell, and it was these frontier qualities that formed the basis for his scouts. It was these qualities that could best defend the Empire.

Just as The Turner Thesis interpreted the push West across the American frontier as a 'perennial rebirth' of society, 'Greater Britain' was seen as the frontier of Britain. The frontier of British society in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada saw a social evolution of British society. The travel accounts described a landscape without the rigid social and class structure of home. The image of 'Greater Britain' as a more free and egalitarian society was reflected in the everyday life of the

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[182] *Ibid.*, pp.9-10.

Dominions through universal suffrage. This was a landscape of opportunity, not just in terms of work and land, but also in terms of moving up in society.

The frontier was a landscape that would benefit the British people. It was seen as a landscape that created a strong, hardy, healthy man. As Abbott stated, it generated a 'reinvigorated reproduction' of a British man. The Boer War was thought to expose the condition in which industrialisation had left the British population. Colonial soldiers were seen as the antithesis of urban Britons. They were a product of their surroundings; free, hardy and healthy. The Boer War was supposed to be a war that would be won quickly, a small skirmish to overcome a group of 'farmers'. However, that was far from reality. The parliamentary commissions and articles and even the birth of the scouting movement all demonstrated how the conflict awoke Britain to the condition of its population. Britain did not have the strong population that could combat future threats to the Empire by, for example, the increasingly powerful Germany. These reactions demonstrated the importance of the image of Greater Britain. The colonial man and the outdoor lifestyle of the imperial landscape, demonstrated by the Australian, South African and Canadian soldiers during the Boer War was the confirmation of the perceived benefits of the landscape that Britain aspired to.

The image of the Boer as an uncivilised farmer was a key part of this too. Even though 'Greater Britain' was seen as a British landscape, this was far from the reality. The settler societies were societies of many nationalities and racial backgrounds, not just indigenous populations but a large population of South African Dutch and French Canadians. How were these populations seen within 'Greater Britain'? The place of the non-British populations in representations of the settler societies confirms the key

ideas that were central to the notion of settler societies as a 'Greater' or 'Better'

Britain'.

Chapter 4
NON-BRITISH POPULATIONS

There were millions of people in the settler societies who were not British or of British ancestry. The 1901 'Census of the British Empire' stated that in the British Empire as a whole there were 1,747,843 'Natives of European and Other Foreign Countries.' They were also millions of indigenous peoples, living alongside the 2,786,650 'Natives of the United Kingdom' who were also immigrants in the overseas Empire.[1] Alongside British immigrants and people of British ancestry in the settler societies were Aboriginal Australians, Maori, Canadian Indians and, to name just some, Xhosa, Basotho, Griqua, Sotho, Mfengu, Zulus, Khoikhoi and Bantu speaking tribes in South Africa. As well as the 1.7 million European migrants in the Empire there were also thousands of their descendants throughout the colonies, most prominently South African Dutch or Afrikaner and French Canadians or Quebecois. There were also German and Chinese communities in both Australia and South Africa, and the Canadian West was a 'melting pot' of European settlers. So, if the idea of a 'Greater Britain' was built on a notion of Britons or 'Britains' overseas, the question is how did these 'non-British' populations fit into the representation of the settler societies.

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[1] Of 354 million people within the Empire, 348 million were born in the part of the Empire they were enumerated. The six million who did not fit into this category were immigrants from 'other parts of the British Empire or from Foreign Countries'. As well as the 2.7 million who were born in the United Kingdom, a further 1.4 million were what the census calls 'Natives of Other British Countries'. British Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons (1905, CII.1 Cd. 2660), *Census of the British Empire 1901: Report with Summary and Detailed Tables for the Several Colonies, &c, Area, Houses, and Population; also Population Classified by Ages, Condition as to Marriage, Occupations, Birthplaces, Religions, Degrees of Education, and Infirmities,* p.xxxix.

British attempts to navigate around these demographic differences in British representations of settler societies reveal a great deal about the British image of the settler societies and the broader ideas of a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain'. The settler societies were represented as 'Britains' on the other side of the world, connected through the kinship with Britain of most of the settlers, and as the previous chapters have shown, these ideas formed part of the image of the settler societies in Britain.

Representation of a 'Greater Britain' was idealistic and blinkered, and aspects that did not fit with dominant perceptions were removed, for example the negative aspects of colonial urban life. The very notion that the settler societies were 'Britains overseas' ignored the millions of people with non-British origins within their borders. However, these non-British populations *were* part of the image of the settler societies in Britain and featured in periodicals, ephemera, travel accounts and other literature. This chapter will focus on these representations.

It will concentrate on the representation of two broad groups within the settler societies: the European-derived communities of the French Canadians and South African Dutch, and the indigenous populations in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. By examining British representations of these people in the settler societies – noting what features were included, excluded, exaggerated or idealised and why – it will be possible to gain a greater understanding of how the settler societies were represented in Britain.

The question of identity within the settler societies themselves in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was linked to the formation of separate

colonial nationalisms.[2] The push towards nationhood including people of all origins is

an important part of the historiography of the Dominions, but also the sense of

belonging to and loyalty to the Empire and Britain itself was also evident throughout

the settler societies.[3] But was this inclusivity felt within the Empire portrayed in the

British image of the settler societies? Did the British see these other populations of

non-British origins as part of a 'Greater Britain'? Andrew Thompson has argued that

despite this push for inclusivity, the loyalism of the Afrikaner and English-speaking

populations in South Africa was complex and a common 'identity' was far from

straightforward and universally shared. He has argued that loyalty to the British

Empire as a basis for identity was one with which the Afrikaner never felt fully secure.[4]

This was also the case for French Canadians, illustrated by the need to reassure and

find a place for the Quebecois within the Empire.[5] It was this uncertainty which was

reflected in British representations of these settler societies.

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[2] J. J. Eddy, Deryck Marshall Schreuder and Oliver MacDonagh, *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa First Assert their Nationalities, 1880-1914* (Allen & Unwin, 1988).

[3] P. A. Buckner, 'Reinventing the British World,' *The Round Table*, 92: 368 (2003), pp.77-88; Douglas Cole, 'The Problem of "Nationalism" and "Imperialism" in British Settlement Colonies,' *The Journal of British Studies,* 10:2 (May, 1971), pp. 160-182; Neville Meaney, 'Britishness and Australian Identity: The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography', *Australian Historical Studies*, 32: 116 (2001), pp.; R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram also examine the paradox in Canada between loyalty to the Empire and a growing nationalistic pride. R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram, *Imperial Dreams: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp.; Donal Lowry, 'The Crown, Empire Loyalism and the Assimilation of Non-British White Subjects in the British World: An Argument Against 'Ethnic Determinism,'' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31:2 (2003), pp.96-120; Andrew Thompson, 'The Languages of Loyalism in Southern Africa, c.1870-1939,' *English Historical Review*, 118 (June 2003), pp.617-50; Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting Anglicisation in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony,' *Journal of Imperial Commonwealth History*, 31:2 (2003), pp.82-95; Kurt Korneski, 'Britishness, Canadianness, Class, and Race: Winnipeg and the British World, 1880s–1910s,' *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes,* 41: 2 (Spring 2007), pp.161-184; John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.147.

[4] Thompson, 'The Languages of Loyalism in Southern Africa,' p.650.

[5] J G Snead Cox, 'French Canada and the Empire,' *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 48: 285 (November 1900): 777-784; H.G Berkley, 'The History of the French Canadians and its Lesson,' *Westminster Review,* 167: 4 (1907), pp.448-455; J A. Stevenson, 'The Problem of the Foreigner in Canada,' *Westminster Review*, 180: 3 (September, 1913), pp.237-247; Henri Bourassa, 'The French-

While there was a civic nationalism within the settler societies, the British sources at home portrayed a much more complex relationship. It was a representation that, in terms of population, was more likely to be exclusive than inclusive. This exclusivity was based on a number of factors, but modernity and progress were central in terms of the representation of both the European and indigenous populations. The indigenous populations did not feature in the progress of the settler societies, and representations based on Social Darwinism and the idea that these peoples were dying out separated them from the British and the future of the colonies. Representations of the French Canadian and the Dutch Afrikaner also clashed with the ideas of a 'Greater Britain'. They were not progressive, but seemingly stuck in the past.

A Piece of 'Old Europe'

In his 1908 account, Robert Fuller described the colonists of South Africa as divided into Dutch and English communities (as well as a considerable number of Germans and a small number of French). Fuller argued that each of these groups contributed its own particular share to the overall character of the people of South Africa.[6] Within his further division of the European colonists, however, Fuller went some way in revealing the reasons for this division in the eyes of the British. To many British, the Dutch South Africans and French Canadians were 'un-progressive'. Fuller distinguished the Boer who adhered to the old habits and traditions as a distinct group in South Africa, separate from the cultured and progressive Dutchmen and the

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Canadian in the British Empire,' *The Monthly Review* 8: 24 (September 1902), pp.55-71; Pierre. De Coubertin, 'A French View of The British Empire,' *Fortnightly Review*, 62: 372 (December, 1897), pp.803-816; 'The French-Canadian and the Great Commonwealth,' *The Monthly Review* (November, 1902), pp.1-9; 'The Diamond Jubilee,' *The Times* (June 23, 1897), p.15; 'Imperial Union And Canadian Ideals,' *The Times* (May 24, 1910), p. 40;'French Canada,' *The Times* (December 16, 1905), p.14.
[6] Robert H. Fuller, *South Africa at Home* (London: George Newnes, Limited, 1908), p.19.

German professional merchant.[7] There was not a definite division between the uncultured Dutch or French and progressive British, but superiority and a need for progress did play a role in the representation.

During her tour of Canada in 1894, Marchioness Ishbel Gordon described how French Canadians still retained old laws and customs. Quebec, she stated, was a reflection of 'old France'; the 'atmosphere of modern France has never reached them'.[8] Gordon described the French population as simple Norman and Breton peasants who came out 100 years ago.[9] The people, just like the cities discussed in chapter two, were seen to resemble 'old France'. The representation of the French Canadian reflected the portrayal of the French settlements, and periodicals and newspapers depicted them as an old-fashioned people.[10] In an 1893 article Harriet J. Jephson claimed that 'there is no peasant so much attached to tradition as the French Canadian'.[11] Alice O'Hanlon described how 'those simple French Canadians retained, almost unchanged, the dress, manners, and songs, the religion and superstitions, brought by their forefathers, two centuries earlier'.[12] Another article also pointed to tradition and 'sweet old Provencal songs'.[13] On the whole the depiction of the French Canadian was not a hostile one, although they were occasionally portrayed as villains

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[7] *Ibid*.

[8] Marchioness Ishbel Gordon of Aberdeen and Temair, *Through Canada with a Kodak* (Edinburgh: W.H. White, 1894), p.19.

[9] *Ibid.,* pp.19-21.

[10] Harriet J. Jephson, 'The French Canadian Habitant,' *The National Review* 21: 121 (March, 1893), pp.51-57; 'Some Traditional Beliefs Of The French Canadians,' *All the Year Round*, 11 (282) (May 26, 1894), pp.484-488; 'The Governor-General's Tour,' *The Times* (September 3, 1881); *The Times* (September 3, 1902), p.7; 'The French-Canadians Of To-Day,' *Chambers' Journal of Popular Literature, Science And Arts,* 813 (July 26, 1879), pp.465-467; R L., 'In a Blizzard,' *Bow Bells: A Magazine Of General Literature And Art For Family Reading*, 20: 250 (October 14, 1892), pp.379-380 also published as Ada M. Trotter, 'A Few Hours In A Blizzard,' *The Argosy: A Magazine Of Tales, Travels, Essays, And Poems*, 53 (January 1892), pp.83-87.

[11] Jephson, 'The French Canadian Habitant,' p.51.

[12] Alice O'Hanlon, 'The Unforeseen,' *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 258: 1849 (January 1885), pp.1-25.

[13] 'An Ice Adventure,' *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*, 450 (August 16, 1862), pp.106.

in fictional stories.[14] However, despite such negativity and the connection to 'Old France,' Gordon's depiction saw the French Canadians as law-abiding, religious people, and she described their universal civility and courtesy.[15]

A similar image of an 'old fashioned' and 'backward looking' population was evident in South Africa. H.A. Bryden argued in his 1896 article 'In Praise of the Boers' that very few Englishmen had taken the trouble to understand the South African Dutchman and stated that the uncouth Boer was one of the main images of the Dutch population during the late nineteenth century. His guttural tongue, rough clothes, shaggy appearance and uncouth manner were looked at by Englishmen with disdainful ignorance.[16]

Similar to the French Canadian image, the Afrikaner was represented as 'old fashioned' with 'primitive laws.'[17] An article published in *The Monthly Review* in 1901 described the successful professional Dutchmen in South Africa who returned to their compatriots on the farms as 'sunk down into old-fashioned mediocrity'.[18] 'Greater Britain' was a place where you could progress, a blank page, whereas the Dutch and French were seen as 'stuck in the past'. Unlike the indigenous populations, who were considered as belonging to the past, the Dutch and French were European and should be progressive. Within the concept of the settler societies as a 'Greater Britain' with its underlying ideas of progress and regeneration, this was seen as a complication. These European colonists were defined as men and women of 'old Europe.'

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[14] G B. Burgin, 'Crossin' The Bridge,' *The Idler; An Illustrated Magazine*, 8: 45 (October, 1895), pp.288-291.

[15] Alan Douglas Brodie and W Victor Cook, 'Father Louis,' *Temple Bar: A Monthly Magazine For Town and Country Readers*, 132: 541 (December 1905), pp.737-748.

[16] H.A. Bryden, 'In Praise of the Boers,' *Nineteenth Century: a Monthly Review*, 39:229 (1896), p.383.

[17] F. I. Ricarde-Seaver, 'Boer, Africander, and Briton in the Transvaal,' *Fortnightly Review*, 58: 344 (August 1895), p.197; 'Boer-Land,' *The National Observer,* 6: 143 (August 15, 1891), pp.324-325.

[18] 'The Boer At Home,' *The Monthly Review*, 4: 10 (July 1901), p.5.

The need for Britons to go 'back to the land' formed the background for the image of the settler societies. A shift 'back to the land,' however, was not designed to be a 'regression' of society. The ability of British enterprise to 'bring a civilised order to the landscape' was vital.[19] It was this idea that determined the critical image of the Afrikaner and Quebecois as a separate community. In an article examining the images of South Africa in relation to health and gender, Morag Bell has argued that, for those travelling for health, 'the advantages of the rural environment were not intended as a crude return to nature'.[20] The Dutch farmer 'content with trekking by ox wagon' and the 'primitive pastoralism characteristic of the American romantic movement' did not appeal. The idea that 'Greater Britain' was a best of both worlds was important here. The critical representation of the Afrikaner or French-Canadian was based on ideas of modernity and the belief that the European population should be progressing. It was not a clear cut representation based on ethnicity. In Fuller's account, for example, the author distinguished between the progressive Cape Dutch and those Dutch settlers in other South African territories, who followed traditional culture.[21] However, modernity and the progress of the settler societies were crucial to how European populations were represented in Britain. The representation highlighted what separated these European populations from the British.

While the image of the Europeans within the settler societies was ever changing due to events in the colonies, and representations were driven by an attempt to locate them in the settler societies. In terms of the Afrikaner and French Canadian this was a representation based on the relationship between European powers rather

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[19] Morag Bell, '"The Pestilence that Walketh in Darkness" Imperial Health, Gender and Images of South Africa, 1880-1910," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 18: 3 (1993), p.336.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Fuller, *South Africa at Home,* p.19.

than indigenous populations.[22] Consequently, the inclusion of the French Canadians and Afrikaner has to be understood as part of a broader imperial relationship connected to a history of conquest and territorial threat. In terms of the French Canadians this was related to conflict in the eighteenth century and the links to General Wolfe and the Battle of Quebec. As a threat to the future of South Africa, the relationship and consequently the representation of the Afrikaner or Boer was more unsettled.

The image of the Afrikaner was not necessarily transformed during the Boer War. Rather the image of the uncouth and uncivilised Dutch took on a much more aggressive character. Together, the notion of progress, an underlying threat to the Empire, the treatment of the indigenous populations and the tactics they used during the war separated the Afrikaner or Boer from the British in the imagining of the settler societies.

The Deceptive Boer

The Boer was depicted throughout the press and periodicals as deceptive, deploying treacherous tactics in their approaches to war.[23] A letter to the editor of the

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[22] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), p.195.

[23] 'Boer Treachery,' *Illustrated Chips* (December 30, 1899), p.12; 'Boer Treachery On A British Gunboat,' *Illustrated Chips* (February 24, 1900), p.6; 'The War,' *The Times* (November 11, 1899), p.7; Through Reuter's Agency, 'The War,' *The Times* (March 12, 1900), p.5; 'Boer Treachery (Through Laffan's Agency),' *The Times* (March 12, 1900), p.9; 'Mr Courtney On Boer Treachery,' *The Times* (March 20, 1900), p.7; 'Boer Treachery (Through Laffan's Agency and Reuter's Agency),' *The Times* (April 5, 1900), p.5; Our Special Correspondent, 'Boer Treachery,' *The Times* (May 18, 1900), p.5; Through Reuter's Agency, 'Boer Treachery,' *The Times* (August 6, 1900), p.3; Through Reuter's Agency and Laffan's Agency, 'Boer Treachery,' *The Times* (August 27, 1900), p.4; 'The War,' *The Times* (December 8, 1900), p.7; 'The War,' *The Times* (September 28, 1901), p.5; 'The Transvaal Trouble,' *The Weekly Standard and Express* (August 12, 1899), p.6; 'Boer Treachery,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (December 13, 1899); 'Boer Treachery,' *The Courier and Argus* (January 04, 1900), p.6; 'Boer Treachery,' *The Courier and Argus* (January 26, 1900), p.4; 'Instance Of Boer Treachery,' *The Star* (February 15, 1900), p.2; 'More Boer Treachery,' *The Courier and Argus* (March 12, 1900), p.4; 'The Boer Treachery At Driefontein,' *The North-Eastern Daily Gazette* (March 13, 1900), p.3; 'Boer Treachery,' *Glasgow Herald* (March 21, 1900), p.7; 'Boer Treachery,' *The Yorkshire Herald* (March 21, 1900), p.4; 'Boer Treachery,' *The Ipswich Journal*

Saturday Review outlined the main 'cruel' and 'traitorous' tactics seen in the war, 'the

deliberate and atrocious murders under the white flag,' 'the murders of surrendered

prisoners,' and 'the murders of helplessly wounded men'.[24] In a description of the

Boers in 1899 the *Jackson Oxford Journal* described the tactics of snatching infants

from the arms of their parents and striking women in the face with their rifles.[25] The

British press continued to create and reinforce this depiction of the Boer. An image

published in *The Illustrated Police News,* entitled 'Another Wicked Boer Trick,' typified

this type of reportage. A cartoon was linked to a short piece reporting on the Boer use

of a Red Cross ambulance to fire on British troops.[26] The text spoke of the known

treachery and underhand tactics of the Boer fighters: 'they have hoisted the white

flag, and when our troops have unsuspectingly advanced to take them prisoners, they

have been met with volleys which have killed many of our men'.[27] Another illustration

featured the incident of Lieutenant Blundell in which while attending to an injured

Boer, the 'ungrateful man fired upon the officer and killed him' (Figure 4.1).[28]

    The treacherous Boer was also a feature of the fiction of the period. *The*

Marvel featured a number of examples of this over the course of the Second Boer

War. Chapter one of 'War! A Story of the Transvaal' by Mark Darran involved a

(March 24, 1900), p.7; 'Dealing With Boer Treachery,' *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (May 6, 1900), p.5; 'Boer Treachery,' *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* (August 04, 1900), p.8; 'Boer Treachery,' *The Leeds Mercury* (August 4, 1900), p.17; 'Letter From The Front,' *The Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Standard* (September 18, 1900), p.8; 'More Boer Treachery,' *The Pall Mall Gazette* (November 24, 1900), p.7; 'An Oath of Vengeance: At The Funeral of a Victim of Boer Treachery,' *The Graphic* (November 24, 1900), p.1.

[24] 'Boer Methods,' *Saturday Review Of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 92: 2405 (November 30, 1901), p.680.

[25] 'The War in South Africa,' *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (October 14, 1899).

[26] 'Another Wicked Boer Trick,' *The Illustrated Police News* (January 13, 1900), pp.2, 9.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] 'Boer Treachery,' *Illustrated Chips* (December 30, 1899), p.12.

'Blackguard Boer' in which the main Boer character whipped an indigenous worker.[29]

The story continued with incidents of a 'Dastardly Trick' involving a hidden revolver,

'Dastardly Deed' and a 'Boer Spy'.[30] Incidents of underhand methods, spying and

treachery were featured in most of the Boer War stories over the period.[31] 'Dick Dare

in the Transvaal' included a similar incident; 'Boer treachery under the flag of truce'

saw a British soldier helping an injured Boer soldier only for the Boer to attack.[32]

Incidents such as attacking under a surrender flag, stabbing soldiers in the back and

attacking from hospital waggons were common features of the stories, with sub-

headings such as 'A Treacherous Boer gets his Deserts,' 'A Fiendish Trick,' A Brutal

Boer.' [33]

One aspect of this wartime representation that was seen to separate the Boer

from the British was the treatment of the indigenous populations. In a lecture on

South Africa given in 1880, J.A. Froude stated that he was in no doubt that the

Europeans could 'control' the indigenous population, but 'they would and could

control them only by measures which Great Britain would never allow to be carried

out in the Queen's name'.[34] A cartoon published in 1883 highlighted this aspect of the

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[29] Mark Darran, 'War! A Story of the Transvaal,' *The Marvel* (December 02, 1899), p.1.
[30] *Ibid.*, p.5; 7; 11.
[31] Captain B. Powell, 'Marksmen of the Veldt,' *The Marvel* (December 23, 1899), p.9; 'Dick Dare in the Transvaal,' *The Marvel* (January 13, 1900), p.3, 9; 'Red Cross Treachery: A Story Of Our A Story Of Our Gallant Medical Corps In The Transvaal,' *The Marvel* (February 10, 1900), p.2-10; 'Jack Harkaway in the Transvaal Or, Fighting For The Flag,' *Up-to-Date Boys Journal & Novelettes* (February 16, 1900), p.239; *The Marvel* (February 17, 1900), p.11; *The Marvel* (March 03, 1900), p.14; 'Boer Tricks To Hoodwink British Officers,' *The Big Budget* (June 09, 1900), p.421.
[32] 'Dick Dare in the Transvaal,' p.9.
[33] 'Besieged in the Transvaal,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* 130: 789 (July, 1881), pp.1-20; Anstey Kaye, 'To Crush Mafeking,' *The Marvel* (December 30, 1899), p.2; 'Red Cross Treachery: A Story Of Our A Story Of Our Gallant Medical Corps In The Transvaal,' *The Marvel* (February 10, 1900), p.2; Anstey Kaye, 'On Secret Service: Sequel to Crush Mafeking, *The Marvel* (January 27, 1900), p.7; George Hudworth, 'The Stolen Transport,' *The Idler,* 17 (July 1900), pp.205-214.
[34] 'Mr. Froude on South Africa - Last night,' *The Times* (January 10, 1880), p.5.

representation (Figure 4.2).[35] The representation of the 'cruel Boer' occurred across

publications from the reports in national and local newspapers to the smaller

periodicals.[36] Even *Cycling: An Illustrated Weekly* featured the report on six hundred

Figure 4.1 Illustration of Boer treachery from *Illustrated Chips*, 1899.

'Boer Treachery,' *Illustrated Chips* (December 30, 1899), p.12.

'Natal natives' forced by the Boers to march from Johannesburg to Natal and Zululand

without food or water.[37] Another described the Boer as by 'no means humane in their

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[35] 'The Boer Demand – Liberty to set up a Petty Tyrant,' *Judy* (November 28, 1883), p.256.
[36] 'Boer Treatment of Loyal Natives,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (October 20, 1881), p.3; 'Literature,' *The Illustrated London News* (June 27, 1896), p.815; 'Boer Treatment Of Kaffirs,' *The Morning Post* (June 08, 1899), p.1; 'Boers And Natives In South Africa,' *The Yorkshire Herald, and The York Herald* (September 04, 1900), p.6; 'Letters To The Editor,' *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* (October 23, 1899), p.3; 'Boer Brutality: Harsh Treatment of Natives,' *The Courier and Argus* (April 05, 1900), p.5; 'Boer And British Treatment Of Natives,' *The Wrexham Advertiser, and North Wales News* (April 14, 1900), p.2; 'South African Natives And The War,' *The Times* (March, 3 1900), p.4; 'The Treatment Of Natives In South Africa,' *The Times* (August 6, 1901), p.6; 'The War,' *The Times* (March 21, 1901), p.5; H.R. Fox Bourne, 'South African Natives: An Appeal,' *The Times* (August 26, 1901), p.9; 'The War,' *The Times* (February 13, 1902), p.6; 'South African Problems,' *The Times* (March 2, 1906), p.5; 'The Transvaal,' *The Times* (April 11, 1906), p.5.

dealings with the native races'.[38] The article argued that despite the positive qualities

that the Boer showed love of freedom, sobriety and industry their 'humanity towards

the helpless and oppressed cannot be added to these good qualities'.[39] It then went on

to outline incidents of driving away native cattle and setting the huts of indigenous

people on fire.[40] Fiction also featured portrayals of cruelty towards the indigenous

populations. Mark Darran's 'War! A Story of the Transvaal' featured an incident where

the Boer character Paul Kryberg whipped a black worker and an Englishman came to

his rescue.[41] A similar incident took place in Anstey Kaye's 'To Crush Mafeking'.[42] The

'unprogressive' attitude towards the indigenous population was what separated the

British from the Boer in representations in Britain.

Figure 4.2 Illustration of Boer approach to the indigenous population in *Judy*, 1883.

THE BOER DEMAND——LIBERTY TO SET UP AS A PETTY TYRANT.
EVEN THE FRIENDS OF THE GOVERNMENT ARE AFRAID THAT THE IGNOMINIOUS BUSINESS WILL END IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SLAVE STATE IN THE TRANSVAAL.

'The Boer Demand – Liberty to set up a Petty Tyrant,' *Judy* (November 28, 1883), p.256.

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[37] *Cycling: An Illustrated Weekly* (December 09, 1899), p.456.
[38] D. B. 'A Boer Raid,' *Chatterbox,* 9 (Date Unknown), p.68.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Darran, 'War! A Story of the Transvaal,' pp.1-2.
[42] Anstey Kaye, 'To Crush Mafeking,' *The Marvel* (December 30, 1899).

The dominance of these images in the sources in Britain was highlighted in the accounts of those who travelled to South Africa. In quite a few cases soldiers and travellers tried to counter the dominant representations in Britain. A diary of an army nurse published in *The Girls Own Paper* in 1900 was further evidence of the influence of the negative British image of the Boer at 'home'. The author was surprised by the Dutch homes she visited and some of the people she met. She described one woman as 'very unlike the Boer type'.[43] In his wartime writings, Filson Young was eager to point out that the 'home life' of the Boer was as clean, loving and moral as any class of people he had met. The filth and immorality depicted in some British journals was nowhere to be seen.[44] In his accounts, A.G. Hales stated that they were led to believe that the Boer was a 'cowardly kind of Veldt pariah, a degenerate offshoot of a fine old parent stock'. Hales was keen to point out that from his experience the Boers were nothing of the kind: they were far from degenerate. Just because they did not fight in the British style did not mean that they could not fight or were devoid of courage. He pointed to the 'useless fellows' Britain had entrusted with the task of watching them and deemed them 'a boor as well as a Boer – a mere country clod'.[45] From the rocky hills, he wrote, the 'sons of semi-white savages' laughed and mocked at the British. They answered British jeers with rifles and in terms of their style of fighting they had learned to speak in a language that even the bravest of the British troops had learnt to understand and respect.[46]

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[43] 'Log of Voyage to the Cape, and Diary of Army Nursing in South Africa,' *The Girl's Own Paper* (September 29, 1900), p.821.

[44] Filson Young, *The Relief of Mafeking: How It Was Accomplished by Mahon's Flying Column; with an Account of Some Earlier Episodes in the Boer War of 1899-1900* (London: Methuen & Co, 1900).

[45] A. G. Hales, *Campaign Pictures of the War in South Africa (1899—1900): Letters from the Front*, (London: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1901).

[46] *Ibid.*

Therefore not every portrayal of the Boer was negative. As seen in chapter 3 they were also represented with the qualities of the frontiersman, the result of living on the veldt.[47] The Boer was represented as a product of the landscape. However, unlike the British, the Boer was represented as not displaying the modernity that was central to the future of the settler societies. H.A. Bryden argued that the even though the Boer were good pioneers and hunters, they were not 'the type of colonists to improve a country'.[48] This ignorance and indifference to modern methods was portrayed as detrimental to the future of South Africa. Bryden argued that British men and women were needed in the remote country districts 'where the Boer pursues the ancient tenor of his way in moody isolation, despising progress, lacking new ideas'.[49] Alicia M. Cecil argued that the reason female emigration to South Africa was desperately needed after the war was that a peaceful home life was needed in order to being about reconciliation with their Boer neighbours.[50] Boer women, Cecil argued, were devoid of qualities needed for a happy and comfortable home. They demonstrated 'an ignorance of the laws of hygiene which produces habits of slovenliness both injurious to health and distasteful to British ideas'.[51] Cecil argued that in marriages between Boer women and British men the children became Boers

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[47] Captain Mayne Reid, 'The Vee-Boers: A Tale Of Adventure In Southern Africa,' *The Union Jack: Every Boy's Paper* (January 02, 1883 – March 20, 1883).

[48] H.A. Bryden, 'Settlers and Settlements in South Africa,' *Fortnightly Review*, 68: 406 (August, 1900), pp.249.

[49] *Ibid*.

[50] Alicia M. Cecil, 'The Needs of South Africa,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review*, 51: 302 (April, 1902), p.683.

[51] *Ibid.*

and not British.[52] From an imperial point of view, 'the influx of loyal women is of cardinal importance'.[53]

In his account of South Africa after the war, E.F. Knight wrote of the continued distrust between the British and the Afrikaner Bond and Reformed Church. Knight was very clear in his opinion that, whatever the Dutch politicians' plan to dominate South Africa, the Englishman of South Africa would not 'be hoodwinked'.[54] The Bond politicians, he argued, desired to obtain the supremacy of the Afrikaner in South Africa. The Afrikaner farmer would dominate the British in the country district and those parts of the Union would slowly be closed off to British immigrants; no profit would be gained in a British colony. Knight argued that the British needed to be in control for the colony to progress and to federate South Africa, and that reconciliation with the Afrikaner would be an important step towards the continued supremacy of the British. The Briton in South Africa wanted reconciliation with the Dutch 'whose sturdy virtues they cannot but admire'.[55] This drive to reconcile with the Dutch population was linked to the progress and future of the colony.

The representation of European populations in the settler societies in Britain was complex and changing; however it was driven by a number of reoccurring factors that were seen to separate the European from the British settler. Most prominently this was related to ideas of progress and modernity. The Europeans were unavoidably seen to be part of the future of the settler societies, and so the British had to locate

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[52] *Ibid.*, p.684.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] E.F. Knight, *South Africa after the War: A Narrative of Recent Travel* (London: Longmans, Green, 1903), p.3.
[55] Ibid, p.4.

them within this representation. This was a contrast to the representation of the indigenous populations.

Indigenous Populations

Representation of the indigenous populations of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada featured in fiction, periodicals, newspapers, travel accounts, exhibitions and other ephemera. These representations were driven by a number of factors. However, the ideas of progress and modernity that drove the image of the settler societies were also at the heart of the representation of the Maori, the Aborigine and the First Nation.

Anandi Ramamurthy has argued that, within the colonial discourse, representations of difference and of power were clearly connected.[56] Edward Said's *Orientalism* has strongly influenced the perception and representation of a perceived 'other'.[57] And Ramamurthy has argued that within nineteenth-century advertising depicting African and Asian people the black population 'were reduced to a few simple, essential characteristics, which were represented as fixed by nature'.[58] In terms of how settler societies were represented, these characteristics separated the indigenous populations from the British. The British can be seen to have defined and pushed a particular image of the indigenous populations in the settler societies, linked to ideas of Social Darwinism and the belief that these populations were dying out. The idea that these populations would not be part of the future ultimately distinguished them within the way the settler societies were represented.

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[56] Anandi Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p.7.
[57] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995).
[58] Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders,* p.6.

Social Darwinism

The question of how the indigenous populations fitted into the image of a 'Greater Britain,' has to be understood in the context of the wider study of anthropology during this period. In his 1871 work *Primitive Culture,* Edward B. Tylor described mankind as homogenous in nature, 'though placed in different grades of civilisation'.[59] Tylor defined civilisation and culture in its broadest ethnographic sense. It was a complex whole that encompassed 'knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'.[60] 'Survivals in culture', he argued, allowed someone to judge the rate of civilisation in a particular society and 'lesser' cultures can still be seen, heard, read and witnessed in contemporary society. Those beliefs and practices that had survived within society were markers, and they allowed for greater understanding of the development of the human condition. Tylor's work provides a context for our understanding of the image of the indigenous populations within the settler societies. The idea of different grades of civilisation is a theme running through the journals, travel accounts and other ephemera of the period. There were 'survivals in culture' within the various societies of the indigenous populations, and it was these aspects of their culture that were important to observe. Works on humanity, particularly by Tylor, influenced the idea that the indigenous populations were behind in terms of civilisation and were destined for extinction.

Even though Tylor's work was not specifically cited in the representation of indigenous populations, his work formed a background for the image that emerged

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[59] Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom Vol. 1* (London: John Murray, 1903), p.7.
[60] *Ibid.*, p.1.

and how the British placed these populations within the representation of the settler societies as a whole. By judging them by ideas of hierarchy and progress, the British could not only justify a perception of the indigenous populations which gave them a sense of superiority, but their assumptions about the future of the settler colonies - a future that did not include indigenous populations. The Maori, Aborigine and First Nation were not part of the settler societies of a 'Greater Britain'.

In an article on the Aboriginal Australian in *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* published in 1893, the author demonstrated the perceived hierarchy of progress imposed on the indigenous populations of the settler societies. The author stated that, unlike the Native American, the 'victory' over the indigenous Australian was not a force of arms but 'force of circumstances and the want of adaptation on the part of the weaker contestants'.[61] It was this notion of 'weaker contestants' that best summed up the representation of the indigenous populations. The author argued that their relationship with surroundings allowed Native Americans to cope with the European population, and the landscape was given as the main reason for the difference between the indigenous populations of America and Australia. The author argued that Native Americans were strong in their native strength and traditions, and thus able to disregard the virtues and vices of the Europeans. Native Americans were able to adapt to the manners and ideas of the enemy and refused to admit that they were beaten. The Australian indigenous population, however, were unable to do so and, too weak, they became victims of civilisation.

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[61] 'The Aboriginal of Australia,' *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts,* 10: 516 (1893), p.735.

Social Darwinism, or the appropriation of Darwin's theories of natural selection to fit the idea of the survival of the fittest within discussions of different racial and national groups, was an important influence on representations of indigenous populations within the settler societies. Alongside Tylor's classification of civilisation, racial anthropology, the works of Francis Galton and Herbert Spencer, and the eugenics movement claimed to explain the idea of the biological success of certain races.

Mike Hawkins has argued that Social Darwinism was not a social or political theory but a series of connected propositions and assumptions about time and nature and how humanity is situated within these propositions, and this drove the perception of indigenous peoples during this period. [62] The main view of the travellers and settlers in Australia, New Zealand and Canada during this period was that the indigenous populations were 'dying out', unable to adapt to the civilisation of the British and Europeans. They did not fit into British ideas of the future of the settler societies. To the British travellers and settlers, the indigenous populations were part of the old landscape, the primeval landscape of pre-colonisation; they were examples of the degeneration that the settler societies were supposed to provide a solution for.

The indigenous populations were not part of the progress or Britishness of the landscape. Unlike the European population in South Africa, the indigenous populations were not considered to be part of this future. Similarly in Quebec, the British were keen to gain and highlight the loyalty of the French but the loyalty of the Indian was not discussed. The British saw these settler societies as the future, a place to progress,

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[62] Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.48.

and travellers across Australia, New Zealand and Canada saw the indigenous populations as an antithesis to the ideas of a 'Greater Britain'.

Just as the frontier was seen as a primeval landscape, the First Nation and Maori were described as part of the landscape of the past. The indigenous populations were often held up to contrast with the progress of a particular town or settlement. Articles used indigenous populations as markers to demonstrate the progress that had been made or as evidence that due to their presence 'advancement' was slow.[63] An article on Australia in *The Girl's Own Paper* described Albany as desolate and sleepy and 'An indication of the slow advance of civilisation is the number of aborigines who congregate in the few streets'.[64]

While travelling through the prairies in the 1890s Marchioness Ishbel Gordon described the 'ghosts of a people of other days'. Gordon portrayed the Indian as mournful and silent, watching the 'new race rising up and possessing this fair and goodly land'. Their time had gone and it would not be long before all traces of their existence would have vanished, present only in museums.[65] Gordon's opinion reflected that of most travellers. The contact with civilisation was seen to have resulted in a once fierce and strong people deteriorating to a weak state of, what Gordon described as, 'distasteful wretchedness'.[66] Gordon's description of the Canadian Indian encapsulated the general representation of indigenous populations. Travellers and settlers acknowledged the strength and ferocity these peoples had shown in the past, but there was no doubt that their time was coming to an end.

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[63] 'Early Annals of Australian Colonies,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 6, 1888), p.401; W. Lawrence Liston, 'In Southern Lands,' *The Girl's Own Paper* (June 6, 1891), p.572; 'The Toll of the Bush,' *Macmillan's Magazine*, 91: 541 (November 1904), pp.1-19.
[64] Liston, 'In Southern Lands,' p.572.
[65] Gordon, *Through Canada with a Kodak,* p.202.
[66] *Ibid*.

Authenticity

The British, it's true, had great admiration for the Maori population. Frank T. Bullen described them as a 'splendid race' with a 'magnificent build,' and W.E Swanton described a fine race of men who were intelligent and physically well developed.[67] In the Boer War story 'Jack Harkaway's War Scouts; Or, The Terror of the Boers' the New Zealand soldiers known as Maori were described as tall, splendidly made fellows and as strong as giants.[68] H.R. Haweis' description of the Maori highlighted their great capacities, arguing that they could be educated, had the gift of eloquent speech, and were a great calibre of people. Similarly, Sir Westby Brook Perceval saw the Maori as brave, chivalrous and intelligent.[69] In the introduction to his book, *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist*, John Murray Moore stated that even though the book did not aim to include the history and ethnology of New Zealand it 'wisely' devoted a few pages to the subject of the Maori. The Maori had 'proved himself the bravest and most intelligent of all the Pacific Islanders hitherto encountered by English soldiers'.[70] However, Moore also wanted to highlight the importance of a race he saw as slowly passing away.

For the British these indigenous populations for all their qualities were unable to live together with the new colonists and settlers. Haweis argued that they have put on clothes, encountered disease and learnt to read and write. Once the influence of the Europeans had begun, there was no hope for them, and the general feeling was

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[67] Frank. T. Bullen, *Advance Australasia a Day-to-Day Record of a Recent Visit to Australasia*, 2nd edition (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907), p.149; W. E. Swanton, *Notes on New Zealand* (London: Eden, Remington & Co, 1892), p.51.

[68] 'Jack Harkaway's War Scouts; Or, the Terror of the Boers,' *Up-to-Date Boys Journal & Novelettes* (March 16, 1900), p.354.

[69] Sir Westby Brook Perceval, *Pictorial New Zealand* (London: Cassall and Co., 1895), p.iv.

[70] John Murray Moore, *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Seale and Rivington, 1890)*,* p.39.

that they must be one thing or nothing at all.[71] Swanton also talked about the

problems of civilisation and the vices it brought, and argued that the Maori were

deteriorating as a result.[72]

Authenticity was important in the representation of indigenous communities.

The indigenous people featured in the posters, exhibitions and other ephemera were

always dressed in full traditional dress. George French Angas's Australia and New

Zealand Exhibition staged in London in the mid-nineteenth century displayed portraits

of Maori chiefs and their wives in such costume and, similarly, 'natives of South

Australia' were featured with weapons, implements, canoes and costumes.[73]

The indigenous populations featured quite prominently in exhibitions and

panoramas. The individual parts of 'Greater Britain' were often represented by an

image of an indigenous Australian, Maori or Aboriginal Canadian in traditional dress. A

series of panoramas of 'Trips Abroad' put on by Charles W. Poole in London in the

1880s used images of people to represent the different countries included in the world

tour.[74] Prout's 'Voyage to Australia' included images of an 'Encampment of Aborigines'

and a 'Corroberee Dance of the Natives'.[75]

The Coronation Exhibition in 1911 featured performances by Maori warriors

including war dances, singing, rowing and exercises.[76] The inclusion of crafts, weapons

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[71] H. R. Haweis, *Travel and Talk, 1885-93-95: My Hundred Thousand Miles of Travel through America, Australia, Tasmania, Canada, New Zealand, Ceylon, and the Paradises of the Pacific* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897), p.124.
[72] Swanton, *Notes on New Zealand*, p.52.
[73] BoL: JJC London Play Places 10 (22) - Egyptian Hall: Exhibitions, 'New Zealand and Australian Exhibition,' 1846.
[74] British Library: Evanion Catalogue 1875, 'Poole's Grand Pictorial Tours, Royal Victoria Hall, Lambeth,' 1885 http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/evanion/FullImage.aspx?EvanID=024-000004869&ImageId=52264 [accessed 1 September 2009]
[75] BoL: JJC Dioramas 1 (20), 'The Voyage to Australia and Visit to the Gold Fields' 1853.
[76] 'The Coronation Exhibition,' *The Times* (June 5, 1911), p.4.

and other cultural artefacts was a feature of all exhibitions during the period.[77] The

reports on the exhibition included description of the craft and industry of the

indigenous populations. *The Times* stated that the most interesting feature of the

Coronation Exhibition was the scenes from all parts of the Empire accompanied by

'natives working at their different crafts and industries'.[78]

Newspapers and periodicals included 'educational' articles on the indigenous

populations. Articles were included on Australian corroborees, Maori tangis,

descriptions of daily life, ceremony and culture.[79] Travellers also included detailed

educational information in accounts as did settlers. In his guide, *New Zealand for the*

Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist, John Murray Moore included an appendix on the Maori

language, including the alphabet, key phrases and pronunciation.[80] This was a

common feature of the travel accounts during the period, and travellers were keen to

include information on the culture and traditions of the indigenous populations.

Despite admitting to knowing very little of the Aboriginal Australians, George Lacon

James stated that what little knowledge he did possess he would detail in his

account.[81] The author felt that the reader expected to hear about indigenous

populations.

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[77] 'The Franco-British Exhibition,' *The Times* (July 1, 1908), p.7.
[78] 'The Coronation Exhibition,' *The Times* (August 22, 1911), p.8.
[79] 'Miscellaneous Extracts, &c.' *Manchester Times* (January 17, 1880), p.21; 'Miscellanea,' *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser* (January 28, 1880), p.6; 'An Australian Corroborree,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (March 8, 1880), p.2; 'The Natives of Australia,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (November 23, 1882), p.7; 'A New Zealand Ceremonial,' *The Leeds Mercury* (May 2, 1885), p.5; 'An Australian Corroborree,' *The Star* (September 12, 1885), p.4; 'Impressions Of New Zealand,' *The Leeds Mercury* (April 15, 1882), p.1; 'Tales of a Traveller,' *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (September 19, 1897), p.14.
[80] Moore, *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist*.
[81] George Lacon James, *Shall I Try Australia? Or, Health, Business, and Pleasure in New South Wales. Forming a Guide to the Australian Colonies for the Emigrant Settler and Business Man* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 1892).

In J.K Arthur's chapter on the Australian Aborigines and New Zealand Maori in his travel book he discussed diet, community structure and weapons, the structure of the Maori house (Whare) and the culture of tattooing.[82] Weapons and hunting were a large part of the travellers' descriptions. Howard Willoughby and Henry Taunton both included detailed descriptions of the boomerang and wommera and how they were used, for hunting by the Aboriginal Australians.[83] Travellers often included lists and pictures of weapons along with detailed descriptions of how they were used and Willoughby included a drawing of a 'Waddy Fight' in his 1880s illustrated account. The men in the image were dressed traditionally and placed with the bush in the background. The images, mainly drawings, were always archetypal, creating and reinforcing stereotypes of the period.

The importance of the traditional image of indigenous people can also be seen in the travellers' writing on encounters. Travellers often wrote negatively about any evidence of indigenous peoples who had European clothes, habits or influence. James T Gouldie described a group of Maoris he saw outside one station south of Auckland on his 1893 trip to New Zealand. He described a group of women in 'showy prints, smoking pipes, and laughing and behaving very much like a lot of factory girls out for meal time'. Their tattoos combined with the clothes gave 'them a half fierce, half comical appearance'.[84]

While the indigenous population were an important part of the image of the settler societies, it was when amongst their own people and practising their own

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[82] J. K. Arthur, *Kangaroo and Kauri: Sketches and Anecdotes of Australia and New Zealand* (London: Sampson Low, Makston & Co., 1894), pp.81-88.

[83] Howard Willoughby, *Australian Pictures: Drawn from Pen and Pencil* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886), p.167.

[84] James T. Goudie, *Notes and Gleanings: being Leaves from the Diary of Voyage to and from Australia and New Zealand in 1893* (Edinburgh: R and R Clark, 1894), p.75.

culture that they were acceptable. When Katherine Bates travelled to an 'Indian village' outside one of the main Canadian cities, she was disappointed to find that the previous residents, the Huron tribe, were no longer there, and stated that very few of the men, women or children there had the faintest trace of Indian blood. She described the chief as looking 'uncommonly like an English grocer in a small provincial town'.[85] Mrs Wilson had a similar reaction during her tour of New Zealand when she was taken to Hutt, a part of Wellington, to meet with a Maori community. She was greatly disappointed to find them 'clothed in the garments of civilisation'.[86]

The structure of British society and working life was written as not suiting the Maori. Bullen wrote of men with the physique of Hercules but who would not work steady hours.[87] Bullen's description of the Maori reflected the feeling in British accounts that the indigenous populations would never be European. Bullen argued that like all other primeval races the Maori did not 'bear the transition to civilisation well'. They were considered part of the past. The frontier was considered to be a primeval landscape, and the indigenous people were considered a part of this. Bullen described the Maori as picturesque and romantic figures; while in the native wilds, as he puts it, the Maori is graceful and correct but in the town and city the garments of civilisation hang awkwardly and they look like 'unprepossessing loafers'.[88] In a description of one town, Wanganui, Bullen described groups of lounging Maoris 'looking curiously out of place in the midst of civilisation'.[89]

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[85] Katherine E. Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic* (London: Ward & Downey, 1887), p.11.
[86] Mrs Robert, Wilson, *In the Land of the Tui: My Journal in New Zealand* (London: S. Low, Marston & company, Limited, 1894), pp.32-33.
[87] Bullen, *Advance Australasia a Day-to-Day Record of a Recent Visit to Australasia*, p.150.
[88] *Ibid.,* pp.150; 247-248.
[89] *Ibid.,* p.248.

The King Country, a large area of the North Island that was still considered

Maori territory, was seen as a separate part of the landscape. J.H Kerry-Nicolas even

described the King Country as *imperium in imperio*, the state in the state, inhabited

'exclusively by a warlike race of savages'. In his description of the Country, Kerry-

Nicholas described a point in the landscape where European settlement ended and

the Maori land began, marked by the settlement of Alexandra on the Te Awamutu

road. Kerry-Nicholas described a row of neat white houses, gardens and groves of

trees and a church with a spire. The illusion of an English village was dispelled,

however, by the 'dark, statuesque figure, wrapped in a blanket': the noble savage. The

white homesteads of the European served as the boundary of the King Country, and

Kerry-Nicholas described it as the frontier line separating King Country from the

territory of the Pakeha.[90]

The Maori in the King Country, were still the Maori of old, 'the finest specimens

of the human race'.[91] They were seen as a contrast to those in the city and town.

Kerry-Nicholas argued that it was the change away from the lifestyle followed by their

forefathers that brought about the alteration. There were still the warriors of what

Kerry-Nicholas called the 'old school' who were physically and intellectually superior,

but this would soon be a thing of the past. The old chiefs and elders of the tribes in the

King Country, he argued, had the stamp of the noble savage with their calm, dignified

air, tattooed features, strong physique and manliness depicted in every line of their

bodies. The image of the noble savage was, however, being replaced by the younger

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[90] J.H. Kerry-Nicholls, *The King Country; or, Explorations in New Zealand: A Narrative of 600 miles of Travel through Maoriland* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1884), pp.17-19.
[91] *Ibid.*, p.12.

generations who had a weak appearance, were slight of build, haggard and consumptive in look.[92]

In 1914, James Mackintosh Bell stated that the coming of civilisation meant the passing of the fighting days of the last century. Tribes no longer waged unceasing wars against each other. Bell argued that the Maori was degenerating because they were no longer performing their natural warrior lifestyle, a prime example of how the Maori did not fit in civilisation. He noted the success of many Maori in government, as professionals and as farmers. However, he went on to say manual or intellectual work of any kind for long periods was not the Maori lifestyle: 'He likes to toil almost unceasingly for a few weeks, and then loaf for as many months'.[93]

Kerry Nicholas argued that the reason for the decrease of the Maori in New Zealand was the 'half savage, half civilised mode of life' which led to disease from contact with Europeans.[94] The place of the Maori was in the primeval landscape in the frontier, the sacred, beautiful, romantic bush and backcountry and not the civilisation of the cities and towns. Civilisation was infecting the Maori and resulted in the weakening of a once strong warrior race. This process was seen as inevitable. Haweis argued that mental and physical deterioration through contact with the white man was unavoidable due to the changed physical conditions. The contact with the unprincipled traders and speculators was also seen to demoralise the Maori, despite the efforts of the missionaries who tried to Christianise the population.[95]

Haweis argued that civilisation had resulted in lost independence and the Maori had been cheated out of their woods and mountains and, as a result, forgotten

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[92] *Ibid.*, p.13.
[93] James Mackintosh Bell, *The Wilds of Maoriland* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914), p.109.
[94] Kerry-Nicholls, *The King Country*, pp.11-12.
[95] Haweis, *Travel and Talk, 1885-93-95,* p.126.

their fighting, fishing, hunting and carving. For Haweis and other travellers, they had learnt all the negative things that come with civilisation: 'they have become civilised and learned how to lie and swindle quite like civilised people; they have become Christian and got drunk and moribund'.[96]

Mary J. Sansom's description of the First Nation population was very similar to the travellers' description of the Maori. Civilisation did not suit the indigenous Canadian; they were brave but lazy and the civilised life resulted in them losing the robust health and vim they possessed when they lived in the wilds. As a result, Sansom contemplated, they would degenerate and decay until they were no more.[97]

The indigenous populations were not expected to be part of the future of the settler societies due to ideas of progress, Social Darwinism and the relationship with European civilisation. Such representations were not always negative, and positive attributes of the indigenous populations were sometimes highlighted. However, the idea that these populations were part of the past was clear within the representation. The indigenous populations, like Afrikaners and French Canadians, were represented as separate from the British in relation to progress.

A Broader British Community?

Despite the existence of a civic nationalism within the colonies which aspired to inclusivity, the settler societies were united by a British connection and that unity that was more exclusive than existing scholarship has argued. Even though non-British populations featured in representation of the settler societies and often formed a dominant image in Britain, they were located in the representation through themes of modernity and progress connected to the portrayal of the settler societies at 'home.'

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[96] *Ibid.,* pp.125-126.
[97] Mary J. Sansom, *A Holiday Trip to Canada* (London: The St Catherine Press, 1900), p.92.

The population of 'Greater Britain' was not represented crudely along the lines of 'us' and 'them'. It was difficult to pin down one image of the 'non-British' population in the settler societies; it was complicated, based on a hierarchy and a chronology of civilisations and it varied in terms of time of writing. Indeed, representations of the 'non-British' population reflected the often contradictory nature of the imagining of the settler societies during this period. However, key themes do emerge. Even though the non-British populations were included in the representation, they were generally portrayed as clashing with the ideas of a 'Greater Britain.' The image of the settler societies and the opportunities they offered was based on the idea of a future that they could provide, and the non-British elements did not fit comfortably in that context. The dominant image of the Afrikaner and French Canadian, especially as less-civilised and uncultured farmers, was evident throughout the period. They were 'old country' Europeans, stuck in the past and consequently with no part to play in the progress the British so desperately desired for a 'Greater Britain'. In part driven by Social Darwinism and ethnographical other studies of humanity, the indigenous populations similarly had no part in this.

The examination of these two 'non-British' sections of society as reflected in British representations of the settler societies adds to our understanding of the idea of 'Greater Britain'. Whereas an examination of the events and circumstances in the colonies themselves is crucial to the study of the Empire, the selective nature of the constantly changing image of the Empire in Britain is equally important. Who was not included in 'Greater Britain' and the reasons why and most importantly *how* different populations were placed within this selective image of the settler societies provides a greater understanding of these parts of the Empire in Britain.

Chapter 5
THE COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION, 1886

The representation of the settler societies as a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain' was built on a variety of sources and images in Britain. Ideas of opportunity based on the land, resources, freedom, health and rejuvenation in a British landscape were portrayed across many sources during the period 1880-1914. These ideas came together in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886, both in terms of how the settler societies were represented and also how the exhibition was reported and portrayed in the press and other publications. The exhibits in the galleries of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa drew on the importance of opportunity and progress tied together by sentiment as well as the ideas of frontier and identity. Accounts and reviews took this further, and as well as describing the displays they also assessed the colonies more broadly. Firstly, the exhibition highlighted the opportunity within the landscape both in terms of the wealth of resources displayed and how they were represented in official and unofficial accounts, articles and other ephemera. Secondly, the displays highlighted the progress that the colonies had made since early settlement, whether that was through products and commodities, industry, or pictures of infrastructure. The indigenous populations were there, but in the background, depicted as part of their own displays, away from but also providing markers of the progression towards modernity. Linked to imperial sentiment as well as the opportunity in the landscape, the exhibition represented the progress of the British overseas. Articles and accounts saw the familiarity of the products and industry and

emphasised the British connection and how they were progressing towards modern societies. It was these points that separated the settler societies from the rest of the Empire within the exhibition and representations of it. The settler societies were represented as a British landscape of opportunity, both in terms of land and what it could produce and also in terms of the lifestyle of its inhabitants.

Even though it was not an exhibition on the settler societies alone the displays of the 1886 exhibition can tell us a great deal about the representation and imagining of specific parts of the Empire. Gary Magee and Andrew Thompson have argued that the visual imagery of exhibitions 'had a strength and immediacy that the written word often lacked'.[1] Indeed, in an article about the exhibition in *Time,* Frank Banfield stated that when the visitor left the Australian courts they would have gained more of an appreciation of the colonies 'than the average globe trotter obtains from a hurried visit to the lands themselves'.[2] Exhibitions epitomised the representation of the settler societies in Britain, focussing the images down to a few key features. Through the exhibits and associated literature the exhibition brought together the key themes in the representation of the settler societies in Britain. 'Greater Britain' with its resources was presented as a landscape of opportunity offering modernity, adventure and regeneration.

The Exhibition in Context

This chapter will focus on the 1886 exhibition as the first of the official events of the period, the only one to be centred solely on the Empire and one that saw a great deal of official and unofficial coverage. Centred around trade, education and

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[1] Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.154.
[2] Frank Banfield, 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Time*, 14: 18 (June, 1886) p.669.

imperial sentiment, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition was developed and funded with

Government support, organised by a Royal Commission made up of the Prince of

Wales and Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen alongside representatives from the colonies.[3] The

majority of the colonies were involved with the only exceptions being Newfoundland,

Tasmania, Heliogoland and Gibraltar.[4]

The imperial content within exhibitions had been increasing before 1886,

notably at the Great Exhibition (1851) and the International Exhibition (1862).[5] The

Colonial and Indian Exhibition certainly set the trend for future large exhibitions post

1886, the majority of which featured courts on individual colonies or regions of the

Empire, notably the Franco-British Exhibition (1908), Imperial International (1909),

Japan-British Exhibition (1910), the Glasgow Exhibition (1911) and the two Coronation

Exhibitions in 1911, the second held at Crystal Palace. Unlike the other exhibitions

during this period, however, the Colonial and Indian exhibition was all about the

Empire; it was not a feature amongst other exhibits and displays. Even though there

was a strong imperial element to the Franco-British and Japan British exhibitions, they

were predominantly exhibits on France, Britain and Japan not their colonies.[6]

John Mackenzie has argued that as well as the growth in imperial content, the

amount of ephemera also grew, and it was the Colonial and Indian Exhibition that first

saw the production of large amounts of low cost ephemera (Figure 5.1).[7] Every colony

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[3] John McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition: A Lecture Delivered by John McCarthy and published for use in the schools of the island,' *Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection* (1887), pp.3-4; John Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p.102.

[4] Frank Cundall (ed.), *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: William Clowes, 1886), p.2.

[5] John MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures,' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), p.283.

[6] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire,* p.97-98.

[7] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire,* p.102.

produced a handbook for circulation, and alongside the Official catalogue all of the

exhibits also offered a separate catalogue.[8] There were also a few published accounts

of the exhibition.[9] Frank Cundall's edited work was lavishly illustrated and included

extracts from the various colonial exhibition handbooks.[10] The Exhibition was also

covered extensively in the press; even the lectures gained coverage across the

country.[11] The British public were able to 'walk through' the Exhibition via articles in

periodicals and newspapers and many of those included individual features on each

colony over a number of issues.[12] *The Illustrated London News* in particular covered

the Exhibition extensively over the course of its six months including the opening

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[8] *Canada at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: McCorquodale & Co., 1886); C*anada: Its History, Productions and Natural Resources* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture Canada, 1886); *Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886: A Revelation of Canada's Progress and Resources* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1887); J.F. Conigrave, *South Australia: A Sketch of its History and Resources A Handbook* (Adelaide: E. Spiller, Govt. Printer, 1886); John Noble (ed.), *History, Productions, and Resources of the Cape of Good Hope: Official Handbook* (London: Saul Solomon & Co., 1886); *Her Majesty's Colonies* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1886); James Thomson (ed.), *Illustrated Handbook of Victoria, Australia* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1886); *Natal Official Handbook* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1886); *Catalogue of New Zealand Exhibits* (London : William Clowes and Sons, 1886); *Catalogue of the Exhibits in the Queensland Court* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1886); *New South Wales: Official Catalogue of Exhibits from the Colony* (Sydney: T. Richards, 1886); *Catalogue of the Exhibits of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (London: Richards, Glanville & Co., 1886); J. F. Conigrave, *South Australia: a Sketch of its History and Resources: A Handbook* (Adelaide: E. Spiller, Govt. Printer, 1886).

[9] John Dinsdale, *Sketches at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: William Clowes and Sons., 1886); Eleanor Vere Boyle, *A London Sparrow at the Colinderies*, (London: William Clowes and Sons., 1887)

[10] Cundall (ed.), *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition*.

[11] 'State-Aided Emigration,' *North-Eastern Daily Gazette* (June 9, 1886), p.3; 'The Emigration Question,' *Morning Post* (June 9, 1886), p.2; 'Emigration to Canada - On Friday Evening,' *The Times* (July 26, 1886); 'Lord Rosebery on Imperial Federation,' *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (July 2, 1886), p.4; 'The Imperial Federation League,' *The Standard* (July 2, 1886), p.2; 'The Imperial Federation League meets this,' *The Times* (July 2, 1886), p.9; 'Imperial Federation,' *The Times* (July 2, 1886), p.9; 'Imperial Federation,' *The Times* (July 03, 1886), p.10.

[12] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Morning Post,* (April 23, 1886), p.5; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (May 22, 1886), p.5; 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Morning Post* (June 2, 1886), p.5; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Leeds Mercury* (June 19, 1886), p.11: 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Leeds Mercury* (June 23, 1886), p.6; 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Morning Post* (June 28, 1886), p.5; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Leeds Mercury* (June 29, 1886), p.11; 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Standard* (July 23, 1886), p.5; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (August 3, 1886), p.4; 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Times* (September 21, 1886), p.13; 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Morning Post* (September 6, 1886), p.5; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Times* (October 20, 1886), p.3; 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Westminster Review*, 126 (1886 July), pp. 29-59.

ceremony and companion pieces and articles about the colonies.[13] Supplements were

included about each court including a detailed walk through, pictures of selected

displays and further analysis of the colony.[14] Other more technical journals included

articles about the exhibition, most notably the *Journal of Indian Art* and *British*

Architect.[15]

The British public were drawn to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in their

millions. It was reported that ten thousand people attended the opening on May 4th.[16]

It was a ceremony that reflected the intentions of the Exhibition, a lavish outpouring

of devotion to the Empire and recognition of strong ties and close union.[17] The

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[13] 'Opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition by the Queen,' *The Illustrated London News* (May 08, 1886), pp.496-7; 'Views in New South Wales,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 23, 1886), p. 438.
[14] Colonial Indian Exhibition: South Australia (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1886), pp.575-587; Colonial Indian Exhibition: Indian Empire (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (July 17, 1886), pp.81-89; Colonial Indian Exhibition: Victoria (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (August 07, 1886), pp.153-157; Colonial Indian Exhibition: Dominion of Canada (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), pp.177-185; Colonial Indian Exhibition: New South Wales and New Guinea (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (August 21, 1886), pp.209-213; Colonial Indian Exhibition: Queensland (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (August 28, 1886), pp.233-238; Colonial Indian Exhibition: Western Australia, British North Borneo, Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (September 18, 1886), pp.300-304; Colonial Indian Exhibition: British Guiana, West Indies and British Honduras (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (September 25, 1886), pp337-341; Colonial Indian Exhibition: New Zealand (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (October 02, 1886), pp.361-366; Colonial Indian Exhibition: Cyprus and Malta (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (October 09, 1886), pp.388-389; Colonial Indian Exhibition: Cape of Good Hope (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (October 16, 1886), pp.412-416.
[15] *Journal of Indian Art*, 1: 1-16 (October 1886); 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition I,' *British Architect,* 25: 20 (May 14, 1886), pp.511-512; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition II,' *British Architect,* 25: 21 (May 21, 1886), p.539; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition III,' *British Architect,* 25: 22 (May 28, 1886), pp.548-563; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition IV,' *British Architect,* 25: 23 (June 4, 1886), pp.575-587.
[16] 'Opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition by the Queen,' p.496.
[17] 'The Colonial & Indian Exhibition,' *Birmingham Daily Post* (May 5, 1886), p.5; 'The Colonial Exhibition at Kensington,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (May 5, 1886), p.4; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (May 5, 1886), p.8; 'The Colonial Exhibition,' *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* (May 5, 1886), p.5; 'The Ceremony In The Albert Hall,' *Daily News* (May 5, 1886), p.5; 'The Ceremony,' *The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (May 05, 1886), p.5; 'The Colonial And Indian Exhibition,' *The Times* (May 5, 1886), p.11; Cundall (ed.), *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, pp.7-14.

Figure 5.1 Examples of Programmes and Books Published for the Exhibition
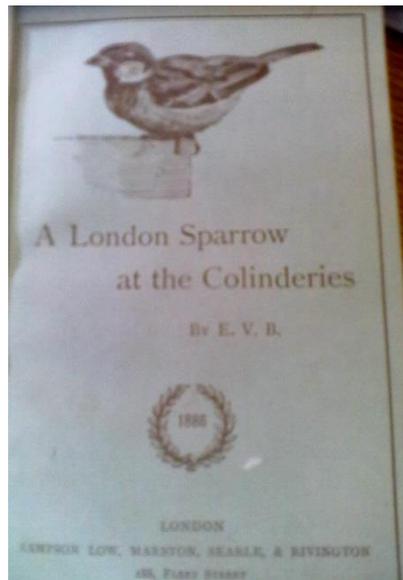
Colonial and Indian Exhibition Daily Programme August 27, 1886 (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1886)

Frank Cundall (ed.), *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1886)

Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times (May 1, 1886)

Eleanor Vere Boyle, *A London Sparrow at the Colinderies*, (London: William Clowes and Sons 1887)

first month of the Exhibition saw visitors numbering 386,111.[18] At the closing of the

Exhibition on the 10th November newspapers across the country reported that

5,550,749 people had visited the Exhibition over the six months, an average of 33,846

a day.[19] This included a variety of people and sections of society. Cunliffe-Owen

encouraged the formation of workmen's clubs, temporary unions of men, women and

children that would allow them to go to London and see the exhibition for a very small

cost.[20] Together with the metropolitan artisan's scheme that also allowed cheap

admission, over one million people took up these offers.[21] Cheap excursions were

offered across the country.[22] One advertisement in *The Bury and Norwich Post, and*

Suffolk Herald promoted excursions from the region, including the journey to and from

London, transit across London and admission to the Exhibition for a cost of between

three and six shillings.[23]

The exhibition started off in the Indian court and then the visitor moved

through to the halls representing Ceylon and Burma. They then moved onto the Cape

Colony and Western African colonies and then onto Natal. New Zealand was in the

next hall and then the visitors moved through to the Canadian hall. The Exhibition then

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[18] 'The South Australian Court at the Colonial Exhibition,' *The Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1886), p.587; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Times* (November 11, 1886), p.6; 'The Accounts of the South Kensington Exhibitions,' *The Times* (November 13, 1886), p.10.

[19] 'The Accounts of the South Kensington Exhibitions'; 'Closing of the Exhibition,' *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (November 13, 1886), p.6.

[20] 'Workmen's Clubs And The Colonial Exhibition,' *The North-Eastern Daily Gazette* (May 01, 1886), p.2; 'The Working Classes and The Exhibition,' *Morning Post* (August 11, 1886), p.2; 'The Working Classes and The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Reynolds' Newspaper* (August 15, 1886), p.1; 'The Prince Of Wales and the Working Classes,' *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (August 15, 1886); 'The Working Classes and The Exhibition,' *The Morning Post* (August 18, 1886), p.5; 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Ragged School Union Quarterly Record,* 11: 44 (October 1886), p.201; 'Workmen's Club,' *Hampshire Advertiser* (June 26, 1886).

[21] 'The Prince Of Wales and the Working Classes at the Exhibition,' *Morning Post* (November 16, 1886), p.5.

[22] 'Cheap Trips to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (May 18, 1886).

[23] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886.' *The Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald* (October 12, 1886). Another example can be found in 'Excursion to London,' *Hampshire Advertiser* (October 16, 1886), p.7.

took the visitor to South Australia, Fiji and Victoria before moving through to Western

Australia, New South Wales and Queensland. Visitors then moved onto the smaller

parts of the Empire such as Cyprus, Malta, Hong Kong, British Guiana, the Straits

Settlements, North Borneo, Mauritius, and the Falkland Islands, and then finished in

the West Indies and British Honduras Court.[24] Alongside the exhibits were restaurants,

gardens, an illuminated fountain and countless electric lamps.[25] Visitors could also

attend lectures and concerts as well as other Empire-themed activities. On the 27th

August, for example, visitors could attend a lesson on high class cookery (colonial and

Indian cookery), watch the Durbar carriage and listen to an organ recital.[26] Lectures

covered a variety of topics from the general, such as Imperial Federation and

Emigration, to the topics specific to each colony.[27] Taking Queensland as an example,

there were lectures and essays on emigration to the colony, education, flora,

horticulture, the agricultural industry, the pastoral industry, commerce and industries,

the mineral industries, the sugar industry and the contribution to pharmacy, as well as

an introduction to the colony.[28]

The Royal Commission stated that the object of the exhibition was to bring

together the products of the various colonies and the Indian Empire.[29] Gary Magee

and Andrew Thompson have argued that exhibitions were one of the formal

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[24] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.2; Cundall (ed.), *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, pp.2-4.

[25] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, p.3.

[26] *Colonial and Indian Exhibition Daily Programme* 27th August, 1886 (London: W. Clowes, 1886); *Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Catalogue* (London: W. Clowes, 1886).

[27] Francis Peter de Labillière, *Imperial Federation: A Paper Read at the Conferences of the Royal Colonial Institute at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, on 28th May, 1886* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., printers, 1886); Frederick William Pennefather, *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886. New Zealand, A Field for Emigration. Lecture, etc.* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1886).

[28] P. Fletcher (ed.), *Queensland: its Resources and Institutions: Essays: Prepared by the Authority of the Executive Commissioners in Queensland* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1886).

[29] Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.152; McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.4.

commercial structures of the Empire and more specifically the British World. They provided commercial and investment opportunities for the seller and consumer and in terms of staging an exhibition also brought the related business to local economies.[30] The displays themselves were put together by representatives from the Empire, displaying the industry, products and commodities of their particular colony. From their perspective, the Exhibition allowed the colonies to gain information about the British market.[31] The Canadian Federal Government was so eager to use the opportunity that they provided free passages to exhibitors and also hired agents to encourage industries to attend the Exhibition and promote themselves.[32] The colonial exhibitors and governments clearly saw this Exhibition as a facilitator of trade and the opportunity to promote their colony or Dominion.

Paul Greenhalgh has argued that trade was at the 'theoretical core of exhibitions.'[33] In an article about the Great Exhibition, Helix saw displays in 1851 as a gathering of commercial travellers, alongside customers and employers in a showroom for their goods.[34] In 1851 Henry Cole's original vision of the Empire exhibits, particularly India, was that of a vast treasure-house in which resources, and wealth, could be tapped by the British public.[35] Trade was one aspect of the representation of the settler societies within the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. The export and value statistics listed in the press and other reports highlighted the importance of these

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[30] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation,* p.152; J.R. Gold and M.M. Gold, *Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851-2000* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p.68.
[31] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, pp.152-53.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.22.
[34] Helix, 'The Industrial Revolution of 1851,' *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* (April 1850) in *Ibid.*, p.23.
[35] *Ibid.*, p.54.

within the representation of the settler society in the courts and galleries.[36] The

Canadian wild animal trophy was described by *The Westminster Review* as an

important trophy in the exhibit due to its importance in the European market (Figure

5.2).[37] And indeed, visitors walked around the trophies and displays, almost like they

were in an imperial department store. They could walk around the New South Wales

wine trophy and purchase drinks or look at the large displays of grain and wheat

products (Figure 5.3).[38] The image of the fruit stall in the Victorian court resembled a

grocery store (Figure 5.4).[39] *The Westminster Review* even described the Canadian

Court as 'too *shoppy* in appearance to be attractive'.[40]

      However, taking the Exhibition just as a projection of the Empires' economy

and an inducement to trade misses some of the underlying themes driving

representations at the Exhibition. Magee and Thompson have argued that

commodities can be seen as culturally specific, taking on symbolic value from the place

in which they were produced.[41] And this was certainly the case for the exhibits in the

Colonial and Indian Exhibition. The accounts and writings represented the exhibition

and its displays as demonstrating much more than trade.

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[36] 'Colonial Indian Exhibition: South Australia (Supplement),' *The Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1886), p.587; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Leeds Mercury* (June 23, 1886), p.6; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.180; 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,'; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Times* (October 20, 1886), p.11; 'Colonial And Indian Exhibition,' *The Times* (October 21, 1886), p.12.

[37] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' pp.38-39; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.180.

[38] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: New South Wales and New Guinea,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 21, 1886), p.212.

[39] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Victoria,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 7, 1886), p.156.

[40] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.38.

[41] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation,* p.154.

Figure 5.2 Illustration of the Game and Fur Trophy in the Canadian Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.


'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.180.

Figure 5.3 Illustration of the Trophies in the New South Wales and New Guinea Courts in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.

'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: New South Wales and New Guinea,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 21, 1886), p.212.

Figure 5.4 Illustration of the Australian Fruit Stall in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.
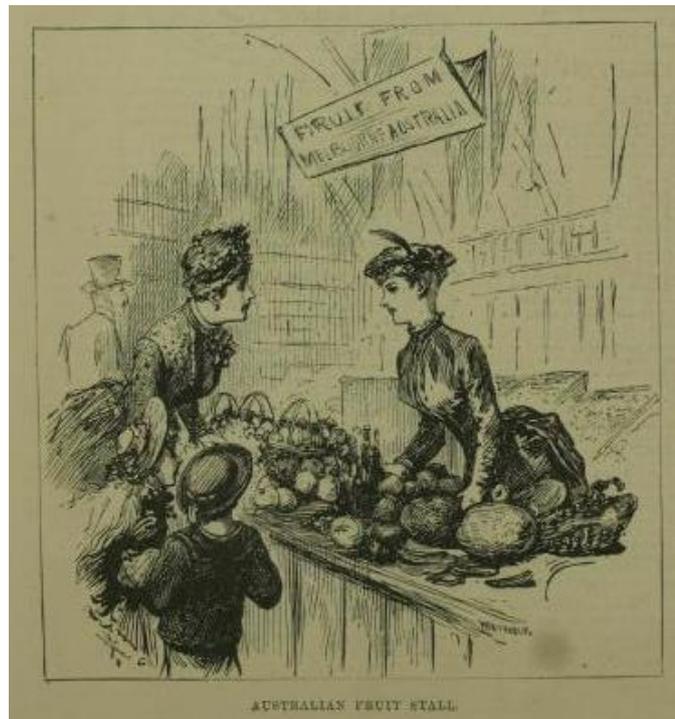
'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Victoria,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 7, 1886), p.156.

A Landscape of Opportunity

The settler societies were represented in the exhibits and surrounding exhibition literature as landscapes of opportunity and resource. The type of products and industry on display reflected the importance of the land within the representation of the settler societies during this period. James Belich has argued that the boom mentality between 1880 and the 1920s went beyond viability, particularly in the Canadian Prairies and Central Australia, as 'colonising crusaders honestly believed they could transform deserts and arctic wastes into promised lands flowing with milk and honey' though occasionally they were right.[42] The exhibits were evidence and

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[42] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.394

reinforcement of the overly positive image of the opportunities offered by the settler colonies. Throughout the galleries, foodstuffs, minerals, timber and other raw materials dominated the exhibits. This was a celebration of the wealth of the settler societies and the displays portrayed an economy centred on the land.

Figure 5.5 Illustration of the Canadian Grain, Fruit, Agricultural and Forest Trophy in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.

THE CANADIAN GRAIN, FRUIT, AGRICULTURAL, AND FOREST TROPHY, IN THE EAST TRANSEPT OF THE CENTRAL COURT.

'The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.177.

Agriculture, mining, pastoral products and timber were all key industries on display throughout the settler society galleries. Walking through the South Australian court the visitor could view stuffed merino sheep on display amongst a large number

of fleeces. Shearers were also present and talked about their profession.[43] The 'Canadian Grain, Fruit, Agricultural and Forest Trophy' was made up of piles of corn grasses mounted on top of four pillars constructed with glass jars of preserved fruits (Figure 5.5).[44] The trophy was constructed in such a way so visitors could walk underneath.[45] *The Children's Friend* described the preserved fruit as 'making one's mouth water to look at them - so red and golden and luscious do they appear'.[46]

Figure 5.6 Illustration of a general view of the New Zealand Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE COURT, WITH THE TIMBER AND GOLD TROPHIES, AND SKELETON OF THE MOA.
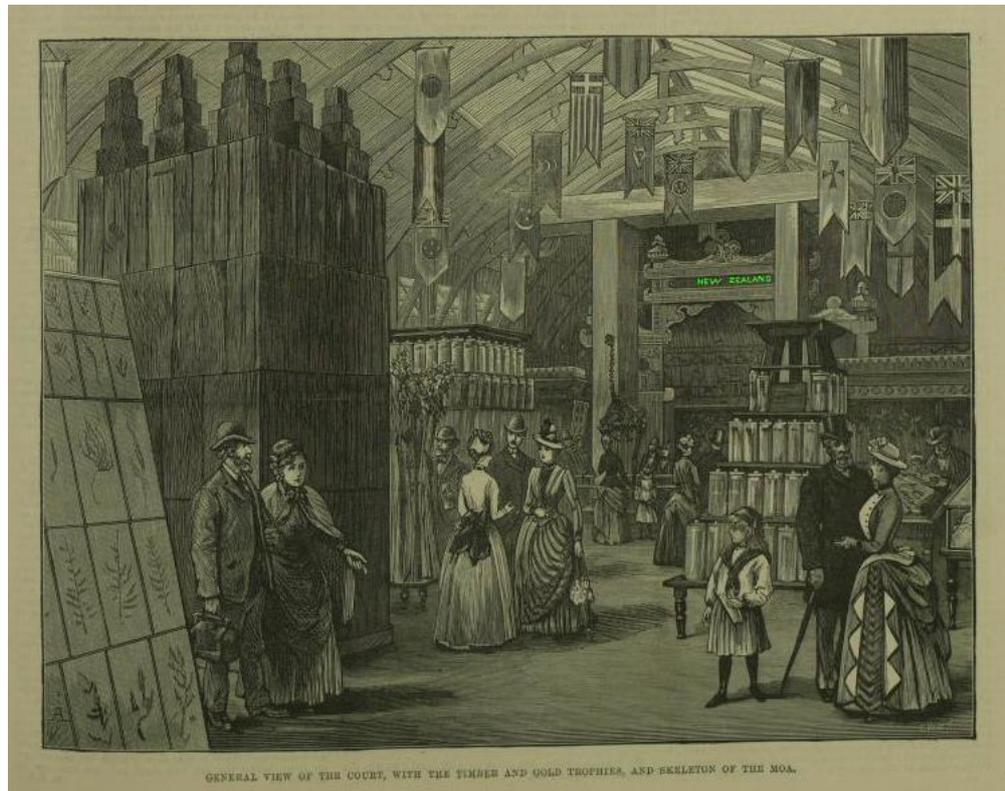
'New Zealand,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 2, 1886), p.361.

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[43] 'Colonial Indian Exhibition: South Australia (Supplement),' *The Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1886), p.573.
[44] 'The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.177; Cundall (ed.), *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, p.72.
[45] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.17.
[46] 'A Day at the Colonial Exhibition,' *The Children's Friend* (1886), p.116.

Every court had 'trophies' of raw materials and products or a combination of both in a themed display.[47] These were giant stands covered with a specific product or raw material. Some were enormous, towering over the visitors who walked round the exhibition. *The Illustrated London News* included an image of the gold and timber trophies in the New Zealand court which showed the enormity of the displays (Figure 5.6).[48]

Figure 5.7 Illustration of the Entrance to the Victoria Court and Golden Trophy in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.


'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Victoria,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 7, 1886), p.156.

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[47] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: New South Wales and New Guinea,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 21, 1886), p.212; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.180; 'New Zealand,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 2, 1886), p.361; 'New Zealand,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 2, 1886), p.361.
[48] 'New Zealand,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 2, 1886), p.361.

Mining was a key feature in the courts, particularly the Australian and South African displays, reinforcing impressions of the wealth of the land. The dominant feature of the Victorian court was an archway made of gilt bricks, representing the amount of gold discovered in the colony up to 1885, that greeted the visitor at the entrance (Figure 5.7).[49] *The Children's Friend* published a series of articles following a group of children as they walked around the exhibition. As they walked towards the Victoria court, the article described 'a simultaneous "oh-h-h!" of wonder and admiration from the children'.[50]

Figure 5.8 Illustration of the Model of a Gold Quartz Crushing Mill in the Queensland Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.
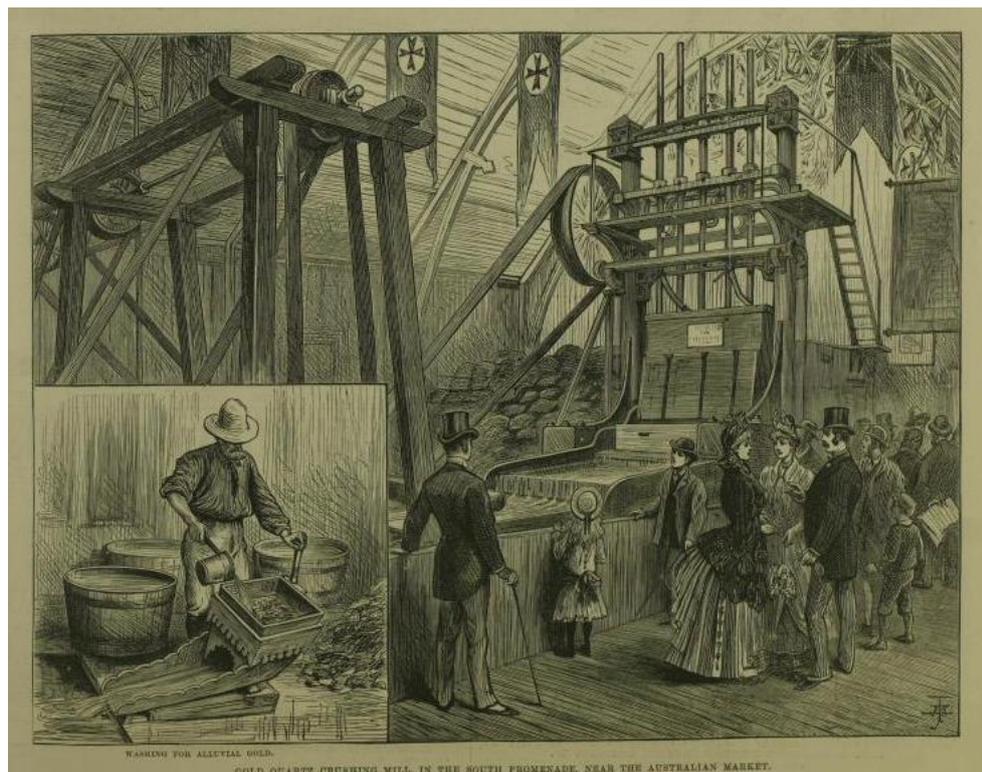
'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Queensland,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 28, 1886), p.237.

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[49] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Victoria,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 7, 1886), p.156.
[50] 'A Day at the Colonial Exhibition,' p.116.

There was another working model of a mine on display in the Queensland court (Figure 5.8).[51] There were also 1,407 different specimens of mineral on display, such as gold, silver, iron, tin, copper, lead, manganese and opals.[52] In the Cape Colony court there was a full working model of the Bloemfontein mine (Figure 5.9).[53] Visitors could watch from behind glass the mining, washing and cutting of diamonds. The machinery was surrounded by sections and maps of other mines in the Colony.[54] In *A London Sparrow at the Colinderies* the author described the amusement of the visitors at the exhibit, 'crushed up to three or four deep all-round the glazed enclosure'.[55] Cases of diamonds were also displayed as well as examples of other minerals and precious stones mined in the colony.[56] Throughout the courts the exhibits depicted a landscape of opportunity, a very selective representation that depicted an overwhelmingly positive view of the settler societies.

In a letter to the editor in September 1886, Walter Caton, a settler in New South Wales argued that the Exhibition 'has almost led the people at home to believe that this is a country "flowing with milk and honey"'.[57] Caton expressed his regret that the 'roseate pictures of scenes in Australia displayed on the walls of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition' were not accompanied by more realistic scenes. The displays, he argued, had led the British public to think that pauperism and want were unknown in Australia.

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[51] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Queensland,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 28, 1886), p.237.
[52] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Times*, (October 20, 1886), p.3; 'The Queensland Gold Mill,' *The Times* (June 21, 1886), p.8; 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Morning Post* (June 30, 1886), p.2.
[53] 'Cape of Good Hope,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 16, 1886), p.412; 'The Prince Of Wales at the Exhibition,' *The Times* (May 3, 1886), p.4.
[54] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.46.
[55] Boyle, *A London Sparrow at the Colinderies*, p.48.
[56] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.11.
[57] Walter Caton, 'The Working Man in New South Wales,' *The Times* (September 16, 1886), p.4.

> There should have been displayed, in the interests of truth, pictures of an annual assemblage of thousands of unemployed immigrants in the streets of Adelaide, Sydney and other towns in Australia; of the interiors of the benevolent asylums, soup kitchens, and homes for the destitute, with which the country abounds.[58]

Indeed, economically many of the colonies during the time of the Exhibition were not living up to their image of landscapes of opportunity. New Zealand had just undergone an economic crash after a sixteen year-long boom. The South Island went bust in 1879 and the Auckland region followed in 1886.[59] Queensland was also undergoing a slight downturn in 1886. Canada's West had, to use James Belich's terminology, gone bust in 1883, particularly around Winnipeg. The economic booms in these regions of the Empire came later.[60] Nevertheless, the official and unofficial accounts and reviews of the exhibition emphasised opportunity. Many assessed the colonies and highlighted land capacity and output.

Within the section on Canada, the Official Catalogue stated that it was impossible within the limits of the short introduction on the Dominion to speak in detail of its agricultural capabilities.[61] It went on to describe the Dominion, a 'country of yeoman farmers,' as a place where 'it is in the power of every Canadian to become owner of a house and proprietor of whatever amount of land he turns to profitable account'.[62] Emigration lectures added another layer to this representation, and these were also reported to the press. A lecture on emigration to North West Canada on July 25th reinforced these ideas: productive soil, a healthy climate and a 'land of plenty'.[63]

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p. 361.

[60] Canada saw most growth between 1897 and 1913.

[61] *Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Catalogue*, p.93.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] 'Emigration to Canada - On Friday Evening,' *The Times* (July 26, 1886), p.6.

Figure 5.9 Illustration of the Model of a diamond mine in the Cape Colony Court in
***The Illustrated London News*, 1886.**

WASHING FOR DIAMONDS IN THE CAPE COURT.
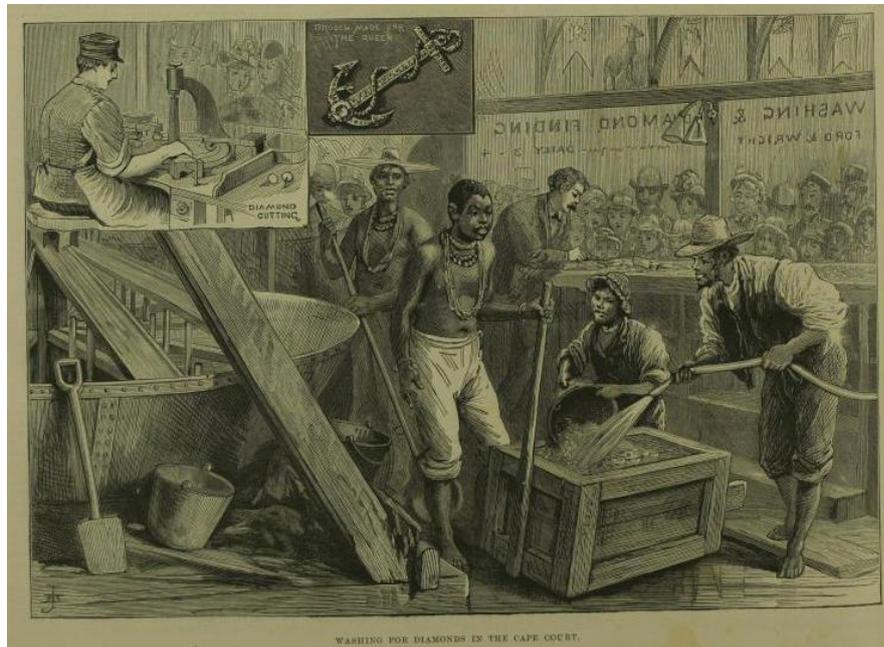
'Cape of Good Hope,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 16, 1886), p.412.

The press too drew on this representation of the colonies. The reviews of the

Canadian court in particular highlighted the opportunity beyond what was displayed.

The *Leeds Mercury* highlighted in its review of the Canadian court that it 'possesses

the largest extent of cultivable land yet opened for settlement in the world'.[64] Another

article pushed the idea that Canada and its agricultural output could 'feed and home

the population of England twice over'.[65] A similar comment was made in relation to

Australia, with Queensland stated to be able to supply meat to a city twice the size of

London.[66]

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[64] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Leeds Mercury* (June 23, 1886), p.6.
[65] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Morning Post* (June 2, 1886), p.2.
[66] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.25.

The land was considered a large part of the future of the settler societies, and its development was seen to demonstrate the progress of the settler societies. An article in *The Times* that looked at the Canadian court paid particular attention to the education section. The article saw the future in the colony here and in particular at the Ontario Agricultural College and its 'highly beneficial influence on the agricultural development of the Dominion'.[67] An article published in the second month of the exhibition in the *Leeds Mercury* described the 'marvellous progress' of the colony with the products providing an 'abundance of evidence'.[68]

As well as opportunity, the reports and reviews often linked the exhibits to progress and argued that they told the story of the development of the settler colonies.[69] This was seen to have been represented in a number of different ways, through products and industry within the exhibits, the display of infrastructure and settlements and the evaluation of the colonies within the accounts and reviews. The exhibits as a whole were represented as evidence of the progress of the settler societies. The *Westminster Review* stated that within the exhibition the settler societies were represented as 'growing with the force and rapidity of youthful giants'.[70]

Progress

The ample raw materials reflected the image of the settler societies as a landscape of opportunity portrayed in advertisements, emigrant literature, travel

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[67] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Times* (September 21, 1886), p.13.
[68] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Leeds Mercury* (June 23, 1886), p.6.
[69] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (May 22, 1886), p.4; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Times* (October 20, 1886), p.3; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Leeds Mercury* (June 23, 1886), p.6.
[70] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.53.

literature and other ephemera throughout the period. The representation of the

settler societies in the exhibition, however, was not just a presentation of natural

resources and products. It was also shown through the industries and manufactured

products on display how these colonies were progressing. Just as settlements were the

markers of progress within the representation of the settler societies, the exhibits

became a demonstration that these parts of the Empire that were becoming fully

fledged societies. In his accounts of the Cape court, McCarthy highlighted the great

progress of the colony by comparing the products on display to the products available

at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the early 1800s, the Cape was limited to

grain, wine and cattle. Now exhibited eighty years later, he enthused, were a wide

variety of foodstuffs and minerals.[71]

Products became markers for progress. In a description of the Canadian

galleries, *The Westminster Review* stated that full statistics of the progress would be

impossible, but the exhibition was enough to show that Canada was rapidly increasing

in prosperity.[72] In his descriptions of the Western Australian court where a large

quantity of timber were on display, McCarthy was keen to highlight what these trees

could be used for, and included harbour piles and railway sleepers.[73] In the Canadian

Court supplement *The Illustrated London News* included pictures of the timber

displays alongside pictures of wooden ware (Figure 5.10).[74]

Most obviously, however, progress was depicted through examples of

infrastructure and other buildings within the various colonies. The first glimpse of the

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[71] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.11.
[72] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.38.
[73] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[74] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.188.

Empire for the visitor was in the numerous pictures adorning the walls of the entrance

hall. Large paintings showed Australian and Canadian towns as they were in 1886 but

also how they were in early settlement days. One image showed Melbourne in 1839,

portrayed as a collection of mud huts with very few inhabitants. Displayed alongside

was an image of the city in 1885 with its 280,000 inhabitants. Similar 'then

Figure 5.10 Illustration of the Wood Trophies in the Canadian Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.

'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.188.

and now' images of Adelaide and Brisbane were also on display.[75] When just the

current city was on display, the information included highlighted when they were

founded.[76] The importance of settlements and infrastructure as a marker of progress

had been established from the moment the visitor came through the turnstiles. The

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[75] 'Colonial Indian Exhibition Queensland,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 28, 1886), p.233.
[76] Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Catalogue, p. Xvi; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* (July 01, 1886), p.349; 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition - South Australia Supplement,' *The Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1886), p.573; McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.5; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *Leeds Mercury* (June 16, 1886), p.5.

'then' and 'now' photographs, which were prevalent in periodicals of the period, were markers of how much these colonies had developed. The *Leeds Mercury* described the pictures and accompanying statistics as assisting in demonstrating the rapid growth of these colonies.[77]

Figure 5.11 Illustration of the Paintings in the Cape Colony Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.
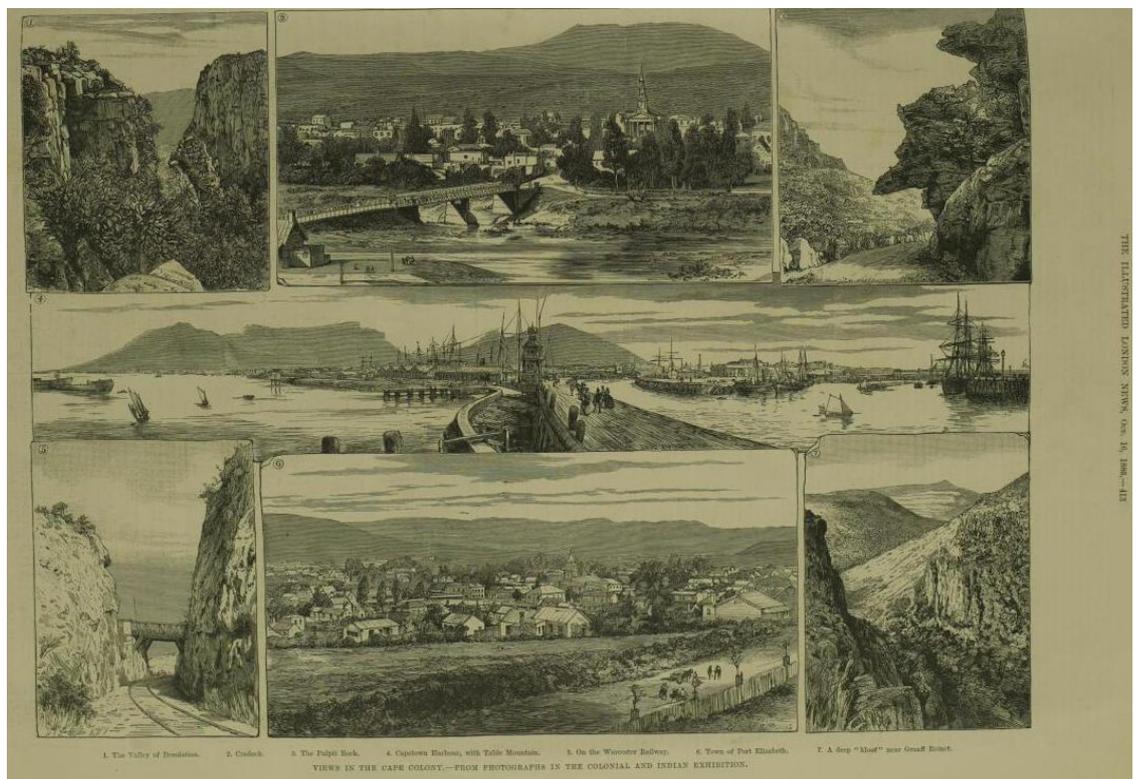
'Views in the Cape Colony,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 16, 1886), p.413-4.

Evidence of infrastructure was displayed throughout the settler colony courts. The paintings in the Cape court depicted harbours, settlements, bridges and railways.[78] These were outward signs of progress, demonstrations that the settlers had

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[77] *Ibid*.

[78] *Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Catalogue,* p.295; 'Views in the Cape Colony,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 16, 1886), p.413-4.

conquered the landscape. As courts and exhibits were created by the colonies

themselves, the push to demonstrate progress could be seen as a way to present an

image to Britain of a modern society; a move away from an image of provinciality.

Even though this aspect of the exhibits was created by the colonies, it was also an

element that was latched onto by the British and highlighted throughout published

accounts.

Figure 5.12 Illustrations of the Paintings in the South Australia Court in _The Illustrated London News_, 1886.
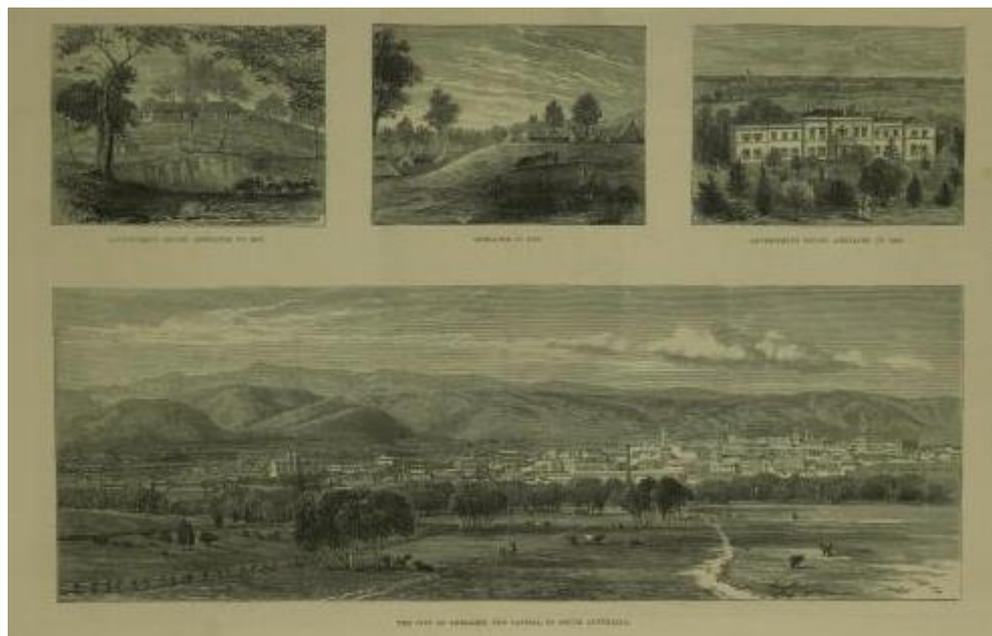
'Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' _The Illustrated London News_ (May 29, 1886), p.579.

The press and other accounts focussed on certain features and exhibits. For

example, there were a number of paintings in the Cape Colony court.[79] Alongside the

physical displays of raw materials and products, the paintings were said to give the

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[79] _Ibid_.

visitor an idea of the progress in the colony itself. Other art on display included scenery, photographs, and drawings of flowers as well as a collection of paintings by Thomas Baines who specialised in historical scenes and 'native habits'.[80] It was the scenes of infrastructure, however, that *The Illustrated London News* included in its supplement on the Cape Court (Figure 5.11).[81] This was also the case the publication's South Australia supplement where pictures were included of Adelaide during early settlement and the present day (Figure 5.12).[82]

The Illustrated London News included a detailed look at the settlements within the reviews of the exhibits. Its descriptions reflected the travel accounts of the period detailing the layout of the city of Melbourne, the population figures, the institutions and their 'architectural merit'.[83] The article highlighted that twenty years ago the city was a quagmire and now it was 'thronged with hansoms, omnibuses and private carriages' with the 'youth and the beauty [...] in the latest Parisian fashion'.[84]

The *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*'s review of the exhibition drew on the notion of progress and the importance of the exhibition as a marker of how far the Empire had come. The review looked to the work of James Backhouse who wrote about Melbourne in the early days of the settlement in the 1850s. Backhouse's descriptions were markers of how far the settlement had since then developed. The hovels and cheap land described by Backhouse had been replaced by the hotels, banks, clubs and architectural splendours of Collins Street, not surpassed by any street in Great Britain. An exhibition showing these aspects of

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[80] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.47.
[81] 'Views in the Cape Colony,' p.413-4.
[82] Colonial Indian Exhibition: South Australia (Supplement), *The Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1886), pp.575-587.
[83] 'Victoria,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 7, 1886), p.153.
[84] *Ibid.*

Australia and the Empire would be easy, the article argued. Displaying a landscape on

a reduced scale with telegraph wire, railways, sheep and cattle and fruit and

vegetables, mountain ranges, grass plains, lakes, rivers, bays the *Review* stated that,

'the most unlettered should have an accurate view of the Australasian landscape'.[85]

The eye could see the material wealth and splendour at a glance. Exhibitions

displayed British skill, courage and brute force in which they took lands, 'rescued from

chaos, and turned into a garden well-kept and watered'.[86] What the review went on

to highlight was those aspects of the Empire that exhibitions cannot show, or as the

title of the review described it, 'The Impossible Exhibition'. The *Saturday Review*

account argued that even though the material riches of the Antipodes were gathered

in South Kensington, some of the most important riches could not be sent to be

displayed. Aspects such as the low death rate compared to Great Britain was one of

'the most valuable and enduring things'. Even though it was not physically on display,

accounts of the exhibition latched on to the perceived regenerating nature of the

settler societies.[87]

Frontier

The physical image of the frontier of the settler societies was not very

prevalent in the exhibition's displays. This was possibly an attempt by the colonies to

display a shift away from provincialism and towards modernity. As the visitor moved

through the exhibition, however, amongst the commodities and raw materials on

display, they would occasionally come across the image of the settler societies as seen

in frontier fiction and other ephemera. As the visitor moved through to the West

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[85] 'An Impossible Exhibition,' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* (May 1886), p.609.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] *Ibid.*

Central Gallery in the South Australia court they came across a backwoodsman's hut,

thatched with bark, and with models of sheep breeds on both sides of the gallery,

representative of the tough lifestyle that created the 'typical' colonial man (Figure

5.13).[88] The gold mine in the Queensland court was attended to by a gold digger. An

article in *The Times* described him as dressed in a red Garibaldi slouch hat and knee

boots, 'the costume being set off by a bronzed countenance'.[89] Despite the small

number of exhibits showing this image of the settler societies, accounts and reviews

imbued the exhibits with the romance of the frontier. McCarthy, for example,

described the nugget of gold on display in the Victorian court as the most interesting

and 'most romantic' thing on display. The 'Welcome nugget' had been discovered by

three men in Ballarat in 1858. According to McCarthy, the men had unearthed '"the

welcome nugget" and were made men'.[90] This theme continued in the New South

Wales court where McCarthy described the photographs of the 'cornstalks' that made

up the New South Wales Contingent in the Sudan: 'Men of grit and determination they

look, clear eyed, broad-chested fellows, ready for a fight, and yet behind all this one

can detect the lingering good nature of the Sunny South'.[91]

In the review of the Canadian courts in *The Belfast News-Letter* the author

included the story of a Mr Hubbard, a trapper, and his fight with a bear in the

wilderness.[92] The accounts and reports put forward the frontier image of the fiction of

the period and the romantic vision associated with the traits that were forged from it.

McCarthy continued his assessment of the settler population in his descriptions of the

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[88] 'Australian Exhibits at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Graphic* (May 29, 1886), p.577.
[89] 'Queensland Gold Mill - An interesting,' *The Times* (June 21, 1886), p.8.
[90] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.22.
[91] *Ibid.*, p.24.
[92] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (May 22, 1886), p.5.

Canadian court. He described 'a practical race; with the pluck and energy of their Yankee neighbours combined with the cool calculating spirit of the Saxon, they are well equipped in the struggle for existence'.[93] They were able to tame 'Dame Nature'.

Figure 5.13 Illustration of the Pioneer's Hut in the South Australia Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.

BUSHMAN'S HUT, SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COURT

"Australian Exhibits at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition," *The Graphic* (May 29, 1886), p.577.
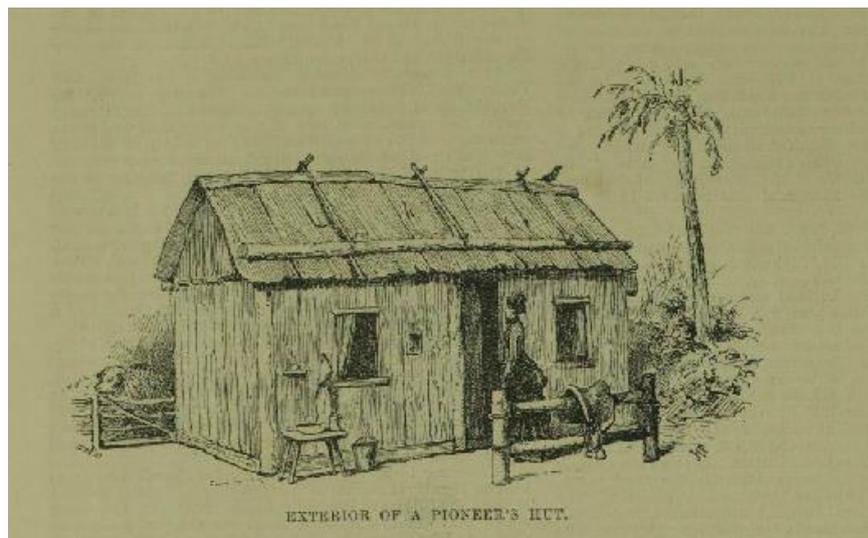
EXTERIOR OF A PIONEER'S HUT.

'Exterior of a Pioneer's Hut,' *The Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1886), pp.578.

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[93] *Ibid.,* p.14.

Whereas the importance of the benefits of the frontier - as a healthy landscape and the creator of hardy 'Better Britons' – was not explicit in the exhibits, these emerged within the accounts and perception of the exhibits in Britain. The accounts reinforced the idea that the climate and lifestyle of the Empire could create 'Better Britons'. In a review of the New Zealand court, the author wrote of the feeling of familiarity in Dunedin, where you would think yourself in Scotland on the first sight of the new land. New Zealand saw the mother-country replicated in both form and spirit. The differences lay in the conditions of life.[94] Indeed, *The Illustrated London News* was keen to highlight the political constitution of the colonies as the 'freest' in the world.[95] This was the British frontier, a place of rejuvenation.

Accounts in periodicals and newspapers took the opportunity to assess the lifestyle of the colonies generally. The *Saturday Review's* article on the New Zealand court, for example, described the lack of suffering and misery in the colony. The article listed the death rate, only 11.45 deaths in a thousand. These aspects of New Zealand were just as important as the maps and diagrams in the court.[96] The authors of many reviews took the opportunity to highlight the benefits of the colonies, particularly aspects of them that the exhibition could not show.[97]

The Official Catalogue highlighted these elements too. In the section on Victoria it stated that the colony was founded by individual energy, 'and its people

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[94] 'Indian and Colonial Exhibition: New Zealand and Fiji,' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* (1886 July), p.156.

[95] 'Colonial Indian Exhibition,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.173.

[96] 'Indian and Colonial Exhibition: New Zealand and Fiji,' p.156.

[97] 'The Colonial Exhibition,' *All the Year Round* (1887 December), pp.55-56; 'Colonial And Indian Exhibition,' *Saturday Review Of Politics, Literature, Science And Art*, 62: 1601 (July 3, 1886), pp.16-17; 'The Colonial And Indian Exhibition: The West Indies,' *Saturday Review Of Politics, Literature, Science And Art* 61: 1599 (June 19, 1886), pp.847-847.

have ever remained pioneers'.[98] The colony was made up of Europeans, mainly British, who flocked to the goldfields of the colony, the fittest of 'the brains and the blood, the mental courage, as well as the bone and muscle'.[99] Similar ideas were portrayed in the section on South Australia. It highlighted that even though the colony was young, 'the record of this half a century is full of interest to all who care to note the advancement of the Anglo-Saxon stock'.[100]

> The bold enterprise, the indomitable pluck, the dogged perseverance, and the love of freedom, which form such striking characteristics of the English race, have been called into full operation in the peaceful subjugation of primeval wastes to the service of man and their rapid transformation into a hive of human industry.[101]

'Indian Court at once recognised by its oriental splendour, the Canadian by the hardy utility of its exhibits, and the unmistakable evidences they show of rough but thorough workmanship'.[102]

Populations

The value placed on the modernity and progress of the colony, including the population, was also one of the driving forces in the representation of the 'non-British' populations within the exhibits, particularly the indigenous peoples of the settler societies. The populations of the Crown Colonies were perceived as benefitting immensely from British administration. The perception of the settler societies, however, was driven by the push to modernity and the displays only seemed to

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[98] *Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Catalogue*, p.181.
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] *Ibid.*, p.209
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] 'The Colonial & Indian Exhibition at South Kensington,' *Glasgow Herald* (July 12, 1886), p.4.

confirm this to the visitor. The indigenous populations within the exhibition were a marker of progress, used in accounts as a further demonstration of 'how far the colonies had come'.

At first glance, there does not appear to be a great difference between the Indian Empire and the settler societies. Like the Indian court, there were countless examples of products as the visitor moved through the Cape Colony court including manufactured objects, foodstuffs, animal products, building stones and minerals.[103] Despite the similarities of such displays of raw materials and manufactured goods, the courts were perceived to have a different feel. An article in *All the Year Round* described the 'spicy Indian atmosphere' of the Indian courts. They were a mixture of the lavish and exotic, with the Indian palace and Durbar Hall big features of the Exhibition. However, when *All Year Round* continued its assessment and moved through to the settler societies it described the 'vigorous breeze' as you moved through the courts of the 'youthful settlements.' They were the parts of the Empire making great strides in population and wealth.[104]

India did not quite fit into this image of the Empire. James Belich has argued that alongside a wider sense of identity, White settler membership of 'Greater Britain' delivered high technology, high living standards and culture-transfer: 'Indian membership of the British Empire delivered none of these things'.[105] Representation of the courts displayed the lavishness and exotic features of India.[106] The highlights of the Indian court according to the accounts on the Exhibition were the traditional

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[103] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.10-11.
[104] 'The Colonial Exhibition,' p.56.
[105] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p.469.
[106] 'Indian Section of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Graphic* (May 15, 1886), pp.544-5; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Morning Post* (May 10, 1886), p.8.

products and crafts and the skills needed to make them. The carvings in ivory and wood were so perfect, according to the *Westminster Review*, that they were not expected to progress. It was these exhibits that were important. The *Review* described the deterioration of some manufactures due to European influence; the carpets on display were given as an example.

In the Administrative Court, the mechanisms that kept the Indian state in full working order were on display: stamps, currency, irrigation, railways, police, naval organisation, postal service and education. Walking around the court demonstrated, in the words of the *Westminster Review*, 'the enormous responsibility resting upon its rulers'. The Exhibition, the *Review* argued, was not a display of 'a nation sunk in Oriental lethargy,' rather a demonstration of how many hands have been guided to the application of modern science and resources, as well as transport and ways to find markets across the sea. A feat, they argued, 'forever unattainable by native effort'.[107]

This was also the representation of the indigenous populations in the Cape Court. Due to the demographic differences in the Cape Colony, the indigenous African peoples were displayed differently compared to the Australian, Canadian and New Zealand courts. Parts of the Cape court were still dedicated to native crafts and objects; however, they were presented as a demonstration of the positive influence the British had on the indigenous peoples. In the court the handicrafts were made by the inhabitants of the Lovedale Institute, a mission station and educational institute in the east of the colony. The *Westminster Review* described the institute as raising and elevating the 'native' by means of industrial work.[108] The *Review* described this section as one which must not be overlooked. The success of the institute was demonstrated

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[107] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' pp.35-36.
[108] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.47.

in the furniture, blacksmith's work, waggon-making, printing, book binding, and needlework that was exhibited.

Progress also drove the perception of the indigenous populations within the settler society courts. The numerous indigenous populations were an interesting feature of the colonies but part of the past, not part of the progress. In the review of the Canadian court, The *Westminster Review* described the Indian as the feeble remnant of a group of peoples.[109] McCarthy's opinion was similar and described the native Canadian Indian manufactures as 'useless' compared to the manufactured exhibits, an eclectic mix of desks, cabinets and chairs as well as pianos, organs, woollen products, carpeting, oil cloth, rubber products, clothing and hats.[110]

The Maori, Canadian Indian, Aboriginal Australian and South African populations all had a section of a court dedicated to them. However, ideas of a hierarchy of populations as well as the idea of a scale of civilisation were on full display throughout the exhibits and within the accounts. The majority of displays were based around the indigenous people within their own culture. These populations were depicted and perceived as part of the past, not part of the progress reflected throughout the rest of the Exhibition.

Within the accounts, particularly when discussing the Maori, Indian and Aborigines, the weapons and other items on display were often described as relics. It was also part of the demonstration of progress, a sense of showing the visitor how Britain had taken these parts of the world forward as well as the positive influence the British have had on the indigenous populations. Mackenzie described the exhibitions

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[109] *Ibid.,* p.40.
[110] *Ibid.*

in this period as a form of 'ethnic peep shows'.[111] They were representing both,

'backwardness' and alternative lifestyles.[112] The technology, use of raw materials,

manufactured products and examples of infrastructure were just another way of

showing the advantages the British had brought to the conquered populations. Trade,

according to Greenhalgh, was a uniting force but also a 'convenient way of justifying or

even disguising imperial exploitation'.[113]

The indigenous populations were depicted in a number of different types of

display. The hierarchy of civilisation saw the different peoples at different stages. As a

result, the indigenous populations of New Zealand, Australia and Canada were

discussed differently within the accounts. The Aboriginal Australian was considered at

one of the lowest stages and this is reflected in their displays in the Exhibition. As the

visitor walked into the South Australia court they were faced with a wooded backdrop

with three indigenous Australians fishing and building a fire in front of a hut. They

were also surrounded by natural history specimens. A canvas hung overhead with an

eagle flying with a young kangaroo in its claws and also a pelican carrying fish.[114] They

were placed within the natural landscape, portraying a lifestyle that was part of the

past.

The Aboriginal Australians also had their own sections within the courts of

other Australian colonies. However, unlike the Canadian and New Zealand displays,

the Aboriginals were not depicted with objects from their own culture. The image in

The Illustrated London News of the Aborigines in the Victorian Gallery depicted a

family within the landscape. The image showed a man, woman and child surrounded

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[111] MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures,' p.284.
[112] *Ibid*.
[113] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, p.54.
[114] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.18.

by foliage and animals from the colony (Figure 5.14).[115] The three figures reflected the stances of the animals and birds that surrounded them in the display. They were depicted as part of their surroundings. The display maybe compared to a section of the Queensland court that showed the native birds and animals of the colony (Figure 5.15).[116] The display reflected the way the Aborigines were seen by the British, seen in the same light as the native flora and fauna.

The account in *Children's Friend* described the 'most interesting' object in Queensland court as the 'native hut'. The hut was described as a 'lean to' of rough planks of wood with an opening at both sides and had been in 'actual use by a family of aborigines'.[117] However, unlike the hut itself, the inhabitants were not authentic; rather, models were on display, a father, mother and a boy. There was also a display in the South Australian court featuring two Aborigines. They were in a forest and coastal scene, one in a canoe floating on real water and another lighting a fire. The account described the savage appearance of the aborigines. In the South Australian court one of the men displayed was described as having shaggy black hair and a coarse beard, 'the countenances of those who could be seen were very dark, and anything but attractive looking'.[118]

To the British, the Aborigines and their culture demonstrated how far Britain had brought these parts of the world. In the Victorian court the huts on display were considered the landscape of the past. *The Children's Friend* highlighted how only fifty years ago these 'rude dwellings' were the only thing known on the same spot where

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[115] 'Victoria,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 7, 1886), p.153.
[116] 'Queensland,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 28, 1886), p.233.
[117] 'A Day at the Colonial Exhibition,' p.116.
[118] 'A Day at the Colonial Exhibition,' p.116.

Figure 5.14 Illustration of the Indigenous Australians in the Victoria Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.
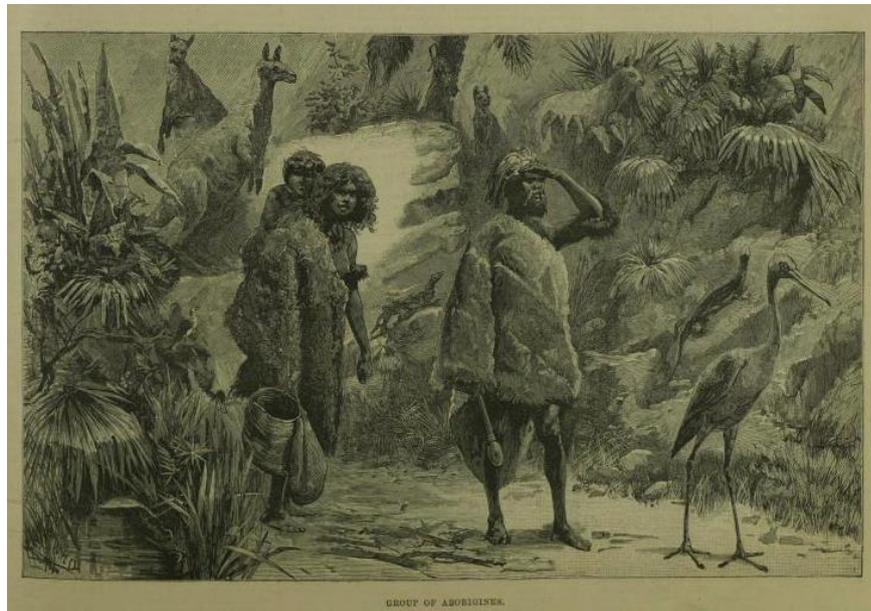
'Victoria,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 7, 1886), p.153

Figure 5.15 Illustration of the Native wildlife in the Queensland Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.

'Queensland,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 28, 1886), p.233.

the flourishing city of Melbourne now stands.[119] The *Westminster Review* described

Victoria as the Australian colony whose progress is most distinctly seen in the

Exhibition. The Aborigines were 'in the condition in which they were when first

discovered'. They were exhibited with bark huts, boomerangs, spears and shields

surrounded by the flora and fauna of the country. The *Review* described the

comparison to this scene with the panels of Melbourne in the entrance hall like a

'transformation scene in a pantomime'.[120] There was a contrast between the inclusion

of the Aborigine and the Maori and Canadian Indian in the Exhibition. They were still

placed within particular landscapes; however, both cultures were considered more

advanced.

Similar to the Aboriginal Australians, the Maori was included in the exhibits

linked to nature. In the New Zealand Court there were a large number of Natural

History collections on display. They had been put together by Sir Julius Von Haast and

included examples of the Kauri pine and Kauri gum, as well as the prehistoric Moa on

display. McCarthy dedicated a large amount of his account to this part of the court and

stated that the visitor felt like a botanist, a naturalist, a geologist, and a

palaeontologist 'rolled into one.' As well as the natural history displays, however,

McCarthy also included the Maori in this section of his account. He described the

abundant relics of 'the famous Maori tribe'.[121] The display of material culture was

used as an illustration of social evolution.[122] These objects became 'markers' of

development. An article in *The Leeds Mercury* claimed that 'The story of the old order

of things which has given way before the invasion of the civilised people may be read

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[119] *Ibid.*
[120] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.41.
[121] McCarthy, 'Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.14.
[122] MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures,' p.285.

in many exhibits of Maori war canoes, weapons, costumes and houses'.[123] These

populations were representing the process from hunter gathers, pastoral and fixed

settlement.[124]

Figure 5.16 Illustration of the Model of Maori Storehouse in the New Zealand Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.
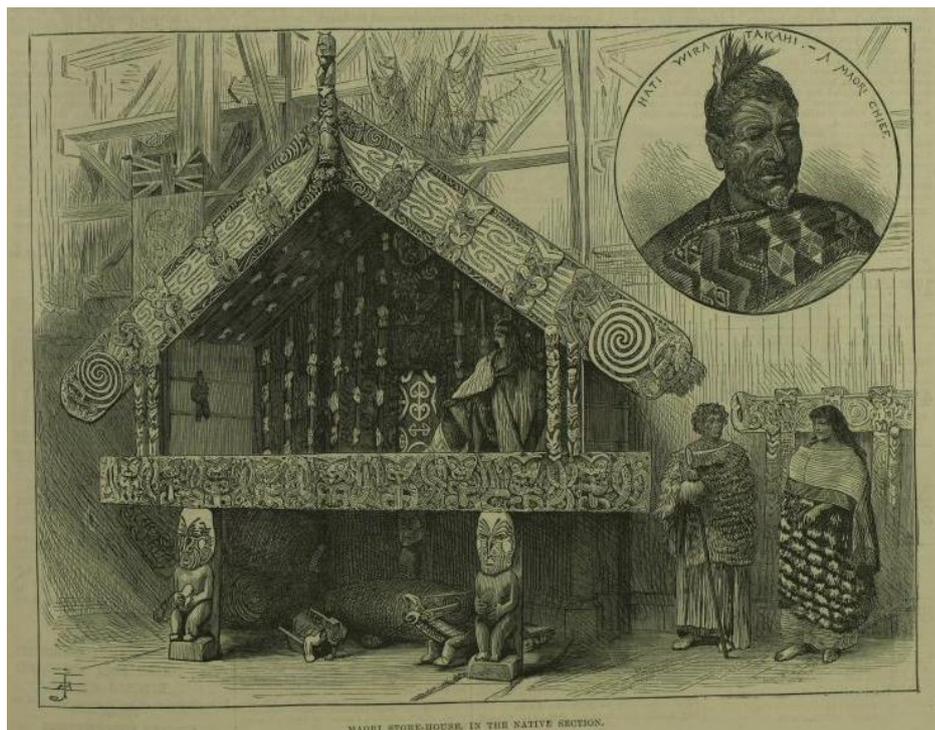
'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: New Zealand,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 2, 1886), p.365

Nevertheless, the Maori and Canadian Indian were considered far from

progressive, as McCarthy's account demonstrated. However, they were considered

further advanced than the Australian populations. The Maori and the Canadian Indian

were depicted as part of a 'richer' culture. The displays of indigenous culture in the

New Zealand and Canadian courts were extensive. Unlike the Aboriginal Australians,

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[123] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Leeds Mercury* (June 23, 1886), p.6.
[124] MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures,' p.285.

the exhibits included numerous structures, weapons, art and examples of traditional dress. *The Illustrated London News* featured some of the displays in the various Exhibition supplements.

As the visitor walked into the New Zealand court the first item on display was a Maori storehouse (Figure 5.16).[125] This display included three Maori in full traditional dress as well as extensive carvings. This was a contrast to the Aboriginals on display in the Victorian gallery, reflecting the nature and animals surrounding them, no weapons or objects in sight. *The Children's Friend* commented on the Maori storehouse and the skill it demonstrated in carving and decorative work.[126] There was also a Maori tomb on display and carved weapons including a war trumpet and canoe.[127] The Canadian Court also featured Indian culture and 'curiosities' in the displays.[128] There was a replica of an Indian Chief's House from Queen Charlotte's Island, carved utensils and portraits and a full-size totem pole (Figures 5.17 and 5.18).[129] These displays were extensive and the inclusion of a number of objects and structures demonstrated a greater respect for the culture and history of these peoples, particularly compared to the Australian courts, however still not 'progressing' to modernity.

The representation of the indigenous population within the exhibition and also within accounts highlighted the importance of progress within the image of the settler societies. Within the accounts, the representation of the other populations displayed allowed a contrast and comparison to be made with the British progress overseas.

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[125] 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: New Zealand,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 2, 1886), p.365.
[126] 'A Day At The Colonial Exhibition,' p.116.
[127] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: New Zealand,' *The Illustrated London News* (October 2, 1886), p.365-6.
[128] 'The Colonial And Indian Exhibition,' *The Graphic* (May 8, 1886), p.495.
[129] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.188; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.180; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.188.

Figure 5.17 Illustrations of the Portraits of Indigenous Canadians in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.
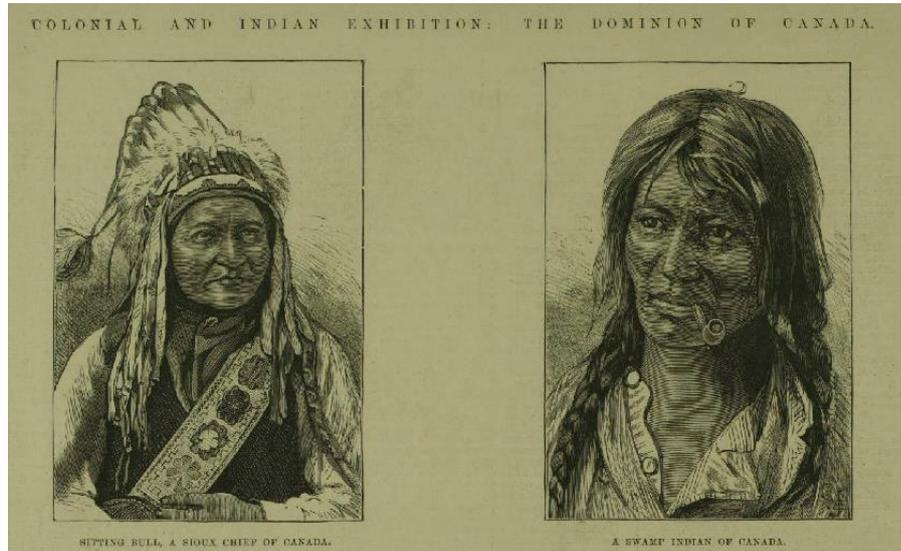
'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.180.

Figure 5.18 Illustration of a Model of a Totem Pole in the Canadian Court in *The Illustrated London News*, 1886.
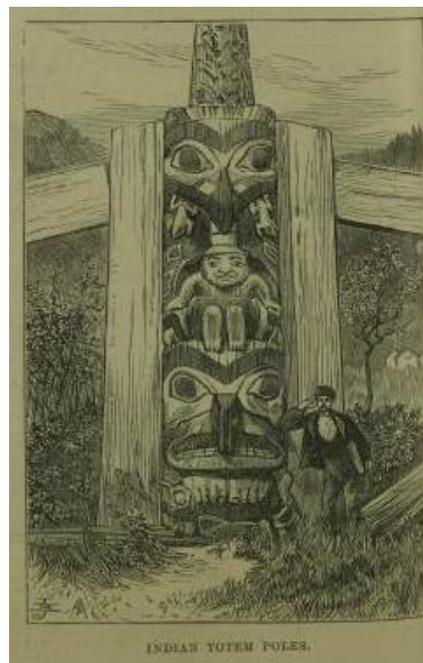
'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Dominion of Canada,' *The Illustrated London News* (August 14, 1886), p.188.

Even though unity was an important factor in the organisation of the exhibition, it was unity between Britain and those parts of the Empire considered to be 'Britains' and between Britons at home and overseas.[130]

'Greater Britain'

The press and other accounts highlighted the unity of the Empire throughout the six months of the exhibition. The newspapers reported the social activities put on for the visiting colonial representatives and dignitaries. *The Times* stated in June 1886 that the exhibition was 'a striking manifestation of the essential unity of the British Empire'.[131] It highlighted in particular how welcoming the colonial representatives afforded 'Englishmen an opportunity of giving a hearty national welcome to their kinsmen from distant lands'.[132]

The Queen was seen as the natural symbol of union within the Empire and also between Britain and her colonies. *The Westminster Review* described the sovereign as 'the visible head uniting these heterogeneous elements into one harmonious whole'.[133] *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* said the exhibition brought home the solidarity of the Empire, 'its unity of interest and its manifold resources'.[134] The significance of the mineral trophies and the arch of gold in the Victoria Court as well as the other symbols of Empire were felt and comprehended

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[130] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition is Beyond,' *The Times* (June 5, 1886), p.13; 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (May 22, 1886), p.4; 'Our Note Book,' *The Illustrated London News* (May 15, 1886), p.500.
[131] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition is Beyond.'
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.30.
[134] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* (May 1886), p.156.

instantly.[135] *All the Year Round* also wrote of the interchange of courtesies that the

exhibition generated. The exhibition was staged at the height of the debate on

imperial federation and it was hoped that it would lead to a general federation of all

parts of the Empire.[136] Colonists had been brought together from the end of the world

to participate in an exhibition that represented the Empire under one roof. A

celebration of a single entity: 'One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne'.[137]

The intention of the exhibitors and organisers was to demonstrate a united

Empire through displays and exhibits. Indeed, one article described the exhibition as

displaying 'no foreign goods [...] all the riches of ingenuity, skill, talent and national

productions are of home growth.[138] *The Illustrated London News* stated that the

exhibition was 'not formed for the mere display of the products of 'Greater Britain'.[139]

It was hoped that it would 'knit together more closely the different parts of the British

Empire'.[140] After the opening ceremony *The Times* published telegrams from colonial

representatives offering congratulations on the opening and wishing luck with the

exhibition.[141] The settler societies, however, were separated from the rest of the

Empire by their representation in Britain.

In his description of walking from the Canadian court to the South Australian

court, McCarthy wrote, Canada and Australia were separated by thousands of miles

but in the exhibition the next part of 'Greater Britain' was a neighbour. The

Westminster Review described the strong family likeness between the two, and

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[135] *Ibid.*
[136] 'The Colonial Exhibition,' p.55.
[137] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' pp.29-30.
[138] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition, South Kensington, London,' *The Ladies' Treasury: A Household Magazine* (June 01, 1886), p.354.
[139] 'Our Note Book,' *The Illustrated London News* (May 15, 1886), p.500.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Times* (May 13, 1886), p.6.

despite the difference in age, size and strength, the two were distinguished as the children of one mother alike.[142]

The Canadian exhibits were described as 'interesting and decidedly English in appearance'.[143] These manufactures, the article argued, demonstrated that the industrial capacity was reproduced in the daughter-land and so in terms of economies, 'we are in harmonious unity with our kindred in Canada'.[144] An account of the exhibition in the *Belfast News-Letter* highlighted this representation. It described the Canadian court as having a 'homely appearance'. In this court, the article continued, the visitor does not look for the 'un-english' 'delicate beauties of the art in the Indian court' from a country and people who 'to a very large extent [are] a repetition of ourselves'.[145] The article saw evidence of 'English industries duplicated' as a requirement of the population 'to be identical with our own'.[146]

These ideas were represented very clearly in the Official Catalogue. In the section on South Australia it stated that there was nothing of greater interest than the story of the establishment and growth of the colonies of Australia; it was 'inspiriting' but also 'instructive'.[147]

> It speaks of the vigour and genius of the old stock re-asserting itself in the younger strength and ardent effort of the offshoot: and it shows how the same characteristics of courage, sagacity, perseverance, industry and prudence, which have made England what she is, are operating in the development of these daughter nations under the southern cross.[148]

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[142] 'Art III – The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' p.40.
[143] 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,' *The Belfast News-Letter* (May 22, 1886), p.6.
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] *Ibid.*
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] *Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Catalogue*, p.209.
[148] *Ibid.*

In *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* Frank Cundall stated, 'Nowhere else in the exhibition do the exhibits so closely resemble the articles which Great Britain contributes on the occasion of an international gathering'.[149]

The representation of the British connection to the settler societies was outlined explicitly in an article on the exhibition in *Time*.[150] Connected to a lecture on Imperial Federation, Frank Barfield argued that 'After all, an Englishman was no less an Englishman for having settled down under his ancestral flag two weeks, or three weeks, or five weeks journey from the home country, in Canada, in the Cape Colony, or in Australia'.[151]

The Exhibition

Jeffrey A. Auerbach has argued that the Great Exhibition allowed the British public to 'locate themselves in the context of their empire and the broader world'.[152] The Colonial and Indian Exhibition allowed the public to locate themselves within the Empire but also highlighted how the Empire was situated in Britain. The exhibition was put on primarily as a showcase for products and raw materials, with enormous displays. The displays were lavish, and full of colour, like giant versions of the adverts of the period showing the fresh, healthy, colourful products of the settler societies. There is no doubt that trade did play a role in the perception of the exhibition and accounts and press included figures and statistics. However, through examining the perception of the exhibition further, the displays and courts were seen as much more than representing the imperial economy. This was not just taken as a celebration of

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[149] Cundall (ed.), *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition,* p.47.
[150] Banfield, 'The Colonial And Indian Exhibition,' p.662
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] Jeffrey A. Auerbach, 'Introduction,' in Jeffrey A. Auerbach (ed.), *Britain, the Empire and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Aldershot : Ashgate, 2008), p.xi.

trade, but a marker of progress. The accounts in the periodicals and newspapers allow for an insight into the place of the Empire and especially of the settler societies in the British imagination. Themes of 'back to the land' and the frontier were part of the assessment of the wealth of the settler societies. Progress and modernity, however, were a key theme as soon as you entered the entrance hall with the 'before and after' paintings, and they continued to drive the representation of the settler societies throughout the exhibition. Alongside were more visible demonstrations of progress, artworks, photographs and other images of infrastructure and settlements, the quantities of manufactured products and utilisation of raw materials were seen as demonstrations of how far these colonies had come since first settlement. The display of indigenous populations was also linked into this idea of progress, depicted as part of the landscape of the pas. Accounts described their culture as 'relics'.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition embodied these ideas in the representation of the settler societies in Britain. Opportunity, land, commodities, modernity, frontier and its associated benefits as well as sentiment constituted 'Greater Britain'. The images and objects selected for representation in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, as in others, highlighted these aspects and united them under one roof.

CONCLUSION

'Greater Britain'

This thesis has shown that the settler societies were represented in Britain as a distinct part of the Empire, characterised by deep-rooted British connections and the various opportunities that they provided. The thesis set out with the aim of examining the representation of this part of the Empire in Britain from 1880 to 1914. The thesis has explored how the white settler colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa came to be represented collectively in Britain as a 'Greater Britain'. This has been done by setting the work in the context of current scholarly views on the variety of spaces and networks within the Empire and to the debate on the extent to which Empire was embraced culturally in Britain. To achieve this, the thesis has focussed on just one part of the Empire and offers an original approach to studying the relationship between Britain's domestic and imperial history. The distinguishing feature of the study is the argument that the appeal in Britain of Greater Britain's largely rural societies, new towns and frontier culture was a response to deep concerns about physical, social and moral degeneration in Britain, caused by the drift from the land, industrialisation and urbanisation and even, in part by, changing gender roles and aspirations.

Historians have recognised the diverse nature of the British Empire and Britain's responses to it. John Darwin, Andrew Thompson, Catherine Hall, Bernard Porter and James Belich all have argued that the Empire was a complex system that involved multiple responses and networks.[1] The complexity of the Empire and the

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[1] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Andrew S. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?: The Impact of*

multiple networks within it were enabled by growing transport, economic, trade, journalistic, emigration and family networks between Britain and the settler societies. As the existing scholarship has highlighted, this period saw the increase and strengthening of networks and connections between Britain and the four settler societies. Technological advances had not only led to easier travel and movement but also a vast increase in the amount as well as the style of ephemera and publications. Technological and infrastructural factors were occurring alongside the growth in the settlements themselves. By 1880 most of the settler societies had been explored and those in the colonies and in Britain had a good idea of what land was there to be utilised.

Historians have touched on the ideas of a 'British World' within the Empire, ideas of a British Diaspora, drawn together by culture and shared heritage. Kent Fedorowich and Carl Bridge's edited work looks at this British World as does Thompson, Hall and Belich in their own broader works on the Empire. Fedorowich and Bridge have argued that previous works on the Empire, specifically those of Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, David Fieldhouse, and PJ Cain and AG Hopkins[2] are

Imperialism on Britain from the Mid Nineteenth Century (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002); Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds.), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Bernard Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[2] Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1961); John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade,' *The Economic History Review*, 6:1 (1953): 1-15; David Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire 1830-1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973); P. J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914* (London: Longman, 1993); P. J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas I: The Old Colonial System, 1688-1850,' *Economic History Review,* 39:4 (November 1986), pp. 501-525; P. J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850-1945,' *Economic History Review,* 40:1 (February 1987), pp. 1-26.

difficult to apply to the colonies of white settlement.[3] Similarly the authors have

argued that the work of Edward Said, and other approaches focussing on the colonial

'other', 'have virtually nothing to say about the encounters that millions of British

migrants had with earlier generations of people who were curiously very much like

themselves but also quite different'.[4] The idea of a 'Greater Britain' or 'Better Britain'

as a representation of the settler societies is an approach to study these encounters.

The thesis has therefore added to this scholarship by increasing our

understanding of one part of the Empire in metropolitan culture. It has done this by

analysing a variety of sources over a long period which show how real places, the self-

governing white communities, came to be represented as a 'Greater Britain.' However,

what is of particular relevance to a study of metropolitan culture is that these regions

were also 'imagined places'. The examination of the 'imagining' of the settler societies

during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century adds to scholarship of the

Empire in Britain and also the relationship between Britain and the British World. The

imagined settler societies were spaces in which travellers, settlers, journalists,

correspondents, authors, advertisers, emigration agents and organisers of imperial

exhibitions represented a cultural landscape which spoke to the anxieties and

aspirations of 'consumers' in Britain.

These anxieties related to particular crises at 'home'. For example, concerns

related to rural land included land ownership, the profitability of agriculture, the

dissatisfaction of tenants as well as landowners and the lack of opportunities to own

land. In terms of the cities, disquiet focussed on overcrowding, slums, class, low

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[3] Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, "Mapping the British World," in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture, and Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 2003)*, p. 2-3.
[4] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995); Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, 'Mapping the British World,' p.2.

incomes and insecurity of employment and poverty. Finally, concerns over gender issues highlighted the limited opportunities for women in employment and politically, and paradoxically the disquiet felt by some men in the face of female assertiveness. The settler societies as a 'Greater Britain' appeared to offer relief from these issues at home, whether in reality following emigration, or imagined, in knowing of better British places overseas to which one could 'travel' by reading texts, viewing exhibitions or even in consuming 'quality' products.

The thesis has highlighted that the approach to the settler societies in Britain needs to take into account the 'imagined' Empire and also the flexibility of the representation. The thesis has shown that images and representation across the sources portrayed the settler societies as a united landscape where the British could live out their aspirations. The commercial images, entertainments, travel accounts, emigration literature and political writing built the image of the settler societies on ideas of land, health, social mobility and adventure all connected by sentiment. The settler societies became a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain', a malleable image of opportunity that drew on ideas of race and identity, urbanisation, frontier, regeneration, imperial sentiment and progress. The settler societies as a 'Greater Britain' generated new opportunities for individual endeavour and adventure, which were idealised and often contradictory. 'Greater Britain' allowed every aspect of society to feature. It was a rural society where a better town life was also possible. It was modern and progressive but also a site to live out adventure on the frontier. It was also a society with better opportunities for women and men, together or independently.

This representation of Greater Britain was based on an ideal, a flexible and accommodating representation based on ideas of opportunity relating to land, social status, employment, freedom and health. However, the sources demonstrate an incoherence and contradiction in these common representations of 'Greater' and 'Better Britain'. There is not a coherent set of ideas but rather the sources show a variety of conflicting notions. For example, within a representation of a 'Greater Britain' was expressed an active modernity, but also an escape from modernity at home. The contradictory idea that a 'Greater Britain' was not only a spacious rural landscape but also one where modernity was vital was central in the representation of the settler societies. It was a representation that wanted the best of both worlds.

The thesis has shown that representation of the settler societies therefore was not static, it was accommodating to a variety of images and ideas. Indeed, the idea and term 'Greater Britain' made its way into British culture during the late nineteenth century. The term went from being used seventeen times in *The Times* between 1870 and 1879 to 344 times between 1890 and 1899.[5] Newspapers and periodicals used the term for a variety of purposes and it was never clearly defined. The parameters of 'Greater Britain' were complex and its creation included a number of different parts of the Empire and wider world. It was manipulated by those discussing the term depending on the context and time of writing. Even Charles Wentworth Dilke, who first coined the term in 1868, altered his definition and changed the colonies that were included. No one factor can explain the idea of 'Greater Britain' but rather it was its flexibility that was its central feature as discussed above. It was an imagining based on the interplay of race and identity alongside a perception of shared culture and

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[5] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p.457.

interests between Britain and the Dominions. Even the notions of progress and modernity were problematic in some representations. Indeed, positive changes in Britain were emphasised and even represented as much more enticing in 'Greater Britain.' On the other hand progress and modernity could be seen as damaging developments in Britain from which the settler societies were happily exempt (especially at the frontier). 'Greater Britain's' cultural appeal therefore lay in its lack of precision, its incoherence, and flexibility. Individuals could mould its conception to suit their personal desires. It became a landscape in which you could live out your dreams and aspirations.

Even though the popularity of Empire can be discerned, for example by the numbers of visitors at an exhibition, the re-publication of travel accounts, or even the debate within sources on the influence of particular images, the actual impact of these sources on people in Britain is difficult to state for certain. The question of whether Britain was infatuated with the Empire or largely indifferent has been taken up by other historians, and the general consensus has settled on the idea that, in reality, it was somewhere in between.

This thesis has argued that the sporadic nature of the sources and images on Empire should also inform the study of the Empire in Britain. The image of the settler societies as a united 'Greater' or 'Better Britain' was constructed by the repetition and dominance of particular ideas and images, which were portrayed across a variety of sources at 'home'. This has built on Hall's argument that it was not just those who travelled to the colonies the soldiers, travellers, emigrants and civil servants who were able to construct images of the Empire. Those at 'home' also constructed images of Empire both from what they knew and imaginings of what they thought they knew,

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and as a result the Empire was seen as part of their lives.[6] Consequently, the image of the Empire was also re-configured and re-imagined in the representations of those who never left Britain.[7]

Further Research: Identity and Empire

The large scope and number of sources that could have been examined by this thesis has resulted in a number of areas where further research could be undertaken. Even though 1914 formed the natural end point for this research, further study could be carried out in the period after, which would examine the representation of the settler societies during World War I and beyond, encompassing the Empire Exhibition in 1924 up to the passing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931 that saw legislative equality for the self-governing Dominions. Moreover, the ideas discussed throughout the thesis of flexibility and the malleable image of the settler societies in Britain has opened up avenues for further research related to the study of Empire as a whole as well as the individual colonies.

It is, however, the notions of identity associated with a 'Greater' or 'Better Britain' that could allow for further research on the connections between British identity and the settler societies. The make-up of the population in the settler societies was central to the ideas of a 'Greater Britain' and formed the basis for ideas of collective identity between Britain and the settler societies. However, the ideas of a 'Better Britain' were associated with Britain's past, present and future and

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[6] Catherine Hall, 'Imperial Careering at Home: Harriet Martineau on Empire,' in David Lambert and Alan Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 341-342.
[7] *Ibid.*

consequently this allows for new angles on the study of British identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Identity was part of the complex network and imagining of the Empire. The fact that this thesis examined representations of the British overseas does allow for a discussion of British identity during the late nineteenth century. The notion of the identity of the British overseas has been examined from the perspective of those who made the journey to the colonies, for example in Vivian Bickford-Smith's study of 'Anglicisation' in the Cape Colony and Neville Meaney's 'Britishness and Australia'.[8] The notion of 'Better Britains' was also part of the colonial frame of mind during this period. C.E.W Bean, Australian war correspondent and author of *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918* (published between 1920 and 1942) described the Australian soldiers as having the qualities of 'Better Britons', not of unique Australian people. It can be argued that the concept of 'Better Britains' in colonial nationalism was linked more towards a sense of 'one-up-manship' and superiority to the motherland. Richard White examines this aspect of late nineteenth century national identity in *Inventing Australia*. He argues that by the late-nineteenth-century, many Australians saw themselves as an improvement on the old stock. W.M Hughes has described the Australian as 'bred from the hardy, the enterprising and the resolute'; the weak stayed at home. The angle taken in Australian scholarship strongly linked these ideas to identity, a perspective which could also be taken in relation to the British representation.

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[8] Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting Anglicisation in the Nineteenth Century,' in Bridge and Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World,* pp.82-95; Neville Meaney, 'Britishness and Australia: Some Reflections,' Bridge and Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World,* pp.121-35; Ian van der Waag, 'Hugh Wyndham, Transvaal Politics and the Attempt to Create an English Country Seat in South Africa, 1901-14,' in Bridge and Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World,* pp.136-57.

The response to the British overseas brings a new dimension to late-nineteenth-century British identity. If these were 'Better Britains,' what could that say about British national identity in the period? The ideas of 'Greater Britain' and of 'Better Britains' in particular, provides new angles in the study of British identity and a British sense of themselves. If the settler societies were 'Better Britains', what is that telling us about perception of Britain at home? Through drawing on the works on English national identity, and particularly the link with the ideas of land and the countryside and modernity, the history of the British Empire and of British identity at home as well as overseas could be brought together from a new perspective.

The ideas of a 'Greater Britain' fit into the imperial histories. However, the scholarship on British identity could also be seen as important, particularly Krishnan Kumar and his *The Making of English National Identity* and Robert Colls' *Identity of England*.[9] Kumar has argued that English national identity was built on the larger enterprises that the country was engaged with, including the construction of Great Britain and the British Empire as well as the development of the first industrial civilisation.[10] Kumar has argued that the English placed pride in 'England's leading role as an agent of civilisation and progress'.[11] According to Kumar, imperial nationalism was based on the creations not the creators.[12] The ideas of 'Greater Britain' related to Kumar's 'Moment of Englishness' and relationship with the Empire. Kumar has argued that this 'moment' could be seen as a substitute for nationalism, it was a perception of

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[9] Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Robert Colls, *The Identity of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[10] Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity,* p.ix.
[11] *Ibid.*, p.196.
[12] *Ibid.*, p.x.

the world and the English's place in it, a sense of destiny and the duty to fulfil it.[13] The

representation of the settler societies could be argued to be part of this, identity

based on British notion of past, present and most importantly future. It was an ideal

type based on part of the Empire. The inclusion of the study of a 'Greater Britain'

within the scholarship on identity could add to and also provide a new angle on this

literature.

It could be argued that the representation that these parts of the Empire were

'more British' than the rest, had a shared heritage and culture and a predominant

British settler population, revealed the strong connection between British identity and

the representation of the settler societies. A 'Better' or 'Greater Britain' became a

place of regeneration for Britain as a whole. This was the Britain of the past, an image

of an idealised idyllic ruralism that was seen to define the idea of Britain pre-

industrialisation. Part of the image of a landscape of opportunity lay in the land itself.

Rolling fields of pasture or wheat dominated the images of the settler societies. This

representation of the settler societies was targeting a particular desire within late

nineteenth century British society. This was an image of Britain that put a great deal of

importance within the countryside. As Kumar argues the 'essential England was

rural'.[14] In reality, however, the real England was not. It is important to note that the

settler societies, apart from the possible exception of New Zealand, did not look like

the British countryside. This was an image of the population with an attachment to the

land, and 'Greater Britain' was 'better' because it provided the opportunity for Britons

to once again be rural, to live out the images of a pre-industrial Britain. It was 'better'

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[13] *Ibid.*, p.196.
[14] *Ibid.,* p. 221.

in the sense that it was an improvement on the present through an idealisation of the past.

Even though the idea of Britain going 'back to the land' was based on a nostalgic view of the country's past, as discussed by Kumar, Colls and Cragoe and Readman, the representation of 'Greater Britain' was far from being simply the expression of a desire to return to all aspects of Britain's past. The representation of the settlements also revealed the desire for evidence of progress towards what was considered a familiar modern city. The importance of these features in the British representation can be seen in how the ideas were used in criticising the French cities in Canada. Quebec and Montreal were depicted as a contrast to the British settlements; they were not progressive, and instead they were stuck in the unacceptable past, one that had not progressed. Settlements became markers of progress, and also markers that these societies were truly an improvement on 'home'. This reflected a crisis within Britain, not only the depopulation of the countryside but also the effect the industrial revolution had on the urban environment. There was a perceived lack of visual poverty and slums in British settlements in 'Greater Britain', buildings were made of stone in recognisable architecture, and thoroughfares were wide and bright. The urban ideas of a 'Greater Britain' also reflected an idealised image of themselves, a vision of a better British future as well as a past.

In *Identity of England*, Robert Colls has argued that in the search for Englishness, going out was really going in; it was *only* at the edge that true identity was to be found. [15] The settler societies were the very edge of British identity. Rural Britain may have had elements of the 'true Britain', but the idea of a 'Greater Britain' could

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[15] Colls, *The Identity of England*, pp.258-259.

take Britain forward as well as back to another level. The sources reveal a much idealised version of a British world. It was a framed vision that carefully picked out what it wanted to see. Consequently, analysing the ideas of 'Greater Britain' not only contributes to our understanding of the Empire during this period, but of British representations of their own society and identity. The study of the imagined community of 'Greater Britain' offers new angles on the notions of progress, rejuvenation, modernity and identity within the British sense of themselves.

'Greater Britain': The Creation of an Imperial Landscape

This thesis has brought new angles on the scholarship on the British World and the relationship between the settler societies and Britain. The study of the representation of the settler societies across cultural sources in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has highlighted how these parts of the Empire became united through representations in Britain. The adaptable and accommodating image of the settler societies allowed the British a landscape in which they could live out their aspirations, dreams and desires. Ideas of opportunity, progress, modernity, frontier, adventure and the British connection drove the representation that spoke to a variety of fears and circumstances in Britain. Drawing attention to the importance of the relationship between the real and imagined within the study of the settler societies in Britain, particularly the flexibility and malleability within the images of a 'Greater Britain,' the thesis has brought a new perspective to the scholarship concerning metropolitan culture and the British World.

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