

Under Construction:
Advertising Leisure Travel to the Countryside in
London Underground Posters, 1908-1912

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a focused and detailed art historical study of a specific group of thirteen London Underground posters, which advertised travel to the countryside leisure spaces outside the city centre within the period of 1908 to 1912. Beginning with an analysis of photography and etching depicting the construction of the metropolitan railway works, I explore how this highly modern transport system in many ways 'destroyed' the city. I also examine the inherent contradiction that while this construction alienated Londoners from rural, natural spaces it subsequently provided the means to escape the city for them. The advertising of the countryside in pictorial posters began with Frank Pick's appointment to the role of Publicity Officer at London Underground in 1908. This paper will investigate how Pick employed a successful and consistent promotional strategy for the Underground by advertising 'idyllic' retreats away from the city. Detailed visual analysis of the posters will be supported with tourism and cultural geography theory, demonstrating that the poster campaign perpetuated of the myth of rural England as a more 'authentic' space in which to pursue leisure activities. I will show that the facilitation and promotion of travel to these areas through poster advertising was an early form of modern twentieth century tourism as expressed through visual culture.

INTRODUCTION

It is from many years of travelling within and around London on the Underground that this thesis was conceived. In more recent years, my areas of academic study and research in the art of photography and graphic design have compounded my respect and admiration for London Underground posters. As I have learned, the London Underground itself has a long and truly fascinating history. In addition, the *art* history of the underground is a most compelling subject which provides us today with more than a century long chronicle of the fields of art and design in London. I am intrigued by the fact that unlike any other city transport system in the world, London Underground has, and always has had, an unparalleled connection with art and design. To this end, my research began with an examination of the organised relationship between poster art and design and London Underground in the early days of this relationship's conception. This system began in 1908, the year Frank Pick was appointed the officer in charge of publicity at London Underground, and continued through (and indeed beyond) his three-decade career at the corporation. During this time, Pick was the key decision maker at the organisation. This paper, avoiding a potted historical biography available elsewhere, demonstrates Pick's motivations and choices in the destinations he promoted through the poster commissions.

The artworks and posters related to the underground reflect a dazzling variety of period styles and techniques. In the words of Oliver Green and David Bownes, influential London Underground historians, "No comparable organisation, whether public, private or a mixture of the two can boast such a rich and sustained

visual heritage.”¹ They also reflect London Transport’s commitment to employing the very best artists of the day including both established and emerging talent. Green and Bownes go on to explain that the “roll of honour reads like a who’s who of twentieth-century graphic design and includes many more well known names more closely associated with the world of fine art.”² The diversity about which these historians speak is irrefutable, but this made choosing a new course of study relating to such poster art problematic. This is so because not only is there is a plethora of material from which to choose, but also as many studies of these have already been undertaken including the recent London Transport Museum exhibition, *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, and a plethora of books, essays and other texts analysing the posters.³

Repeated acknowledgement has been made to the fact that a large proportion of the original posters used landscapes to promote peripheral destinations for pleasure. Researchers and authors have independently made claims upon which I shall build, but none have put the pieces of the puzzle together. In her essay on pictorial posters at the turn of the century, Catherine Flood, prints curator of the Word and Image Department at the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A) in London, points out that, “Early Underground posters feature a full range of urban attractions as well as inviting passengers to escape to green spaces on the outskirts

¹ David Bownes and Oliver Green, eds. *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*. (London: Lund Humphries, 2008), 9.

² Bownes and Green, op. cit., 10.

³ See for example: Riddell, Jonathan and William T. Stearn. *By Underground to Kew: London Transport Posters, 1908 to the Present*. London: Cassell Illustrated, 1995; Denton, Peter and Jonathon Riddell, *By Underground to the Zoo: London Transport Posters 1913 to the Present*. London: Casell Illustrated, 1995; Games, Naomi, ed. *Poster Journeys: Abram Games and London Transport*. London: Capital Transport Publishing, 2008.

of the city.”⁴ Flood goes on to a brief discussion of the range of printed styles used on these posters, but omits any deeper interpretation of why these destinations may have been chosen or the reasons for their popularity and success.

Oliver Green, Senior Curator at the London Transport Museum comes similarly close to something revealing. In a significant survey book on Underground Art, Green introduces the prominence of leisure travel posters in his introduction, and in subsequent image captions later in the volume. This work, while providing an invaluable overview of more than eighty years of posters, lacks the amount of investigation necessary to appreciate the connections between Underground posters, leisure and the cultural conscience of this particular period. In a more recent essay centered around Frank Pick, Green fleetingly recognises that he “was very conscious of how alienating and overwhelming a vast city like London could be,” and that “the posters developed from being straightforward publicity to helping Londoners and visitors understand and enjoy life in the great metropolis.”⁵ He also compares Pick’s mentality to that of Morris and Ruskin, suggesting although Pick “was attracted to the idea that moral and civic harmony could be achieved through integrating art and design with everyday life,” he never resolved his ambivalence between what Green calls “philosophical opposites”: social progress and romantic tradition, radicalism and conservatism, socialism and capitalism, efficient large scale industrial production and individual craft skills, the

⁴ Catherine Flood. “Pictorial Posters in Britain at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.” In *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, 15-35. (London: Lund Humphries, 2008), 30.

⁵ Oliver Green. “Appearance Values: Frank Pick and the Art of London Transport.” in *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, 37-61. (London: Lund Humphries, 2008), 48.

creative metropolis and the manageable civic community.⁶ The contradiction of a metropolitan rail network predominantly advertising countryside locales lends credence to this suggestion by Green, and will be discussed in chapter three. In her chapter, and accompanying lecture⁷ on the reception of underground posters by the public, Claire Dobbin takes an interesting stance on the design of landscape posters which “through simplified form and exaggerated colour” allowed the “bold new style in poster art clearly made a strong impression on the observer.”⁸ I agree with these statements, but find them somewhat incomplete, and will argue in chapters two and three that while the design was significant in attracting attention, the interest of the posters was also due to a greater cultural construction of the countryside, and deeply rooted in the nostalgic topophilic sentiment of the public.

One area of research connected to my topic relates to *Metroland*, an advertising slogan used by a branch of the Metropolitan Railway from 1915. This ‘constructed’ area of London, primarily to the north and west of the city, was created to promote middle class relocation out of the metropolis into the newly created ‘garden cities’ or suburbs along the route of the newer underground lines. The destinations promoted, and messages put forth in these posters were similar to those used in earlier posters advertising leisure travel, but for the purpose of selling land and homes rather than temporary excursions or day-trips. Stephen Halliday provides a thorough chapter on this topic in his book, *Underground to*

⁶ Oliver Green. “Appearance Values: Frank Pick and the Art of London Transport.” in *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, 37-61. (London: Lund Humphries, 2008), 49.

⁷ Claire Dobbin, “Art for All: The Public Response to the Underground. Lecture presented at the London Transport Museum, London, England, March 24, 2009.

⁸ Claire Dobbin. “Art for All? The Reception of London Underground Posters.” In *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, 211-233. London: Lund Humphries, 2008), 213.

Everywhere as does historian Christian Wolmar in *The Subterranean Railway*. Entire London Transport Museum publications have also been dedicated to this topic, including reprints of early- to mid-twentieth century *Metroland* advertising brochures published for the public.⁹ Despite the overwhelming evidence that green, natural spaces were used as the primary motivations for these pamphlets and posters (along with ease of commute into they city), their predecessors from the early years of the twentieth century are peculiarly ignored. As I will demonstrate, London Underground had been promoting the same destinations on similar principles for almost a decade before the notion of *Metroland* was even conceived. I would suggest that London Underground's unrelentingly promoted construct of the English countryside as an ideal retreat, acted as the foundation and subsequent success of the creations of the garden city suburbs.

Perhaps the most enlightening piece of work to date in the area of my own research can be found in a book written by Jonathan Riddell for London Underground: *Pleasure Trips by Underground*. This is a promising volume, divided into nine chapters based on different types of leisure activity and even includes a section on "London's Country." It also fails to delve deep enough into the Underground advertising methods and goals in any one of these chapters, forming only a framework of ideas. Riddell clearly states that, "the countryside around London has always been a magnet attracting Londoners keen to escape the urban

⁹ See *Metro-Land*. *British Empire Exhibition Number* (1924 edition). Reproduced in 2004. London: London Transport Museum, 2004; Bownes, David. "Selling the Underground Suburbs." In *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, 109-129. London: Lund Humphries, 2008; Wolmar, Christian. *The Subterranean Railway. How the London Underground was built and how it changed the city forever*. London: Atlantic Books, 2004.

grime.”¹⁰ Unfortunately, by lack of engagement with the imagery, Riddell does not introduce any compelling argument or reach any solid conclusion beyond the fact that “from its earliest days, the Underground took advantage of this desire for nature and the open air by publicising the merits of its own rail and bus services.”¹¹ This book is presented as a survey, but despite its lack of rigorous investigation into any one area, still offers academics a number of ideas which could be studied in greater detail.

All of the above texts scratched the surface of my research area, and some even broke ground, but I wanted to dig deeper. After many months of researching the overwhelming resources available to me in London, I found a gap in existing scholarly material that needed to be filled – a light at the end of the tunnel, so to speak. As such, I have chosen to study a group of thirteen posters that advertise travel on the Underground network, to outdoor leisure spaces on the periphery of the city. I will aim to show that the London Underground perpetuated the constructed myth of the English countryside and rural idyll as an ideal retreat from the modern metropolis. Significantly, the London Underground was a public system of mass transit, and I will aim to show that its advertising was directed primarily, yet not overtly, at the middle and working classes in the city. This will be a predominantly *social* art historical study, exploring aspects of cultural geography and tourism. This research, as yet unexplored in sufficient detail, will be situated a very specific period in London Underground’s art history between 1908 and 1912. Poster advertising on the tube was prolific; within this four-year timeframe alone

¹⁰ Jonathan Riddell. *Pleasure Trips by Underground*. (Harrow Weald, Middlesex: Capital Transport Publishing, 1998), 70.

¹¹ Riddell, *op. cit.*, 70.

there are more than two hundred archived posters and artworks at the London Transport Museum available to study. My selection of these dates will allow for a focused visual analysis of a range of posters. They not only reflect the earliest years of Pick's career, but have also been deliberately chosen to fall in pre-war period of London's history. Study of the posters commissioned after these dates show that the war clearly (and unsurprisingly) had a profound impact on the advertising of tourist spaces and travel for pleasure. From 1913, the Underground continued to promote leisure travel alongside British nationalism but at the outset of war, a "call to arms" of the war effort and safety posters took precedence and "non-essential journeys" were eventually discouraged.¹²

The selection of images I will discuss are a representative sample of the enormous set and it is important to make clear that my focus will not be on the graphic design, printing methods or the artists who created these posters. Far more qualified scholars have already preceded me in these areas of study. To attempt a more thorough analysis and discussion is therefore unnecessary. In order to sufficiently demonstrate my thesis and fully appreciate the effort undertaken by London Underground to focus primarily on these spaces over central-city attractions and venues within this period, it will also be necessary to examine other peripheral written and visual texts published by the Underground and non-partisan authors and publishers. These include, but are not limited to, pamphlets, guidebooks and timetables all of which concentrate on marketing specific destinations outside the metropolitan area, from Richmond, Kew and Twickenham

¹² London Transport Museum, Online Essay:
<http://www.ltmcollection.org/posters/about/behindthecollection.html?IXstory=Underground%20posters+and+the+First+World+War>

in the southwest, Harrow, Perivale and Sudbury in the northwest, to Hampstead and Golders Green in the north.

This dissertation will be divided into three clear chapters; each subsequent chapter will build upon the material from the previous. I shall begin with an analysis of the depiction of the construction of the 'tube' network, as it became known around 1906. The second chapter will focus on Frank Pick and the advertising choices he made as head of the publicity department from 1908. The final chapter will analyse and decode the meanings within the posters themselves applying relevant tourism and cultural geography theory in support of my argument. Relevant visual references depicting the posters and peripheral visual material are found in image plates at the end of the text.

CHAPTER 1: CONSTRUCTING THE SUBTERRANEAN IN THE MODERN METROPOLIS

Between 1801 and 1911, the overall population of London increased by a factor of five, from approximately 950,000 to over four and half million people, of which 300,000 arrived between 1891 and 1911.¹³ The London of the mid-to-late nineteenth century was consumed by a rapid period of large-scale construction projects, born largely of a sheer and desperate need for efficient inner city transport made possible by massive advances in engineering technology. I will be discussing the effect on the citizens of the changing visual landscape in London in the late Victorian period. I will suggest that there is a fundamental contradiction inherent in the construction of the Metropolitan Underground Railway, which opened its first line in 1863. Without it, Londoners may not have had such a strong urge to explore the countryside, but without it they would not have been able to reach this countryside as easily. This highly modern method of transport in many ways 'destroyed' the city by its construction, but consequently provided both the means and the desire to escape London for the countryside leisure spaces outside the city centre. This chapter explores the impact of the construction of the Metropolitan Underground Railway through contemporaneous documentation in etchings and photographs. It focuses on one of the most significant and large-scale developmental changes that occurred in modern London: the above-ground impact of the under-ground construction of the Metropolitan Underground Railway.

Historic photographic documentation of the Metropolitan Railway construction through Paddington, Bayswater and Kensington shows not only the

¹³ G.F. Bosworth. *West London*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 87-8.

manner in which homes were destroyed, but also the disruption at street level for the residents and city goers. Evidence of this can also be read in publications from the period. To set the scene it is worth quoting at length a passage by F.S. Williams describing his perception of the Metropolitan Railway construction in the late 1800s:

The work of constructing this remarkable railway eventually became...somewhat wearisome to the inhabitants...A few wooden houses on wheels first made their appearance, and planted themselves by the gutter; then came some wagons loaded with timber, and accompanied by sundry gravel-coloured men with picks and shovels. A day or two afterwards, a few hundred yards of roadway were closed, the ordinary traffic being, of course, driven into the side streets; then followed troops of navvies, horses and engines arrived, who soon disappeared within the enclosure and down the shafts. The exact operations could be but dimly seen or heard from the street...but paterfamilias, from his house hard by, could look down on an infinite chaos of timber, shaft holes, ascending and descending chains and iron buckets which brought rubbish from below to be carted away; or perhaps one morning he found workmen had been kindly shoring up his family abode with huge timbers to make it safer. A wet week comes, and the gravel in his front garden turns to clay; the trades people tread it backwards and forwards to and from the street door; he can hardly get out to business or come to supper without slipping, and he strongly objects to a temporary way of wet planks, erected for his use and the use of the passers-by, over a yawning cavern underneath the pavement.¹⁴

A series of photographs taken by engineer Henry Flather, complement this text and provide visual support to his claims. In one of these, the wooden houses and timber wagon Williams described are visible in the background, as are the frames over the trench on the right used to hoist bucket of debris (Plate 1). This view shows work in progress on the excavation of the tunnel through Craven Hill Gardens in Paddington. In addition, this photography captures the proximity of the works to the houses, suggested in Williams' passage by a gentleman's ability to look directly

¹⁴ Christian Wolmar. *The Subterranean Railway. How the London Underground was built and how it changed the city forever.* (London: Atlantic Books, 2004), 40.

from his family's home down into "an infinite chaos." This photograph from Craven Hill has been constructed to show the inability of the passer-by to pass by without negotiating the "temporary way of wet planks" through the muddy site. As seen in this image, the engineers and builders have commandeered the entire road so that houses on each side of the road are met at their front door by building works. In *Builder*, a contemporaneous London periodical, a writer provided his experience of the construction:

Never were the streets and thoroughfares of the metropolis so much disturbed as they have been recently. In all directions bands of workmen are busy as moles burrowing the earth, each in his way, advancing the great drainage works; and now operations have been commenced for making the underground of London available for railway purposes, and soon below the crowded streets the locomotive whistle will sound and trains will roll rapidly along. The squares...are blockaded and poor ladies look out of their windows aghast, and postpone intended 'parties'.¹⁵

A photograph taken c. 1867 of the Praed Street construction gives credence and visual testimony to his commentary (Plate 2). This image shows a group of three ladies standing on a rooftop platform surveying the disarray below. The building from which they examine their surroundings stands alone, as all of the connecting property has been hacked away to make way for the cut and cover tunnels. The scene resembles a war zone, a city block decimated by the construction. What are now the District and Circle lines could relatively easily be run underneath the road along Praed Street, but on the way to Bayswater the most direct route was across several streets and under several houses. Comparing 'old' and 'new' London in 1878, Thornbury and Walford lament that the "havoc that has been made during this time by the railways which have entered and intersected the metropolis" was

¹⁵ *Builder*, Volume xviii, 1860, p139. Cited in: Donald J. Olsen. *The Growth of Victorian London*. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), 316.

“far greater than could have been imagined. London became a “city of hoardings, houses destroyed, odd bits of streets snapped off...shapeless scraps of land, unneeded by the railway, and unavailable for other purposes...the abominable bridges...the viaducts...the colossal sheds of stations [that] mar the river’s banks.”¹⁶

This is an unpleasant written picture of a London under assault by the modern railway.

The commentary thus far has engaged with disruption of the higher classes of London’s citizenship, but the displacement of the lower working classes was even more severe. Ironically, and sadly, more remuneration was made to the wealthier Londoners whose homes needed to be destroyed than the working poor. Numerous individual bills were passed through Parliament in the late nineteenth century which granted the railway the rights to built different sections of the line. These allowed the railway to acquire whatever land and property was required to complete the lines, with some form of compensation due to the landowners. The poor were merely tenants on this land however as Wolmar points out:

Generally, during the promotion of their bills, railway developers reached accommodations with the large landlords, the aristocratic estate owners, but rode roughshod over the smaller ones who did not have the clout – or the lawyers – to fight their corner during the Parliamentary process. As for the tenants, trifling compensation was paid to some of the occupants of the squalid housing demolished to make way for the railways, but those who rented on a weekly basis got *nothing*.¹⁷

The cut and cover method of the shallow underground lines meant minimum disruption to wealthier areas such as Bayswater and Kensington, as Underground lines were run predominantly beneath the roads to save on compensations claims.

¹⁶ Walter Thornbury and Edward Walford, *Old and New London*, 1873-8, Vol. III, pp 129-30 cited in White, Jerry. *London in the 19th Century*. (London: Vintage Press, 2008), 47.

¹⁷ Wolmar, op. cit., 28 (emphasis added).

Less consideration was given to the poorer districts. According to Smith, the Reverend William Denton of Cripplegate complained that the “construction of a half-mile stretch of the [Underground] had seen the leveling of nine hundred dwellings, home to ten thousand of his poorer parishioners.”¹⁸ Wolmar suggests there were suspicions that the Metropolitan Railway deliberately planned its route to go through poorer areas, where little or no compensation would have to be paid. He cites a number of “dirty tricks” employed by the company, including “paying landlords to evict their tenants a few weeks before their houses were needed.”¹⁹ Trench and Hillman also make reference to the “outraged” Reverend Denton who wrote in 1861:

The special lure of the capitalist is that the line will pass only through inferior property, that is through a densely peopled district, and will destroy the abode of the powerless and the poor, whilst it will avoid the properties of those whose opposition is to be dreaded, the great employers of labour.²⁰

The impact of this land grabbing and displacement of people is immeasurable, both numerically and emotionally. Discussing the human consequences, White declares that “we will never know how many people lost their homes during what must have seemed – even spread over ten or fifteen years – like some pitiless Armageddon.”²¹ According to Smith, Wolmar and White, tens of thousands of the working poor were displaced in the last three to four decades of the nineteenth-century. In the first of two paradoxical twists, while vast numbers working class were disrupted by the construction of the Underground, vast numbers were also employed in its construction, providing an ongoing source of income for several decades. Labour

¹⁸ Stephen Smith. *Underground London: Travels Beneath the City Streets*. (London: Abacus, 2008), 258.

¹⁹ Wolmar, op. cit., 29.

²⁰ Reverend William Denton. *Observations on the displacement of the poor by Metropolitan railways and other public improvements*. London: Bell, 1861, quoted in Richard Trench and Ellis Hillman, *London Under London*, (London: John Murray, 1985), 139.

²¹ Jerry White. *London in the 19th Century*. (London: Vintage Press, 2008), 47.

was cheap and easy to find according to Wolmar who describes the “seemingly endless pool of men who had left agriculture to try their luck in the cities.” These ‘navvies’ as they were known, came from local agricultural areas not only through which the railway was being laid, but also recruited from across England, Ireland and Scotland.²² Gainful employment related to the various forms of communications also necessarily continued once the networks were built. Numbers gathered from Pick’s archive state that in the counties of London and Middlesex, almost two million people were employed in these industries in 1911.²³ In the second twist, these rural immigrants came to the city to build a metropolitan railway network which then served to transport them and the next generation back to the countryside whence they came. I suggest that this, in part, contributed to a wider cultural desire to seek leisure pursuits away from the metropolis, which was offered in the Underground advertising posters.

The building of the underground railway ravaged not only residential neighborhoods, but also decimated the city centre. Examining two representations of Parliament Square from 1867 we can see the remarkable landscape of construction in both etching and photography from a similar viewpoint (Plates 3 & 4). The images were made only two months apart in the middle of winter, made apparent by the dusting of snow. Work in both images seems virtually halted, especially in the photograph. This type of image portrays London almost unrecognisable as a city, identifiable only by distant landmarks of the Houses of Parliament and the statue of George Canning. The scenes represent none of the

²² Derived from the term ‘navigator’, a name used for those workers who originally constructed navigation canals in the 1700s, then the railways and docks in more modern times.

²³ *Transport Workers in the City of London, 1901 and 1911*. Frank Pick Collection (E26), London Transport Museum.

elements that normally categorise vibrant city life: neither pedestrians, nor shops and businesses make up the focal points. Instead we are presented with landscapes of construction: holes, fences, and piles of debris, rubble and bricks. Makeshift shelters have been thrown up amidst the confusion and the only real activity seen in the engraving is a few workers in the foreground tending to the tunneling. Barely visible in this piece is the general population passing by, just to the right of the statue behind a temporary fence. Here the focus is on modernisation works rather than the populace. They seem insignificant in relation to the works. This relegation of the public to the background or periphery in all of these images, I suggest this was a deliberate and significant choice. The inconveniences the city and the people within it suffered may have made them feel less important than the works going on around them. According to the *Illustrated London News*, “Everyone feels and deplores the evils of the congestion under which the olden portions of the metropolis- and more especially the City – that great heart and centre of all – suffer.”²⁴ Donald Olsen describes the impact of the works on the lives of Victorian London citizens:

Whether the new thoroughfares, railways and steamboat lines, omnibuses and tramways that intersected Victorian London in increasingly complex patterns are to be regarded more as causes or symptoms of more fundamental organic changes, they undeniably represented the most startling novelties in the London environment. They contributed not only visual shocks, but movement, unfamiliar noises and smells, and altered both the pace and the rhythm of urban life.²⁵

It is by exploring the significance of the cultural geographic changes in the “pace and rhythm of urban life” of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries that provides an important precursor to the birth of the countryside leisure destination

²⁴ *Illustrated London News*, Vol. XXV, 30 September 1854: 293-4.

²⁵ Donald J. Olsen. *The Growth of Victorian London*. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), 298-299.

posters of the Underground system. Citizens of London were forced to re-evaluate their negotiation of the city and experiences in it. I argue that the impact of this changing environment was responsible for creating and perpetuating a strong desire to escape the disillusionment of the modernised city. Such imagery demonstrated cultural geographic sentiments of the Londoner, on which Frank Pick later capitalised in his advertising campaigns to promote the very use of the system which contributed, at least in part, to the cause of the anti-urbanism.

From the visual constructions of the photographs and illustrations I have shown it can be argued that the rapidly changing face of London impacted more than one generation of Londoner. These changes brought about by the physical construction of the Underground network may have begun as far back as 1863, but was felt through the turn of and into the new century as the building progressed and other problems arose. The Underground was devised as a solution to some of the existing traffic problems faced in the city but despite this, the replacement of horse-drawn buses with motor buses and the proliferation of tramways created continued congestion in the city streets. After the cut and cover tunneling was complete, main thoroughfares remained un-navigable due to modern methods of transport serving to once again create chaos at street level and introduce further pollution to the air, making London grimier, sootier and noisier. Stephen Coleridge, writing in 1913 at the age of fifty said of London:

[It] has changed very much since I was a boy. All the main streets were paved with stone blocks, and as there were no India rubber tyres, the noise was deafening. In the middle of Regent's park of Hyde Park, one heard the roar of traffic all round in a ring of tremendous sound; and in any shop in Oxford Street, if

the door was opened no one could make himself heard til it was shut again.²⁶

Coleridge, who would have been in his early teens during the height of the original Underground Railway construction, was now enduring the blight of the traffic on London's roads. This demonstrates the lasting effect of late nineteenth-century modernisation into the period of study for this dissertation.

In a series of photographs created in the first two decades of the twentieth-century, the congestion of the city had become the focus of the image-makers (Plates 5 & 6). Where the holes, fences, and piles of debris, rubble and bricks seen in the previous images existed, now the pavement was crowded with motorbuses and trams. In the first of these images, one can see the sheer volume of people not only on the pavements, but spilling onto the streets and weaving between the various modes of transport; horse-drawn passenger and goods carriages, trams and motor buses can be seen attempting to share road space with the pedestrians. In a second example, the situation is similar but the presence of motorcars as well as the huge volume of open-top buses adds to the drama. It is little wonder that the majority of the advertising on these buses in the pollution-riddled city advertised pills, ointments, soap - and whiskey.

Like the Underground Railway before them, trams and motorbuses extended travel to further reaches of the city and paradoxically created both the desire and the means to escape the experience of the city. Speaking of London's citizens in the decade prior to 1915, Patrick Geddes commented that:

²⁶ John Betjeman, *Victorian and Edwardian London* (London: BT Batsford, 1969), ix-xi.

Their accesses to Nature and natural conditions have already been three-fourths destroyed; indeed more, so far as the working mother and her children are concerned – that is, the nation of to-morrow. The neighbouring great towns are rapidly linking up by tramways and streets no less than railways; while great open spaces, which might have been not so long ago cheaply secured as unrivalled lungs of life, are already all but unrecoverable.²⁷

As the city sprawled, natural places of respite were pushed further away from the city centre, but the now far-reaching London Underground network of public transport would be able to take people to it. Where focus of the upset had once rested on the upheaval caused by tunneling, there can be no doubt that London and its citizens turned their attention in visual depictions of the city towards the problems caused by the traffic congestion on the street instead. Despite such scenes above ground, an impartial railway magazine of the time commended the services offered by the Underground Railways in a 1909 article:

The electrification of the District Railway and, consequently, the Metropolitan Railway, is comparatively a recent event...which practically required an almost complete reconstruction of the line...Suffice to say, that London now possesses an electrically-worked railway that will compare very favourably with any other railway in the world as regards, the facilities offered, the number of trains that run per hour, and the excellent punctuality that is maintained in spite of the many connections that have to be made owing to the railway serving so many diverse spots.²⁸

Naturally the organisations behind the new modes of transport, such as the electric trams also sought to congratulate themselves. In a public document created following the Proceedings of the Municipal Tramways Association in Nottingham in 1908, a transcript of the presidential address by Mr. J Aldworth is a good example of this self-promotion worth quoting at length:

²⁷ Patrick Geddes. *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1915), 33-4.

²⁸ G.W.J. Potter. "The Metropolitan District Railway, The District Railway of To-day." *Railway Magazine*, May 1909: 1-2.

The common object which all those controlling tramway undertakings have in view is to provide safe, cheap comfortable and expeditious means of transit, by which the worker is enabled to live in more healthy and pleasant surroundings, away from the busy centres of industry; the business and professional classes to move about readily in pursuit of their respective callings; and the public generally with travelling facilities to enable them under the most comfortable conditions to fulfill the many-sided activities of modern life. The changed conditions brought about by the modern electric tramways cannot better be described than by quoting the words of Mr. Frank Sprague, who played such an important part in the introduction of electric traction into America. Mr. Sprague said: It has given us better paved streets, greater cleanliness, more perfect tracks, and luxurious, well-lighted and ventilated cars; and with the higher speeds it has made possible the extension of the rateable and habitable areas of towns and cities in a much greater ratio that is represented by the increase of speed...It has released from drudgery thousands of animals, and increased the morals of transportation employees. It has given employment to an army of men and millions of capital. It has built up communities, shortened the time between home and business, made neighbours of rural communities, and welded together cities and their suburbs.²⁹

Despite this rather transparent self-aggrandisement, using the tramway routes that served countryside destinations was clearly a popular enterprise. In a photograph from 1903 taken on a Bank Holiday, a London United tram en route to Kew Gardens from Hammersmith in the city, is packed to capacity while hoards of pedestrians vie for a seat (Plate 7). This specific tram route will be discussed further in relation to a poster in chapter three (Plate 17).

The last deep-level Underground lines (which gave birth around this time to the now familiar 'Tube' nickname) were installed in 1906-7, thus the construction of the Underground network was almost fully completed by 1908. After this period, very few extensions to the lines were made until after 1930, largely due to the impact of the First World War. Once the London Underground system of buses,

²⁹ "Proceedings of the Municipal Tramways Association, 1907-8." (Sheffield: J.W. Northend, 1908), 51-52.

trams and trains was in place, and up and running, the next logical step was to make it useful and profitable. The following chapter of my thesis therefore connects to the first by necessarily introducing the man almost wholly responsible for promotional advertising at London Underground, and his beliefs and motivations as such.

CHAPTER 2: FRANK PICK AND ADVERTISING THE COUNTRYSIDE ESCAPE

Frank Pick, Publicity Officer for the London Underground Group from 1908, employed a successful and consistent promotional strategy for the Underground. There is already a great deal of scholarship on the subject of Frank Pick and art on the Underground, aided by the development of the London Transport Museum in Covent Garden, and growing recently with the centenary exhibition: *London Transport Posters, A Century of Art and Design* at the museum. As introduced earlier, the majority of this research is broad in scope, but has aided me in providing significant background information, and has produced avenues for more aggressive investigation. As explained in my introduction, while some of this research touched upon areas that are significant to my thesis, there is plenty of room for original research in the areas relating to Pick's deliberate and ongoing efforts to promote the green spaces outside the city.

Worth noting, is that in these early days, posters were commissioned by Pick directly from certain printers in the capital, most often Johnson Riddle and Waterlow and Sons.³⁰ Later on, according to Peter Denton and Jonathon Riddell, "Pick, however felt that he could achieve better results by commissioning work directly from the artist, and sometimes an artist would approach him in the hope of obtaining a commission."³¹ From archived records it can be reasonably determined that the specific posters to be discussed in this paper, were a result of direct relationships with printers and as such I have chosen not to focus on the details of

³⁰ This is evident not only from the printers details at the bottom corner of each poster, but also from the original poster archive maintained by the publicity department.

³¹ Peter Denton and Jonathan Riddell. *By Underground to the Zoo: London Transport Posters 1913 to the Present*. (London: Studio Vista, 1995), 7.

the poster artists themselves, particularly as many are simply listed as 'unknown artist'. According to Robert Excell, Curator at the Acton Depot of the London Transport Museum, this is generally an indication that the artist who created the poster was retained by the printer, and not commissioned personally.³² Some of these artists, who later worked with Pick directly, were previously tied to the employ of the printers, such as Charles Sharland with Waterlow for example. Working relationships between Pick and individual artists appear to have begun in Pick's later years at the company following the proliferation and success of these original Underground posters. One thing is certain however, and that is that Pick had no qualms about choosing new designers with whom to work, stating that, "novelty of idea, of subject are only maintained by a constant change...So old friends are dropped and new acquaintances are made...It is impossible for any designer, however capable, to continue long in the pursuit of a single advertising notion successfully."³³ Over the years at London Underground there were certainly artists and designers who maintained a constant presence in poster designs, but the archive plainly shows that Pick meant what he said: new creators rapidly materialised and vanished every year but the designs remained fresh and innovative, always looking forward, not backward in stylistic trends.

Pick on Art

Even though his background was in business as a solicitor and statistician, it is evident that Pick held a concerted interest in art, which I believe accounts for much of the success of the posters. He wanted to be able to bring art to the public

³² Personal discussion between the author and Robert Excell on July 9, 2009.

³³ Frank Pick. "Underground Posters." In personal notebook No. 1. Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 4.

arena and not restrict it to its own institutions. In his personal diary he wrote that, “the expression of art must be a public expression...Art will lack all sense and purpose if it reserved for the satisfaction of the pride of the few...It must be shown in the churches, town halls, and institutions of the people, in the schools, places of leisure and recreation, in the places of amusement.”³⁴ While it remains unwritten, I believe that in creating aesthetically pleasing advertising for the public, Pick believed he could simultaneously serve the dual purpose of improving Underground business and bringing a form of art to the masses:

If art was to be a living thing, it must fulfill three conditions. First it must be the spontaneous self-expression of the people, and it must be something they could not help. Secondly art must be democratic...of the people and by the people and for the people”. Thirdly, art, because it must be everywhere, must be useful, or at least related to things of use.³⁵

With this sentiment in mind, attention can be turned to the Underground posters. To borrow Pick’s own words, “Before it is possible to criticise the posters of the ‘Underground’ it is necessary to consider the purpose which they have been expected to fulfill.”³⁶ As expected, I found that Pick had very specific views on poster design, advertising and art and in the public arena but the views themselves were often surprising. Thanks to meticulous archiving by the London transport museum, a wealth of invaluable resources exist and can be found in the form of his hand-written journals and other notes.³⁷ Insight is found within a series of small notebooks, hand-written in distinctive green ink. Pick declared that in his mind, a poster has two objects, “First to attract attention, second, to hold attention. There is

³⁴ Frank Pick. Personal Diary. Undated, Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 14.

³⁵ *The Architect and Contract Reporter*. August 31, 1917, 117.

³⁶ Frank Pick. “Underground Posters.” In personal notebook No. 1. Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 1.

³⁷ These are collectively known as “The Pick Collection” and are held in the London Transport Museum Library archive.

no better definition.”³⁸ A rather straightforward assertion, this perhaps explains the decision to employ the use of pictorial posters in combination with text rather than text-only advertising. Whereas text would be read perhaps only once in passing, absorbed into the mind briefly, and then ignored on second glance, the use of attractive imagery would likely catch and hold the eye of the passerby or Underground. While posters would have sometimes been found on the trains themselves, most were placed on the outside of stations, in the connecting passenger foot-tunnels and on platforms. In these cases, Pick asserted that a “dual aspect” governed the design of a poster in that it “must have meaning and form sufficient to excite a wish to see it closer. When seen closer it must have further meaning and subtler form or awake interest so that seeing it closer appears to have been worthwhile.”³⁹ In the five examples found in Plates 14-17 & 19, almost equal space on the poster is given to text and image. This, I suggest would have allowed for the predominant and most pertinent message offered by the text - the destination - to be easily read from a distance. Toward the same goal, the imagery was simplified, reduced to bold, exaggerated colour and form, with all superfluous detail removed. This served two purposes: easier lithographic reproduction and a rapid visual delivery to the viewer. A passage from Pick’s notes, worth quoting at length, supports my claim:

Detail is sacrificed to an emphasis of the dominant outline. The work seems impressionist, because it is indeed essential that it should make an impression on the observer. In consequence design tends to be two dimensional...objects are further served by a heightening of the colour values. The scale of the colour tends to be startling and to depart altogether from naturalistic standards, yet the skillful craftsman here is one who maintains in a novel range of colours a recognisable balance of form. Both these tendencies

³⁸ Frank Pick. “Underground Posters.” In personal notebook No. 1. Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 2.

³⁹ Pick, “Underground Posters,” *op. cit.*, 3.

result in posters relying on contour and flat colour for their effect so that they can be built largely out of colourful silhouettes.⁴⁰

A footnote to this text adds that “the technique of lithography lends itself to the support of these tendencies towards bold and clear outline and simple plain colour.”⁴¹ Proof that this form of advertising was catching the eye of the public can be found in a letter written to John Hassall, artist of the very first pictorial poster for the Underground. In this letter an admirer wrote:

I derive so much pleasure from your posters as they appear on the hoardings and railway stations, that I feel I must write a note of thanks and appreciation. They are splendid and have provided much amusement to myself and many friends whose attention I always draw to them whenever I get a chance.⁴²

Not only were these posters reaching their audience successfully, but continuing to generate further interest and discussion among the public, a true marker of good advertising. Further proof that Pick’s decision to reproduce posters of bold exaggerated colour was also making its mark is evident in a lighthearted cockney poem, entitled *Plaint to the Poster Artist*, written by a member of the public for a national newspaper:

Oh, I want to see the country
 Like when I was a boy
 When the sky was blue and the clouds was white
 And the green fields was a joy
 I want to see this country
 But the posters seem to show
 The country ain’t no more the place
 Like what I used to know
 For the sky is pink and the fields are mauve
 And the cottages all turned yellow
 And the sheep all green or tangerine

⁴⁰ Frank Pick. “Underground Posters.” In personal notebook No. 1. Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 3.

⁴¹ Frank Pick. “Underground Posters.” In personal notebook No. 1. Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 3 (footnote).

⁴² Letter to artist John Hassall, 1908, quoted in Claire Dobbin. “Art for All? The Reception of London Underground Posters.” In *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, 211-233, (London: Lund Humphries, 2008), 220.

Enough to stun a fellow
 Oh, I want to see the country
 And I wouldn't mind where I went ter
 So long as I knoo the trees weren't blue
 And the cows all turned magenta!⁴³

Pick's diary notes claiming that this technique may be "startling" certainly seemed to be an accurate prediction of the public's reception judging from this poem, but as the old adage suggests, "no publicity is bad publicity" and this verse perhaps unwittingly also demonstrated the desire for nostalgic country escape (which I will discuss in chapter three), despite its tongue-in-cheek delivery. In another book of notes on posters, Pick suggested "it is possible to move from the literal representations or the wildest impressionism so long as the subject remains understandable by the man in the street." The modern 'impressionistic' style of these posters was clearly new to the public, but this made them even more noticeable than a more traditional style of representation in art. The public was taking notice – the posters were serving their purpose.

Pick as 'Genius'

In my considerable research for this paper, in particular that which concerned Frank Pick, rare was any biography, commentary, discussion, analysis or other mention to be found omitting words such as, or akin to *genius*, *revolutionary* and *legendary*. Even in his 1942 obituary in *Architectural Review*, Pick was respectfully recognised by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner as, "the greatest patron of the arts whom this century has so far produced in England and indeed the ideal patron of our age."⁴⁴ In a more recent posthumous tribute, Tim O'Toole, Managing Director of London

⁴³ Poem retyped by Frank Pick from the Manchester Guardian, now part of *The Pick Collection*.

⁴⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner. *The Architectural Review*, Vol XCII. No 548. August 1942, 31-48.

Underground described Pick as having “the confidence and coherence of vision to elevate London Transport to its place of pre-eminence.”⁴⁵ Justifiably, his legacy lives on, but in my view, is incompletely awarded. While historians all seem to readily agree and share superlatives, not enough consideration has been given to a key reason for Pick’s success in turning the Underground’s finances around. I argue that a considerable proportion of this 'genius' was the initial masterstroke of his intentional choice to appeal to the sensibilities of the public and the culture of the period through his deliberate advertising scheme. He appealed to all manner of passenger, tapping into a market that included health-seekers, rambles, anti-urbanites and nostalgic neo-romantics - all of whom would have been eager and more importantly *able* to escape the city for the country for a day rather than an extended holiday.

Naturally, city destinations such as historic landmarks, museums, exhibitions and theatres were promoted, but in this period countryside peripheries were clearly favoured and in the majority. Quantitative evidence of this imbalance can be determined quite simply by counting the number of posters produced for country sites rather than inner city attractions. This is perhaps the most accurate figure calculable as such impeccable records of the posters were kept by the advertising department from the very first commissioned art poster.⁴⁶ According to the London Transport Museum’s existing archive, between 1908 and 1912 (inclusive) there were two hundred advertising posters commissioned. Of these, a hundred and fourteen promoted countryside destinations outside the city. This means that less

⁴⁵ Tim O’Toole, “Frank Pick: A Personal Tribute”, foreword to *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, London: Lund Humphries, 2008.

⁴⁶ Publicity Department Poster Archive Catalogue No. 1. 1908-1910. London Transport Museum Depot.

than half of the total were used to generate interest in inner-city attractions – this for a supposedly *metropolitan* transport system. The extent of advertising countryside destinations is evident in such a large quantity of promotional material that it is impossible to reference it all in a dissertation of this size, but it is vital to stress the vast proliferation of natural locales through virtually all types of printed material. Even the 1913 annual Christmas and New Year card from the Underground’s Passenger Agent Office features two small photographs of natural, scenic “beauty spots” outside the city (Plate 8). This specific choice to advertise these countryside leisure pursuits speaks volumes, but has until now, not yet been fully appreciated.

Advertising today is often looked upon as a nasty business, renowned for its trickery and manipulation. As such, it is difficult not to make character judgments about the perpetrators of early advertising, especially a “revolutionary” like Pick. Taken alone and out of context, one might accuse Pick of such consumer deceit with his claims that, “a poster must be dogmatic. It must compel if it cannot persuade. It must have the transparent and splendid *appearance of truth*.”⁴⁷ Instead, after examining much of his handwritten legacy as a collected belief system, one begins to rationalise claims to his advertising prowess in another way. Rather than some type of evil mastermind, the reason for Pick’s success may actually lie in his benevolence as well as his savvy. Support for my claim can again be secured from Pick’s journals in which he wrote:

It may be supposed that [the poster’s] purpose is immediately directed to securing passengers. In some instances this has been the case but in as many instances the purpose has been the

⁴⁷ Frank Pick. “Underground Posters.” In personal notebook No. 2. Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 2-3 (emphasis added).

establishment of good will and good understanding between the passengers and the companies. Every poster must give pleasure. Pleasure to the producer, pleasure to the creator, pleasure to the illustrator, pleasure to the observer. An unpleasant poster, thank goodness, condemns itself.⁴⁸

Pick clearly believed that 'his' Underground system was superior to the mainline networks around the city, leading us to believe his advertising and promotion of was motivated by passion as much as necessity:

Of suburban railways, I will say little. In South London, they are largely on viaduct, ugly to look upon and throttling to the streets. I am all in favour of underground railways. They are express streets beneath ordinary streets, a logical sequence of a congested surface. They form ways of escape rather than prisoning bonds. The suburban steam railway, on the other hand, carves up the city and destroys as much means of communication as it creates.⁴⁹

Even though the Underground network failed to penetrate more remote countryside as the mainline services could, it seems that Pick believed sufficient removal from the city was necessary and made available by Underground, with less detriment to the countryside he aimed to promote.

Busy or Bust

Pick's intense initial dedication is unsurprising, given Stephen Halliday's recounting of a rather telling anecdote in *Underground to Everywhere*. When Pick joined the transport company in March 1908, his general manager demanded that he and his team sign six-month postdated resignation letters which would be enacted if the treacherous finances were not acceptably improved.⁵⁰ In spite of this rather heavy-handed management, the company became successful and the letters

⁴⁸ Frank Pick. "Underground Posters." In personal notebook No. 2. Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 3.

⁴⁹ Frank Pick. "Underground Posters." In personal notebook, unnumbered. Pick Collection at the London Transport Museum, unpaginated.

⁵⁰ Stephen Halliday. *Underground to Everywhere: London's Underground Railway in the Life of the Capital*. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 127.

were never used. Pick's main responsibility was for increasing passenger levels and he saw that the best way to achieve this was to encourage the use of the company's trains outside of the peak hours, namely weekends and Bank Holidays. He began to commission posters promoting the recreational use of the Underground to reach attractions within the city, but even more so to reach the countryside around London. This can be seen by the wording used on many posters and peripheral publications which specifically targeted the Sunday and Bank Holiday market.

It must be recognised that before Pick joined the advertising department, Sundays and Bank Holidays were to an extent, already being promoted as an ideal time to 'escape' using the Underground network of conveyances. Double-sided single-sheet flyers (also printed by Waterlow and Sons) were freely distributed. One example advertised a "programme of excursion and week-end tickets, from and to London and Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire (Plate 9)."⁵¹ Every destination on this flyer represents a countryside locale, and it is clear from its stipulations of "No luggage allowed," or "Hand baggage only," that it was intended for day-trippers. "Cheap third class excursion tickets on Sundays," were also listed on the back of this sheet further demonstrating that those making use of these fares were not wealthy holidaymakers or overnight travelers, but the working classes to whom cheap, third-class day tickets would appeal. From the printer's marks on this flyer, we can see that ten thousand were printed in this particular run, not a huge number for such a vast network, but efforts were clearly underway. The relevance of this type of notice, before Pick's involvement, is significant by its design, or lack thereof. This was an entirely textual notice; the

⁵¹ "Metropolitan Railway Programme Flyer." November 1905, Metropolitan Railway, A.C. Ellis, General Manager's Office, 32 Westbourne Terrace.

only decoration is found in peculiarly placed fleur-de-lis designs on the face side. Pictorial or decorative elements are not found in material before Pick's input. In contrast, the trend of heavily promoting the use of the Underground at off-peak times, can also be seen in a more ample, twelve-page pamphlet produced by London Underground in August 1910. Particularly noteworthy about this piece of Underground ephemera, produced specifically for the August Bank Holiday of that year, is the improved aesthetic in conjunction with the destinations chosen to promote (Plate 10).⁵² From the front cover (complete with a coloured tree, doves, decorative border and "For the Holidays" banner) through to the last page, every destination suggested involves going "into the country," on "country outings" or to "river, park and sea".⁵³ It is only on the rear cover of the booklet, that a small, text-only information box tells the reader that the Japan-British Exhibition is currently open to the public at Shepherds Bush *in* the city. For a metropolitan rail service to predominantly feature escaping the city is significant to my argument as the supposed delights of the country clearly outweighed the pull of the city's attractions for the contemporaneous Londoner. A further series of pocket-sized, tri-fold brochures called *Sunday Outlook* were published by Mc. C & Co. Ltd and "Issued free by London Transport". These were published every week, on a Wednesday, with readers being told to "Look out for it in the ticket hall of any Underground Station. Free, of course." It was also suggested in a caption that the passenger should, "Keep this leaflet for reference. You will be glad of it on Sunday."⁵⁴ At least half of every archived example of this document promotes outdoor leisure

⁵² "For the Holidays." August Bank Holiday Pamphlet, July 7, 1910. Electric Railway House, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.

⁵³ "For the Holidays," *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ "Sunday Outlook." Mc. C & Co. Ltd. London, 4 Issues (c. 1915).

destinations away from the center of town including, wild strawberry picking, walking among beech trees, picnicking, woods and water and sports.

Off-Peak Leisure Travel

The concept of 'leisure time' to the contemporary reader, will likely seem unremarkable but it is important to realise that regulated time away from work was a relatively new concept to the typical early-Edwardian Londoner. Changes in the working hours of the working classes created, for the first time, periods of the week set aside purely for 'leisure' for the working citizens of London. Attitudes towards the amount of hours required of the worker were changing, and new laws and acts were being passed mandating reduced hours of labour. In the nineteenth-century this began with the *Ten Hour Act (1847)*, essentially limiting the working day, as the name suggests, to ten hours for women and children in factories. Even more encompassing acts followed through the turn of the century for women, children and men,⁵⁵ in addition to legislated shop closing hours, all of which contributed to the amount of leisure time available to the working population of London.⁵⁶ William Baker (though speaking about the rise of leisure culture through sports such as football in particular) says that this was based upon "the rapid growth of urban centers of population, the shortening of the work week which provided leisure time for industrial laborers, the development of rapid and relatively inexpensive means of transportation, and an educational system which

⁵⁵ Data all freely available to the public via Hansard, The Parliamentary Archives Online. <http://www.parliament.uk/publications/archives.cfm> For a list of late Victorian and Early Edwardian Acts, see: <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/peel/factmine/factleg.htm>

⁵⁶ For a thorough overview of shop hours, see: Rottenberg, Simon. "Legislated Early Shop Closing in Britain" *Journal of Law and Economics*, Vol. 4 (1961): 118-130.

fostered physical as well as mental activity.”⁵⁷ While Bank Holidays had been customary in society for decades, they were not officially regulated and enforced until the end of the nineteenth-century.⁵⁸ According to historian Peter Bailey, “Large-scale industrial production in the big city brought a repatterning of time and space” which led to “demarcated instalments of post-work time: at the end of the working day, week and year.”⁵⁹ While this paper cannot allow for an intricate analysis of sociology and the history of labour laws in Britain, it is relevant to understand at the very least, that the availability of leisure time was an aspect of modern culture upon which Pick capitalised to promote travel by Underground. Baker makes reference to Durkheim’s theories suggesting that in leisure time away from work:

...there was more to it than relief from drudgery...they found what Durkheim called "a new kind of psychic life," a collective experience "qualitatively different" from the isolated life of the home or factory. Urban workers in the late-nineteenth century were still, to a large extent, only a generation or so removed from their former lives as village-dwellers... Cut off from the traditional securities of an extended family, familiar faces, seasonal chores, and parish church life, they suffered alienation and anomie in the impersonality of town life and industrial competition.⁶⁰

The shortening of the work-week for London labourers allowed for more leisure time to be spent attempting to reconnect with these “former lives”. As I will show through the poster analysis in chapter three, how this time could be used was

⁵⁷ William J. Baker. “The Making of a Working-Class Football Culture in Victorian England.” *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Winter, 1979): 241.

⁵⁸ According to a fact file issued by the Trade Union Congress, Bank Holidays were first introduced by the Bank Holidays Act of 1871, which designated four holidays in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, and five in Scotland. These were Easter Monday, the first Monday in August, the 26th December, and Whit Monday (England, Wales and Northern Ireland) and New Year's Day, Good Friday, the first Monday in May, the first Monday in August, and Christmas Day (Scotland). In England, Wales and Northern Ireland, both Christmas Day and Good Friday were traditional days of rest and Christian worship (as were Sundays) and did not need to be included in the Act. Document provided by the TUC, Congress House, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3LS.

⁵⁹ Peter Bailey. “The politics and poetics of modern British Leisure: A late twentieth-century review.” *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, Volume 3, Issue 2 (1999): 132.

⁶⁰ Baker, op cit., 241. For more sociological analysis see: Durkheim, Emile. *Sociology and Philosophy*, trans. D.F. Popcock. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953.

manipulated at least partly through Pick's role in the publicity machine that was the London Underground. Other material also served the same purpose. A series of pamphlets produced by the Underground specifically promoted Sunday as a day for travel:

Sunday is a day of rest, but not necessarily of idleness. It is a day upon which we are expected to think not of things of the day but upon the things of life as a whole...Some of us need to be directly reminded of these...some of us think we do not need any reminder...but many do not seek any reminder although they may need it. For all those people, the Underground can perform a service.⁶¹

Reminders of this service continually arose in these weekday pamphlets, which show the repeated effort to tempt the city-dweller away to the country. Week after week in these promotional pamphlets suggestions were made to the commuter for ways to spend their Sunday using the transport network:

In order to meet the wishes of passengers who use the District Railway...it has been decided to make considerable and substantial additions to the present train service, commencing with Sunday April 2...The increased service offers a two-fold advantage. It is more convenient to folks wishing to get into town to the more noted Churches and Chapels. *It is also more convenient for those wishing to get out into the Country.*⁶²

The use of scattered verses, and in some cases full reproductions, of poetry features prominently throughout London Underground's promotional material including the following passage, with a bold assertion preceding it that, "No one will suggest that what follows is an advertisement: To one who has been long in city pent; 'Tis very sweet to look into the fair; And open face of heaven – to breathe a prayer; Full in the smile of the blue firmament."⁶³ Connecting this type of promotion to my argument

⁶¹ *Sundays*. Underground Pamphlet. No. 3. January 11, 1911.

⁶² *The Increased Sunday Train Service on the District Railway*. Underground Pamphlet. No. 14. March 29, 1911 (emphasis added).

⁶³ *The Increased Sunday Train Service on the District Railway*, op. cit.

that the stresses of the city were a key factor in the desire to escape it, travellers were also reminded that the Underground itself was a fine way to do so:

To be on top of a bus is to see things all the time...but after a time, however, the joys of riding on a bus grow wearisome, the dust and smoke of the street become more insistent, the strain of watching constant movement and the delays of traffic at congested crossing irritate, and you are tired before you reach the really important sights. The Underground has stations adjacent to all the important centres and places of interest and amusement. Down in the ground, these lines are removed from distractions and quickly and easily carry you from place to place. In contrast to the streets, the railways are peaceful and quiet. Strange as it may seem, the best way to see London is by Underground.⁶⁴

The notion of off peak travel also extended to year-round travel as well. Pick and the advertising department clearly wished to promote travel to the countryside when the weather was fair *and* foul as the poster *All Year Round for Underground* lays bare (Plate 11). This is supported in the text of another pamphlet which extolled the virtues of Kew Gardens in all seasons:

Remarkable not alone for their scientific collections, but also for their beauty of landscape, the gardens of Kew from almost the most charming resort of London. At all seasons of the year there is some spot gay with flowers, whether it be the Blue-bell Walk or Rhododendron Dell, of the Lily Ponds, or the Rose Garden or the Azalea Garden. At all seasons of the year there are splendid vistas or wild secluded nooks where the squirrels play or the birds hop about and which the foliage of varying colour encircles as with a shifting screen. For dull days there is shelter in many houses, and brightness and genial warmth on cold days. The river runs along the north-west side. Its banks make shady walks. Across the river is Syon House, set in an open space of parkland. To the south is the Old Deer Park of Richmond.⁶⁵

This text is followed with directions by Underground and Tramway with rates from central London stations advertised as only four or five pence from Leicester Square, Kings Cross, Temple and other stations in the city. Pick also commissioned a series of twelve posters, which were produced monthly for an entire year,

⁶⁴ *How to see London*. Underground Pamphlet. No 20. May 17, 1911.

⁶⁵ *Kew Gardens*. Underground Pamphlet. No. 25. June 21, 1911.

enticing the public to visit the gardens year round.⁶⁶ Coinciding with imagery on the posters, the inside rear cover of another pamphlet also provided “A little Calendar of Kew,” detailing the different monthly blooms and seasonal foliage available to the visitor. This is the only example of this type of rigorous annual campaign based on a single location by the Underground Publicity Department.

Class on The Underground

The public transport system provided a way for citizens of London to move around the city on their daily business quickly and cheaply, but passengers only using the tube during the working week simply did not provide the fiscal return necessary to maintain the network and keep the investors happy. Little time was wasted by Pick, who commenced immediately with heavy promotion of the Underground system by printed posters, pamphlets guidebooks and other material. Fares on most routes were generally a flat rate of two pence, leading to the obvious nickname, “The Twopenny Tube” and only on the District Railway were there class divisions (first or third) by carriage. All other trains were ‘classless’.⁶⁷ Naturally, Pick wanted to increase the number of passengers on the tube, and while promotion of low fares *are* advertised, posters promoting the network as suitable for *all* classes were also produced. In *Underground for Business or Pleasure*, different class strata are represented and the use of the Underground for various purposes is addressed (Plate 12). Here the viewer is shown typical business clothing, bowler hats, elegant evening attire and top hats, sports and leisure-wear,

⁶⁶ For a thorough survey of posters advertising Kew Gardens, see: Riddell, Jonathan and William T. Stearn. *By Underground to Kew: London Transport Posters, 1908 to the Present*. London: Cassell Illustrated, 1995.

⁶⁷ Karl Baedeker. *Baedeker’s Handbook for London: London and its Environs*. (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1908), 30.

boaters and flat caps.⁶⁸ Note particularly the tennis racquet held by the woman (top right), the man dressed for a day on the river (below her) and most predominantly, the man in golf attire with a set of clubs (right foreground). While these types of passengers would not have been travelling during the same hours, this poster tidily encompasses all manner of class and use. *The Way for All* by Alfred France targeted women more directly (Plate 13). Catherine Flood compares this poster to the original artwork and asserts that “the direction of her glance has been modified so that she no longer catches the viewers eye. She is a bold modern constituent of public travel and her disengaged gaze ensures absolute propriety.”⁶⁹ Behind this woman, the silhouettes of various passengers mimic those discussed above, demonstrating in simple form, varying levels of class in passenger composition. As Flood also notes, the different groups are seen together as one, but do not interact which she suggests promotes an environment that is heterosocial but not socially challenging.⁷⁰ An satirical commentary from an early twentieth-century text supports Flood’s suggestion, describing, “The office boy finding that these trains have no third class carriages, has sat himself down in great content beside the City magnate, and still the heavens do not fall!”⁷¹ While only anecdotal, this demonstrates that people from the upper echelons to the workers were all using the Underground railway harmoniously. Hammond has significantly pointed out that. “Leisure was no longer the absolute monopoly of a class.”⁷² This was a revolution in mobility, offering low fares to the public. As Holt has noted,

⁶⁸ Hats can be read and regarded as signifiers of the various classes: the upper class were typically attired in top hats, the middle class in bowler hats, and the working class in flat caps.

⁶⁹ Catherine Flood. “Pictorial Posters in Britain at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.” In *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, 15-35. (London: Lund Humphries, 2008), 28.

⁷⁰ Flood, op cit., 29.

⁷¹ G.R. Sims, ed. *Living London*, Vol. 3 (London: Cassell 1902-3), 151.

⁷² J.L.Hammond. “The Growth of Common Enjoyment” (paper presented at Kings College, London, England, May 29, 1933). (London: Oxford University, 1933), 11.

“Throughout the Edwardian era there was an increasingly vast, ever more mobile lower-class public, just as keen to escape the city grime on holiday and weekend visits.”⁷³ According to the published prices in London Underground’s own fare sheets and also other tourist guides such as Baedeker’s *London and its Environs* of 1908, fares to the destinations represented in these posters were only a few pence.⁷⁴ Urry acknowledges this change in *The Tourist Gaze*, confirming that “the growth of (mass) tourism represents a democratisation of travel. We have seen that travel had always been socially selective. It was available for a relatively limited elite and was a marker of social status. But in the second half of the nineteenth century there was an extensive development of mass travel by train.”⁷⁵ The relationship between tourism and the underground will be discussed in the following chapter.

Visualising the Countryside in Underground Environments

Pick’s personal lecture notes on the nature of “The Design in Cities” point to his belief that the city-goer should always be on the move, and he observed that “traffic facilities are important because you need to get into a city and you need to get out of a city. There is one thing that you never want to do in a city, and that is stay in one spot. This is a sign which distinguishes a city from the country.”⁷⁶ Pick was aware of the conveyance benefits the Underground could provide its citizens, but also that the city and the Underground itself was not always such a pleasant place to be as a loud, noisy, and grimy environment. While the atmosphere in the

⁷³ Ysanne Holt. “Nature and Nostalgia: Philip Wilson Steer and Edwardian Landscapes.” *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1996), 38.

⁷⁴ Baedeker (1908 & 1911), op. cit.

⁷⁵ John Urry. *The Tourist Gaze*. (London: Sage Publications, 1991), 16.

⁷⁶ Frank Pick. “Design in Cities.” Lecture Notes. Frank Pick Collection (B18a) 19th February 1925, unpaginated.

newly-electrified lines was an improvement, the environment was still alien.

According to Flood, “The Tube lines confronted the public with new technology – descent in electric lifts and travel in fast, deep-level trains. For travellers used to the sulphurous atmosphere of the pre-electric underground railways, the new lines even smelt different.”⁷⁷ These passengers were quite literally a captive audience for Pick and his team, an audience he recognized and controlled. Pick turned this environment into tidy, regimented poster advertising spaces, bringing a sense of order and calm with landscape scenes. Paul Rennie confirms that:

...the deep Tube lines could provide a concentrated visual experience from the station entrance, down the lift of escalator, to the platform and destination. The brightly-coloured advertising material helped make the descent into the deeper, more claustrophobic environment of the Tube more tolerable for the general public.⁷⁸

Citing a Royal Academy lecture by George Clausen c.1905, Flood has noted that, “Landscape imagery in particular had a claim to improving the man-made environment of the underground...Clausen explained the appeal of landscape painting in terms of an escapism from the urban realities of the man who goes to his office in the morning by tube.”⁷⁹ In attempting to define Pick’s intentions, she suggests that “the poster campaign [Pick] initiated aimed at changing the way the public felt about the underground and presenting a new idea of London that had the underground at its core.”⁸⁰ Although I agree with her statement, I believe a more encompassing comment would be that Pick also aimed to change the way the public felt *on* the Underground by altering their perception of the space.

⁷⁷ Flood, *op.cit.*, 23.

⁷⁸ Paul Rennie. “The New Publicity: Design Reform, Commercial Art and Design Education 1910-1939.” In *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, 85-107 (London: Lund Humphries, 2008), 86.

⁷⁹ G. Clausen. *Royal Academy Lectures on Painting* (London: Methuen, 1913), 237.

⁸⁰ Flood, *op. cit.*, 23-4.

Topophilia, literally “love of place”, is a cultural geographic concept examined by Yi-Fu Tuan in his celebrated 1974 volume. This concept will be explored further in the following chapter, but merits an introducing here as I believe that it can be applied to Pick’s goals in his poster campaign. Defining topophilia, Tuan suggests that:

The response to the environment may be primarily aesthetic: it may then vary from the fleeting pleasure one gets from a view to the equally fleeting but far more intense sense of beauty that is suddenly revealed. The response may be tactile, a delight in the feel of air, water, earth. More permanent and less easy to express are feelings that one has toward a place because it is home, the locus of memories, and the means of gaining a livelihood.⁸¹

Unable to gaze upon actual landscapes, the constructed landscape of the poster art served to provide the passengers with the *expected* pleasures inherent in the countryside. The atmosphere of the trains and tunnels may have no longer been ‘sulphurous’ as Flood points out, but was still loud, dark and oppressive. The countryside destinations would have provided visual escapism for the subterranean traveller as the environment’s antithesis while reinforcing the suggestion of outdoor retreat to “breezy uplands, fragrance and cool shade” for example.⁸² Pick nurtured and perpetuated this ‘love of place’ within in the subterranean environment. Through carefully selected words and imagery, he transported passengers in their imagination to a space the Underground could later transport them to literally. Although detailed analysis of the posters will be carried out in the following chapter, it is necessary to argue here that Pick believed his posters should manipulate the way people felt during their regular weekly

⁸¹ Yi-Fu Tuan. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values*. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1974), 93.

⁸² See Plates 14 through 17 discussed in detail in chapter three.

journeys on the tube. In discussing the aim of countryside escape posters a passage from his notebook explains that:

Even where the purpose has been to secure passengers it has been the practice to proceed by indirect means. To create a feeling of restlessness, a distaste for the immediate surroundings, to revive that desire for change which all inherit from their barbarian ancestors and which is buried so little way beneath the civilized exterior...⁸³

In this way, his poster constructions attempted to stir emotions in the consciousness of the passengers as they went about their daily business. Pick believed that, “the observer’s mind is stored with manifold impressions and notions and if the poster can unloose some spring which will set the brain in motion so that pleasing series of these impressions and notions felt [sic] across the memory, the poster will to such an observer be rich in content. It is the suggestiveness of a poster which most counts.”⁸⁴ Tuan claims that, “In modern life, physical contact with one’s natural environment is increasingly indirect and limited to special occasions,” and cognisant of this concept of separation, I believe Pick’s goals were to restore this contact metaphysically and physically.⁸⁵ These images thus provided a breath of fresh air in an otherwise constricting environment.

While the number of passengers using these lines in 1908 already accounted for almost 147 million journeys, just two years later the number of journeys had reached almost 174 million.⁸⁶ While numbers are generally irrelevant to this art historical study, it is worth offering support to the claims that Pick successfully realised the goal of increasing passenger numbers. By promoting off-peak travel

⁸³ Frank Pick. “Underground Posters.” In personal notebook No. 1. Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 1.

⁸⁴ Frank Pick. “Underground Posters.” In personal notebook No. 1. Pick Collection (B17) at the London Transport Museum, 4.

⁸⁵ Tuan, *op. cit.*, 95.

⁸⁶ *The Growth of London Traffic*. Underground Pamphlet. No. 9, February 11, 1911.

through his sustained advertising campaign, Pick turned the company around and the pre-written resignation letters were never put to use. In the following chapter, I shall demonstrate very specifically how rural imagery was used by Pick in London Underground posters.

CHAPTER 3: SEEKING GREENER PASTURES

This chapter will provide a detailed visual analysis of a series of London Underground posters advertising countryside destinations. I aim to demonstrate how the promotion of the countryside leisure spaces outside the city related to a Romantic view of nature and perpetuated this myth of the countryside as ideal space of retreat, largely through its associations with the past. It has already been firmly established that the countryside was considered a democratic leisure space.⁸⁷ Robert Snape for example, has pointed out that in my period of study, the “idealised rural imagery of the Lakes poets, together with the liberal critique of industrialism spearheaded by John Ruskin and Matthew Arnold, evolved into a re-interpretation of the countryside as the authentic, unadulterated England, a pre-industrial pastoral haven.”⁸⁸ Howkins raises the important contradiction that the experience of the majority of the population in this period was urban, but “yet the ideology of England and Englishness is to a remarkable degree rural. Most importantly, a large part of the English *ideal* is rural.”⁸⁹ While I cannot suggest that the cultural construction of the countryside in this manner was *created by* London Underground, my argument aims to show that despite this contradiction, the metropolitan public transport company successfully perpetuated this construct through their poster and related advertising campaign.

⁸⁷ See for example: Cosgrove, Denis. “John Ruskin and the geographical imagination.” *The Geographical Review*. Vol. 69, No. 1, January, 1979; Ousby, Ian. *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*. London: Random House, 1990; Towner, J. *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540-1940*. London: Wiley, 1996; Weiner, Martin J. *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980* New York: Penguin, 1981.

⁸⁸ Robert Snape. “The Co-operative Holidays Association and the cultural formation of countryside leisure practice.” in *Leisure Studies*. Routledge. Vol. 23, No. 2, 143-158, April 2004, 144.

⁸⁹ Alan Howkins. “The Discovery of Rural England.” In *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*. 62-89 (London: Routledge, 1986), 62.

The goal of these posters as pieces of advertising required them to have pleasant visual appeal but it must be understood that while they, and other publicity materials, were certainly beautiful in their own right, they were produced for a very specific reason beyond aesthetics. According to Oliver Green, “the posters developed from being straightforward publicity to helping Londoners and visitors understand and enjoy life in the great metropolis. It means public transport was not just a way of getting about in the city but could become, both conceptually and physically, what Pick called, ‘the framework upon which the town is built.’”⁹⁰ The leisure locations and green spaces advertised by London Underground were constructed as representations of experiences missing in the lives of the Londoner; open countryside space, clean water, fresh air, all elements of ‘nature’ long since lost in the modern metropolis. As explored in the first chapter, the experience of the city during the construction of the tube was unpleasant, creating a sense of modern alienation from natural surroundings. Pick, perhaps conscious of this disillusionment, thus made the decision to market the underground as a tourist escape from the city. According to Robinson, “tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary. Tourist experiences involve some aspect or element which induces pleasurable experiences which are, by comparison with the everyday, out of the ordinary.”⁹¹ Time away from the daily strife of work in the city would have been limited to one day a week or the occasional Bank Holiday and though the Underground network was a relatively localised means of mobility, I argue that the early twentieth century Underground user could travel to destinations sufficiently removed from

⁹⁰ Green, Oliver. “Appearance Values: Frank Pick and the Art of London Transport.” in *London Transport Posters: A Century of Art and Design*, edited by David Bownes and Oliver Green, 37-61. (London: Lund Humphries, 2008), 48.

⁹¹ H. Robinson. *A Geography of Tourism*. (Plymouth: McDonald & Evans, 1976), 157.

the realms of the everyday to be considered tourists.⁹² Urry believes that “to be a tourist is one of the characteristics of ‘modern’ experience...a marker of status in modern societies...and thought to be necessary to health.”⁹³ Many social theoreticians have also discussed the alienation of the modern metropolis, including Theodore Roszak and Georg Simmel, each with his own specific theory on the impact on the individual.⁹⁴ According to Michael Peter Smith, “by far the greatest cost of the advanced ‘urban industrial’ way of life is its impact on human consciousness.” This impact of this alienation, according to Smith eliminates the “residual experience of human beings.”⁹⁵ This experience is rooted in nature and embedded in the collective consciousness. Anne Whiston Spirn has applied this theory to landscape suggesting that “the language of landscape is our native language...Landscape was the original dwelling; humans evolved among plants and animals, under the sky, upon the earth, near water...Everyone carries that legacy with them.”⁹⁶ This contemporary analysis compares directly to Pick’s own words examined in chapter two, by which he remarked that one goal of his campaign was to, “revive that desire for change which all inherit from their barbarian ancestors.”⁹⁷

The significance of these social and psychological theories is profoundly connected to London Underground’s advertising of leisure spaces. In his seminal

⁹² Butler and Pearce suggest that tourism cannot be considered solely as a leisure pursuit. Instead, they consider the interdisciplinary scope of the term including the phenomena of economics, psychology, sociology and culture in their analysis. See Butler, Richard and Douglas G. Pearce, eds. *Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges*. London: Routledge, 1993.

⁹³ John Urry. *The Tourist Gaze*. (London: Sage Publications, 1991), 4.

⁹⁴ For detailed sociological texts, see: Frisby, David. *Simmel and Since: Essays on Georg Simmel's Social Theory*. London, Routledge, 1992; Wolff, Kurt. *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1950; Roszak, Theodore. *The Making of a Counter-Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition*. London: Faber, 1970.

⁹⁵ Michael Peter Smith. *The City and Social Theory*. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), 134.

⁹⁶ Anne Whiston Spirn. *The Language of Landscape*. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998), 15.

⁹⁷ Pick. “Underground Posters,” op. cit., 1.

work, MacCannell suggests that, “for moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and...in purer, simpler lifestyles.”⁹⁸ As we shall see, advertising posters on the underground capitalised on and perpetuated these desires by stimulating the spirit of the tourist to seek travel out of the city. They did so by providing a number of signifiers, which denoted the ideals of this simpler life. In my introduction, I have already referred to the idea of the city *centre* and its *peripheries*. MacCannell suggests that any reading of the semiology of tourism needs to start from the movement of tourists from metropolitan centers outward.”⁹⁹ This is confirmed by Selwyn who believes tourism is one of “the engines which manufacture and structure relationships” between the two while reminding us that “neither centres nor peripheries are immutably fixed in a geographical or historical sense.”¹⁰⁰ Tuan also speaks of the distinction, suggesting:

The idea of “centre” and “periphery” in spatial organisation is perhaps universal. People everywhere tend to structure space – geographical and cosmological – with themselves at the center and with concentric zones (more or less well defined) of decreasing value beyond. Open space signifies freedom, the promise of adventure, light, the public realm, formal and unchanging beauty.¹⁰¹

By directly associating public transport with the beauty and freedom of the countryside, the posters linked the Underground with the realisation of a desire for something special outside the realm of the everyday. The analysis of the Underground posters in opposition to the images of the city will show the construction of the green spaces as a peripheral ‘other’ to the city centre, thereby

⁹⁸ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 3.

⁹⁹ Dean MacCannell. “Introduction to special edition on Semiotics of Tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 16, Issue 1, 1989, 20.

¹⁰⁰ Selwyn, Tom. *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 9.

¹⁰¹ Tuan, op. cit, 11-12.

illustrating the perpetuation of these ideals as promoted by London Underground to sponsor tourism.

Landscape

Used repeatedly in London Underground posters are images of landscapes. It is important to understand that 'landscapes' do not exist in nature. A landscape is a man-made amalgamation of the trees, sky, hill, rocks, rivers and other natural elements that do exist in nature, constructed to serve a purpose or fulfill a need or desire. The definition of landscape has developed over time. According to Urry it was originally "a technical term standing for natural inland scenery; then it came to mean a particular tract of land seen from a specific point of view as though it were a picture; and finally it came to mean the whole natural scenery."¹⁰² The constructs of landscape depiction have received much attention in art historical study and need not be reiterated in great detail in this dissertation, but Cosgrove and Daniels for example, describe landscape as a "cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings."¹⁰³ According to Mitchell, landscape images in particular present a "deceptive appearance of naturalness and transparency concealing an opaque, distorting, arbitrary mechanism of representation, a process of ideological mystification."¹⁰⁴ Holt asserts that landscapes have "always proved a perfect site for the construction of...identities and for reflections on personal and national histories."¹⁰⁵ For the purpose of this paper, in order to understand the concept of the Underground advertising posters,

¹⁰² Urry, *Tourist Gaze*, op. cit., 175.

¹⁰³ Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels. *The Iconography of Landscape*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1.

¹⁰⁴ W. J. T. Mitchell. *Iconology: image, text, ideology*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 2.

¹⁰⁵ Ysanne Holt. "Nature and Nostalgia: Philip Wilson Steer and Edwardian Landscapes." *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1996), 30.

it is also necessary to point to the way 'landscapes' are gazed upon and appropriated by the viewer, in this case the Edwardian London Underground tourist. The desire to visit the countryside is not in any sense 'natural' according to Urry, who maintains that, "It is something that is socially constructed and depends in particular upon developing what we can term 'cultural desire'."¹⁰⁶ He lists four points that the development of this desire depends upon. To summarise, these include:

- 1) The availability of sites/sights to visit as a result of the developing appropriate forms of transportation, noting that certain landscapes are desirable based on a level on inaccessibility
- 2) Social groupings with an appropriate aesthetic, such as for certain kinds of countryside or what came to be known as a landscape.
- 3) The existence of a broader cultural emphasis which spreads through significant parts of the wider society and which emphasises the desirability of certain kinds of leisure activity.
- 4) The notion of landscape that has come to play a centrally important role in the structuring of this desire for the countryside.¹⁰⁷

Each of these four points has direct applications to the Underground posters that are examined in the next section.

Uxbridge, Wimbledon, Twickenham and Kew

In these posters, illustrative landscape images, devoid of urban elements take up approximately the top half of the poster area, below which there is large text announcing the destinations represented. Smaller, supporting text suggests what the tourist might expect to find in each of these villages: Uxbridge, Wimbledon,

¹⁰⁶ John Urry. *Consuming Places*. (London: Routledge, 1995), 213.

¹⁰⁷ Urry. *Consuming Places*, op. cit., 213-14.

Twickenham and Kew (Plates 14-17). By the text in these posters, the Underground traveller is offered breezy uplands, the river and its pleasures, wooded meadows, fragrance and cool shade, each stimulating a sense other than sight while gazing on the depicted landscape. In these five posters a solid colour – blue, brown or green – has been chosen as the background. These, I suggest, are not only complementary to the colours within the corresponding printed image, but also representative of the three visual layers of a typical landscape. Blue, brown and green respectively signify the sky, earth and foliage associated with the typical and tranquil natural image. Contrasted with the de-saturated and drab colour of the cityscape, these colours alone would reinforce a natural beauty in the destination; to see these places is to gaze upon an unspoiled green space. In the *Uxbridge* and *Kew* posters, neither building nor person features in the image. Remarkably similar in composition, these two images inspire freedom and peace and quiet, reinforced by text that awakens other senses beyond the visual: hearing, smell and touch. Although Tuan believes that sight is the sense most relied upon by modern man, arguing that he is a predominantly visual animal, and further explains that the other senses also play a part in developing topophilic sentiments:

The term topophilia couples sentiment with place...Environment may not be the direct cause of topophilia but environment provides the sensory stimuli, which as perceived images lend shape to our joys and ideals. Sensory stimuli are potentially infinite: that which we choose to attend (value or love) is an accident of individual temperament, purpose, and of the cultural forces at work in a particular time.

These posters, using terms like “breezy,” “fragrance and cool shade” and “gliding” serve to awaken a number of sense beyond sight alone. As Tuan explains for example, “Odor has the power to evoke vivid, emotionally charged memories of past events and scenes. A whiff of sage may call to mind an entire complex of sensations:

the image of great rolling plains covered with grass and specked by clumps of sagebrush, the brightness of the sun, the heat, the bumpiness of the road.”¹⁰⁸ These are two examples of a constructed landscape, combining within a set frame certain signs of nature that signify peace, calm and solitude.

In the *Wimbledon* poster, the only man-made structure visible is pre-industrial: A windmill is the only readily identifiable building, which I suggest was chosen as the antithesis of the smokestacks and machinery found in the modern metropolis and conjures up thoughts and memories of a rural, agricultural past. In the far distance along the horizon line, it is still insignificant in relation to the large sky and verdant foreground. Similarly, in the *Twickenham* poster, there is only one building in the image. This building is known as Pope’s Villa, named after the grounds once belonging to the eighteenth century British poet, Alexander Pope. Again this structure is relegated to the background and is nestled among trees, allowing the gently rippling river to fill the foreground but I believe its inclusion in the image is again more significant than as a background feature. Pope’s actual villa was built in the Romantic period linking this modern image to a past that was undergoing a revival. The building depicted in this scene is actually an early nineteenth-century neo-Tudor revival, reinforcing again I believe, the desire to connect with a pre-modern period of history. Other representations of this scene occur in different media during this period, allowing us to see that this stretch of riverside was constructed similarly in various forms and by other associations. A hand-coloured photographic postcard from 1906 also constructs an idyllic landscape, featuring Pope’s Villa in Twickenham set within a countryside scene

¹⁰⁸ Tuan, *op. cit.*, 10.

populated only by a pair of people in a single rowboat (Plate 18). This card, printed by the *Armorial Ensign of the Conservators of the River Thames*, depicts the trees at the height of full summer foliage against a blue sky dotted with only a few hand-painted white clouds. Although this was one of the most popular and publicised stretches of riverside on the periphery of London during this period, by London Underground and other tour books and publications, what the photographer has chosen to represent is an uncrowded natural scene of the Middlesex bank of the river (taken from the Richmond bank); a stark contrast to the urban centre of London only six miles away.

The images on the posters, and indeed this postcard, depict landscapes which could be called ‘picturesque’, a term which Malcolm Andrews calls a “valuable coin in the currency of tourism.”¹⁰⁹ This term has a more significant meaning than the aesthetic descriptors of beautiful, quaint or pleasant suggest. Meaning literally, ‘like a picture’ Andrews elaborates that picturesque “fills some pictorial prescription in terms of subject matter and composition,” and that tourism promoters trade on “his company’s being able to offer access to the living originals of the pictorial stereotypes.”¹¹⁰ The advertising posters do not necessarily depict scenes of reality, but scenes constructed to idealise the place. The towns depicted were certainly *just* outside the realm of the urbanised city, but were no longer quite the tiny villages that these posters seem to suggest. Discussing Twickenham in particular, a contemporaneous tour book for Middlesex refutes the ‘unspoiled’ village image that is constructed in the poster. Paradoxically, the wording of this entire book decries the invasion of the tramlines and railways that bring people to

¹⁰⁹ Malcolm Andrews. *The Search for the Picturesque*. (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1990), vii.

¹¹⁰ Andrews, op. cit., vii.

these places, but was simultaneously written to promote precisely this type of tourist invasion:

It is well within the memory of living people that this quiet old river-side village entered upon its time of great change: it is not so very many years indeed since a writer referred to “the rural seclusion” of the place. That which the coming of the railway began, the coming of the tramway has gone far to consummate. Old houses have been demolished, old trees cut down, beautiful gardens given over to stacks of bricks and puddles of mortar, and where even a decade since were pleasant residences, and grounds rich in wide-spreading cedars are now rows of empty shops.¹¹¹

Instead, these constructed landscapes included in the poster are used to evoke an emotion, to create a feeling and at the root – to convince the public to purchase a ticket. The guide seems to suggest that one should experience the rural village while they remain so. Campbell argues that covert daydreaming and anticipation are processes central to modern consumerism. Individuals do not seek satisfaction from products, from their actual selection, purchase and use. Rather satisfaction stems from anticipation, from imaginative pleasure-seeking. People’s basic motivation for consumption is not therefore simply materialistic. They seek to experience ‘in reality’ the pleasurable dramas they have already experienced in their imagination.¹¹² I argue that the posters in this set have been designed to stimulate the processes of daydreaming and anticipation, and in doing so, mentally remove the underground passenger from their physical space and place them in an imagined space offered by the imagery. These posters suggest to the traveller that the Underground Railway can take them to this place in reality.

¹¹¹ Walter Jerrold. *Highways & Byways in Middlesex*. (London: MacMillan & Co., 1909), 62-4.

¹¹² John Urry. *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 1991), 3.

Old-World Country and Villages

This poster follows the design of the previous four, with its layout of text and image, but rather than showing a *natural* landscape it offers the “old-world village” of Uxbridge, the furthest point from London one could travel on this particular tramway (Plate 19).¹¹³ As Urry has noted, part of the experience of tourism is gazing upon land/townscapes that are out of the ordinary. This gaze is socially constructed. It is precisely this type of construction that is evident in this London Underground poster. It depicts a village street scene, with unpaved road, small wisteria-clad cottages and a distant church tower. Two tiny figures can just be seen at the far end of the road, a woman and child, signifying a human connection between family and rural life. Large trees, reinforcing the notions of age and the rural, are interspersed among the cottages and from the chimneys, while wood smoke lends the feeling of warmth and comfort. These elements are all signs through which a gaze is constructed. Uxbridge is depicted visually as a major geographic departure from the urban metropolis, but yet it remains accessible by public transport. According to Urry, tourism involves the collection of these signs. The example he uses is exactly that which is depicted in this poster: He writes that, “When a small village in England is seen, what they gaze upon is the ‘real olde England’.”¹¹⁴ MacCannell has also suggested that every society necessarily has its past epochs and eras inside itself and is vulnerable to nostalgia, sentimentality and other tendencies to regress to a previous state which always appears in some way better than the present.¹¹⁵ He believes that all tourists embody a quest for authenticity, and it in this type of poster that the Underground constructs and

¹¹³ See Plate 22 and analysis below.

¹¹⁴ John Urry. *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 1991), 3.

¹¹⁵ Dean MacCannell. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 82.

offers this authenticity to the city dweller. Similarly, César Graña has written that “the destruction of local traditions and the assault upon ‘the past’ perpetuated by industrialisation...seem to make people susceptible to an appetite for the relics of pre-industrial life.”¹¹⁶ The question remains whether an authentic tourist experience can actually exist? Culler reminds us of an inherent contradiction in the search for the authentic arguing that “the paradox, the dilemma of authenticity, is that to be experienced as authentic [a place] must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself, and hence not authentic in the sense of unspoiled.”¹¹⁷ Feifer also argues that in modernity, the tourist gaze is curiously conditioned to regard even the most mundane as mystically authentic.¹¹⁸ In this case a simple village lane is made out to be the embodiment of authentic England, a place where the tourist can reconnect with the past. By investing these places with what Umberto Eco calls hyper-reality, “the ordinary and the mundane are elevated to a status where they are “more real” than the reality of modern life itself.”¹¹⁹ Life was no more “authentic” in countryside villages than in the London metropolis, but as tourist sites they were constructed as such for the consumption of the viewer in these Underground posters.

Valley of the Thames

This is one of the first pictorial posters commissioned at London Underground in 1908 (Plate 20).¹²⁰ It was also one of the first to employ the new Underground branding, seen here across the top of the poster, a design concept

¹¹⁶ César Graña, *Fact and Symbol* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 98.

¹¹⁷ Jonathan Culler. ‘Semiotics of Tourism’, *American Journal of Semiotics*, 1981, Vol. 1, No. 1-2: 127.

¹¹⁸ M. Feifer. *Going Places*. (London: Macmillan, 1985), 243.

¹¹⁹ Tim Oakes. *Tourism and Modernity in China*. (London: Routledge, 1998), 24.

¹²⁰ Charles Sharland, the artist, went on to design more than a hundred posters for the Underground until 1922. For more information on this artist, see: Bownes & Green, 2009 and the and the LTM online resources.

which would repeat across many future posters. Noteworthy in this poster is the choice to combine a more traditional and delicate Romantic fine art image depicting a serene Richmond riverscape (just downriver from the earlier Twickenham scene) in which the few scattered people are secondary to the much larger sense of the natural environment. Bold text features above, and space for more specific route information is left in the blank yellow box below. Holt notes that the Victorian and early-Edwardian period was an “era of consistent anti-urbanism.” Citing Raymond Williams’ celebrated study *The Country and the City*, which examined the connection between the two in Romantic literature, Holt believes that “emergent trends and tastes in art must be seen as integrally bound up in this relationship in the early 1900s.” Her essay is centered on fine artists such as Phillip Wilson Steer whose landscape painting, she believes “offered a myth of security at a time when the real quality of rural life was in steady decline.” These myths “appealed perhaps primarily to city dwellers, many whom may have seldom experienced and certainly never lived in the countryside...In that sense they acquired a symbolic value.”¹²¹ Key words on this poster, such as valley, Thames, Richmond and river feature in varying degrees of prominence and all traces of modernity are exempt. Aspects of leisure recreation are introduced with small pairs or groups of people lounging or strolling along the far bank of the river, or gently rowing or sailing upon it. Richmond is constructed here as a place of calm relaxation away from the city, yet accessible by the Underground network. According to Holt’s assertion, “pictures of the unsullied English countryside were simply a safe territory with a broad appeal.”¹²² This is a fine early example of an

¹²¹ Holt, op. cit., 35.

¹²² Holt, op. cit., 39.

Underground poster which aimed to create a desire to visit a rural retreat outside London.

This desire was also nurtured in a free booklet advertising Richmond, also published by the Underground. Each page features a small photograph of a different area of the town, and all but one (which features the old palace) represents a park, wood, river or other 'natural' space. The shamelessly boastful text leads the reader to believe it is the only area outside London still blessed with old-world charm.

Around this London of ours many places have, at one period or another in the past, been favoured by people seeking respite from the city's labour. Among them, Richmond almost alone, remains today, for its attractions are the works of Nature herself and not the unstable artifices of man. Greenwich, its old-time rival, despoiled by wharves and factories, has been abandoned; Vauxhall, Sadler's Wells, and like resorts boasting the ephemeral pleasures of other days, disappeared long ago in the expanding town. Richmond, the threshold of the Thames Valley, jealously guarded from despoiling hands, is the one spot retaining its old-time attraction to the community...Above bridge the river presents a scene of gaiety and animation such as few other spots along its course can equal...At Richmond the traditions of the Thames as a waterway of pleasure survive undiminished.¹²³

Nostalgic romantic sentiment runs throughout all thirteen pages of this promotional travel booklet, and each landscape image is imbued with some form of human history: artists, poets and authors for example, are all connected to the landscapes on offer.

¹²³ Charles White. *Richmond*. Underground booklet. (Westminster: Underground Railways, c.1910), 1-7.

London United Tramways Fare Charts: To Hampton or Uxbridge

In a visual departure from the previous pictorial posters, a pair of fare charts advertising “the route for beauty and pleasure,” are pertinent examples of the link between the transport network, popular travel literature of the period and the nostalgic and historical value given to the landscape (Plates 21 & 22). These are less traditional pictorial posters in the sense that rather than a more simple use of image and text, they feature a graphic representation of two major London tramway routes from the city to the countryside, in the southwest (Hammersmith to Hampton) and the northwest (Hammersmith to Uxbridge). Featuring an arching line listing the major stops along the route, they also promote the low fares (only a penny or two) and rural scenes the day-tripper could choose to encounter along the way. A caption reveals that the series of images are reproduced from *Highways and Byways in Middlesex*, a contemporaneous tourist guide published in London by MacMillan whose introduction claims that this county, “the smallest but one” in England, can still “vie with the best of them in the variety and multiplicity of its association with men and events.”¹²⁴ Such claims of worthy associations, which relate to history and literature, are evidence that it is not purely the surroundings that are of interest, but the relevance of the historicity of them. Tuan agrees that “the visual enjoyment of nature varies in kind and intensity. It can be little more than the acceptance of a social convention...The appreciation of landscape is more personal and longer lasting when it is mixed with the memory of human incidents...awareness of the past is an important element in topophilia.”¹²⁵ Like the *Richmond* booklet discussed above, this is also evident in *Highways and Byways*,

¹²⁴ Jerrold, op. cit., 1.

¹²⁵ Tuan, op. cit., 95.

throughout which the beauty of the landscape is presented to the reader reinforced with nostalgic historical information.

Harrow

According to a 1912 poster by Thomas Robert Way, Harrow provided the visitor with “the finest viewpoint near London,” and offered “a centre for walks in the country,” (Plate 23). This specimen, as do the tramway fare charts, offers a location “memorable for its associations.” Again the passenger is told that in order to experience a pleasurable countryside locale there must be visually attractive scenes, walking and all the accompanying benefits wrapped up therein and a worthy connection to the past. Rather than focus on a landscape, this poster provides nine small representations of village scenes. Each of these reproductions is relatively unpopulated, with the exception of a few scattered people. Horse-drawn carts, walkers and cyclists suggest the scenes could have been captured in a pre-modern time, but the inclusion of a solitary motorcar reminds the viewer that although these are modern reproductions, the village of Harrow retains its pre-modern charm. In both the *Fare Charts* and *Harrow* posters, the tram offers the initial transport to these countryside destinations, but further exploration on foot was promoted once the passengers had alighted. This is also reinforced by a vast quantity of other printed books, supplementary leaflets and flyers published by the Underground, including *Underground to the Country*, *The Four Outings*, *Country Rambles Series* and *Country Walks Nos. 1-8*, to name but a few. Tim Edensor points out that, “In the past two centuries, walking has shifted from central mode of

transport to leisure activity.”¹²⁶ These guides, published by the Metropolitan Railway, helped to reinforce the idea of walking as an ultimate leisure pursuit, the text laden with anti-modern commentary. I believe this introduction is worth quoting in its entirety to convey the full sentiment of the Edwardian Rambler:

“When you see a stile cross it; or a footpath take it!” It is on that principle that these walks have been planned, in order to avoid, as far as possible, the public roads. Not that roads are to be shunned in themselves. Far from it! Everyone who belongs to this great family of the Walkers has a place in his heart for roads, high roads or by-roads, and every species of lane. But the road is no longer what it once was to the man on foot. The Cyclist and the Motorist – and one motor on a dusty day is worse than a hundred cycles – have spoilt it for him. An hour’s pleasure and the serenity of temper that comes from walking vanish in an instant when one is smothered by the dust of a flying car. More and more, therefore, the walker is being driven into the footpaths, or into those by-lanes where no vehicle but a cart or farmer’s trap dares venture. Once in them, however, he is will content with an exchange, which is all gain if only he be sure of his way and know how to dawdle in a wild-wood solitude, and in some meadow “painted with the delight” of early summer. These walks will take those who follow them through the pleasantest fields of the undulating country which lies between Harrow and Rickmansworth, and then into some of the most intimate recesses of the Chiltern Hills – shapely and beautiful in themselves, but owing most of their charm to the beech woods which crown their heights and clothe their flanks....They will take him into a score of romantic villages, and half-a-dozen little country towns, such as the Chalfonts, Amersham, Wendover, Chesham, and the Missendens. They will take him into parks like those of Latimer, Great Hampden, Chequers Court, Halton and Waddesdon; to places of historic interest and “haunts of ancient peace,” to grey churches, to famous view points, to spreading commons, to a multitude of out of the way nooks and corners, where the life of the country goes on serene and sweet, unspoilt by the changes which have overwhelmed the country-side nearer to town. Besides, for all who are jaded with the roar and stuffiness of cities – ‘there’s a wind on the heath.’¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Tim Edensor. “Walking in the British Countryside: Reflexivity, Embodied Practices and Ways to Escape.” In *Body and Society*, (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), Vol 6. (3-4): 81.

¹²⁷ “A Selection of Country Walks in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, with routes graphically described.” No. 25. Metropolitan and Great Central Railways. c. 1910

There seems to be no such thing as the 'modern countryside'. A dichotomy exists; two separate spheres each possess qualities perceived as bad (the modern urban metropolis) or good (the rural idyllic countryside). Edensor argues, "what could be more natural than a stroll in the countryside? The air is fresh, the body realizes its sensual capabilities as it strains free from the chains of urban living, and our over-socialised identities are revealed as superficial in an epiphany of self-realisation."¹²⁸ It is upon these ideals that London Underground built its poster campaign to promote extra-urban travel. With added anti-modern sentiment, *Highways and Byways* suggests that the most desirable sights to be seen cannot be seen by those who "scamper out on the North Road, or motor through a cloud of dust along the Bath and Staines roads," this handy guidebook instead recommends "the byways on the north and west of the county...that the follower...will find that which is most picturesque, will even happen upon quiet lanes and elm shaded hay-fields."¹²⁹ The many branches of the modern transport network had essentially limited the need to walk, replacing it instead with alternate means of mobility – trains and trams. Walking for pleasure had instead become a choice - a way to reconnect with nature and the past.

London's Playground: Hampstead Heath

This is another poster incorporating the tiled emblem of the Underground at the top of the design (Plate 24). Below this, a fine art representation of the Whitestone Pond and the village of Hampstead likely seen from Parliament Hill, are gazed upon from an elevated vantage point. Like the first set of posters analysed above, it is set against a dark green background, an inherently natural colour.

¹²⁸ Edensor, op. cit., 81.

¹²⁹ Jerrold, op. cit., 2.

Interestingly, all traces of modernity are omitted in the painted image. Rather than feature the view of the metropolis of London, visible so clearly to the south from this hill, the picture represents a sparsely populated rural scene with only a few scattered people wandering alone, in pairs or in horse-drawn carts. White, printed text below the image announces, "London's Playground, Hampstead Heath; Travel to Golders Green, Hampstead or Highgate." All of these stations provided access to the Heath from a different side of the enormous green park space. It may seem peculiar to the contemporary reader to include Hampstead as a "countryside retreat" so close is it to the heart of the even greater metropolis of London today. In 1910 however, E.V. Lucas, author of *A Wanderer in London*, actually lamented that, "in Highgate and Hampstead I should love to linger, but they are outside the radius so far as this book is concerned."¹³⁰ In this same volume, to maintain the perspective of the city limits, Kensington is described as "one of the most attractive of the...suburbs."¹³¹ Although Lucas attempts to move away from writing about Hampstead, he thankfully does 'linger' for several pages in fact, providing us with two interesting insights into the nostalgia for past-times in this era. In the first, he aims to correct apparent suggestions that Hampstead is pretentious, stating plainly that the village is pretentious "only in its *modern* roads...there is no pretentiousness about Church Row, which until the flats were built on the north side, was the most beautiful English street I ever saw, or expect to see."¹³² Here the reader is presented with anti-urban reinforcement that the modern elements are unwelcome in the rural retreat. More significant still is the author's testimony to

¹³⁰ E.V. Lucas. *A Wanderer in London*. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1910), 163.

¹³¹ Lucas, op. cit., 247.

¹³² Lucas, op. cit., 163 (emphasis added).

the “serene and joyous” late children’s book author and illustrator, Kate Greenaway, whose name:

...had called up for so long only pleasant, sunny associations: memories of green meadows with grave little girls and boys a-maying...and trim streets, where everything was well-kept and well-swept, and all the roofs were red and all the garden gates and fenced green, and more grave little girls carried dolls, and more gravel little boys rolled hoops, and very young mothers with high waists gossiped over their grave little babies’ infinitesimal heads...¹³³

This author, set the task of extolling the virtues of London for ‘wanderers’, cannot help but be swept away with these idyllic notions of the past and mourns the death of an artist like Greenaway, writing that “such scenes...had for twenty years been rising before one...bringing with them a gentle breath of ancient repose and simplicity and a faint sense of pot pourri. And to think the hand that devised this innocent communism of quaintness and felicity, the juvenile Arcadia, was still for ever!”¹³⁴ From this passage it could seem as if Greenaway herself had dictated the content of the following *Book to Perivale, Sudbury and Harrow* poster.

Book to Perivale, Sudbury or Harrow

One of the first posters to feature children, this 1909 poster by Charles Sharland shows three young children, two girls and a boy, casually lounging in the foreground of a large grassy meadow (Plate 25). Surrounding them is a patch of what appear to be daisies, which the children are happily picking and bunching together. There are no adults in this picture, suggesting perhaps the total safety of their location: these well-behaved children need not be overly supervised in this tranquil setting. Lucas wrote, in the aforementioned travel guide, that:

¹³³ Lucas, op. cit., 163.

¹³⁴ Lucas, op. cit., 164.

Kate Greenaway dressed the children of England...She was the arch-priestess of happy simplicity...Drama was beyond her capacity, and her want of sympathy with anything unhappy or forceful also unfitted her. Her pictures prove her the soul of gentleness...While the aesthetes were worshipping the sunflower and the lily Miss Greenaway was bidding the cheeriest little daisies spring from the grass..."¹³⁵

In her first solo picture book, *Under the Window: Pictures and Rhymes for Children*, the children are dressed in distinctly similar clothing to the children in this Underground poster: pinafores, bonnets and skeleton suits despite the passing of fifty years between the two publications.¹³⁶ Exactly as Lucas argued for Greenaway's fiction, this Underground poster, "...literally made a new world where sorrow never entered...where the sun always shone, where ugliness had no place and life was always young."¹³⁷ In the distance behind, a small church is nestled in some trees from which a small gentle stream, covered in lily pads, flows. The sky above is a pale blue, lightly scattered with wispy white clouds. The Underground emblem in white lettering is set against green and yellow tiles that match the shades from the meadow below. To soften the appearance of this modern text, the tiling appears (rather unusually) to have been hand-rendered by the artist rather than printed on top later by the printer. This is apparent as it does not accurately match the block-lettering which is used on other Underground posters featuring this emblem. It has been painted into a pre-modern, Arts and Crafts inspired, scroll-like yellow banner, which also serves to set it off from the background. There is text to gently remind the viewer this is a promotional poster, although even this is softly rendered. Superimposed over the grass on the right-hand side of the poster, it reads, "Book to Perivale, Sudbury or Harrow; For Field Path Rambles in Old

¹³⁵ Lucas, op. cit., 164.

¹³⁶ Kate Greenaway. *Under the Window: Pictures and Rhymes for Children*. (London and New York: Frederick Warne & Co. Ltd., 1879) Available restriction free in full online at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/22888>

¹³⁷ Lucas, op. cit., 164.

Fashioned Country; Cheap return fares and special train services on Sundays.” This appears to be a seemingly imaginary scene one might find in a children’s storybook, narrating a pleasant day out, but the scene is similarly constructed in *Highways and Byways in Middlesex*, which also features this church in a sketch. According to the book, Northolt Church is connected to the “small, attractive village, scattered about a green, and beyond, on rising ground,” with a “cross-fields path” and is described as a “small wooden-spired structure, similar to the more famous little edifice at Perivale.”¹³⁸ This small church is pictured in the guidebook behind two young girls with hand-picked flowers on the slope below, almost identical to the pair in the Underground poster (Plate 26). Curiously, an Underground guide pamphlet, *For Country Walks*, produced in the “Summer Season 1912” for ramblers in the Harrow area, also features a similar representation (Plate 27).¹³⁹ On the front cover a photograph of a pair of young, fair-haired girls hold hands. One holds her hat - the same type featured in the poster; the other is depicted holding a bunch of foliage the viewer is led to presume she has just picked or gathered. There seems to be a consistent and repeated visual construction of two young girls pictured together in this area’s promotional material, but no evidence to suggest why. However, this type of repeated theme in the imagery does demonstrate how depictions of a certain type are perpetuated, creating ongoing ideas or myths about a place. Further connecting this volume and the *Book to Perivale* poster is a passage devoted to a ramble from Perivale to nearby Twyford. The author describes a short journey in which the River Brent (pictured in the Underground Poster), “thrice spanned by the railway...gives rustic glimpses that, seeing how easily accessible the bit of country is to London, justify the praise bestowed upon it by railway

¹³⁸ Jerrold, op. cit., 248-250.

¹³⁹ *Country Walks*. Underground Pamphlet. Summer Season, 1912.

advertisement.”¹⁴⁰ I suggest that these few lines alone, can demonstrate the penetration of the Underground and its advertising into the public consciousness.

I Came by Underground

Similarly, a 1910 poster by Alfred France promoted not only a child in rolling green pastures, but also perhaps served to remind the typical commuting passenger that his family would also be well served by the use of the Underground (Plate 28). Here, in the foreground a young girl with blonde locks is daintily outfitted in a white dress and bonnet with pink ribbon. The title caption below the image, “I came by Underground”, allowed the girl to speak directly to the viewer creating the illusion that this was less of an advertisement than a testimonial to a different use of the underground: youth travel. Pleasure parties of large groups of children accompanied by only a few adult chaperones were common in this period, evident from an article from the Middlesex County Times of June 1911, whose testimonial to taking children by District Railway was reproduced in an underground pamphlet:

The District Railway have a scale of fares which is very low, and the advantage of going these shorter journeys is that the children can be taken without having to make any contribution – except a penny or two-pence in some cases – towards the expenses...We have many times previously spoken of the merits of this Middlesex country, its old-fashioned seclusion, its shady elm trees, its lush meadows. Even the large parties of children do not disturb its unruffled peace. They go to recognised places where juvenile enjoyment riots unchecked, and those of use with age who are more sedate or between youth and age are less inclined to be gregarious, need have no qualm but that there is room enough for our moods. August Bank-Holiday approaches and is the last of the odd summer days we all share and can spend as we will, let us then remember this countryside. Special cheap return tickets are

¹⁴⁰ Jerrold, op. cit., 252.

sold to its stations every Sunday and they will also on Bank-Holiday.¹⁴¹

According to statistics from the same article, more than eight thousand children were transported to South Harrow, Eastcote and Ruislip, compared to just over two thousand adults.¹⁴² Children were clearly being taken in large groups or parents of multiple children were choosing destinations to these places. This is a clear indication that suggests the promotional material was having a successful impact on Londoners and the Underground's promotion of cheap fares during Sunday and Bank Holidays were being acknowledged by the public and in other unbiased media publications. It also suggests that the Underground's promotions depicting children was convincing the public that the network, and the destinations were a safe place to send their children with minimal supervision.¹⁴³

Too Much of a Good Thing

Having examined a selection of countryside destination posters in detail, there seems no better poster with which to conclude than with *Too Much of a Good Thing*, by John Henry Lloyd (Plate 29). An image occupies the top two-thirds of the poster with text below which reads, "too much of a good thing; every variety of pleasure resort; parks and playgrounds; river-side, country-side, seaside, palaces & gardens." The image in this particular poster is especially significant and layered with many of the constructs I have already discussed, which Flood terms a 'self-reflexive poster.'¹⁴⁴ Facing a selection of five Underground destinations offered by five Underground posters stands a father, mother, two children and their dog.

¹⁴¹ "How the District Railway Caters for the Young." Underground Pamphlet No. 30, July 26, 1911.

¹⁴² "How the District Railway Caters for the Young," op. cit.

¹⁴³ Further information relating to such group trips can be found in: Riddell, Jonathan. *Pleasure Trips by Underground*. Harrow Wield, Middlesex: Capital Transport Publishing, 1998.

¹⁴⁴ Flood, op. cit., 33.

These posters are clearly hanging on an Underground station wall, instantly recognizable by the logo situated proudly across the top of the image, but distinctive also by its red tile backdrop. The posters depicted are those I have examined above, all printed between 1908 and 1910.¹⁴⁵ In this poster the father stands central to the other figures, in the middle of a tug-of-war between his young son and daughter who are eager to point out their own preference of the sites on offer. The mother attends the decision patiently, looking not at the posters, but awaiting the decision of the father. Depicting her deferent stance appears to be a rather sexist construction, signifying that the decision should or will be chosen by the man rather than the woman. Amusingly, even the pet dog gazes upward, seemingly eager to enjoy a romp in the green fields beyond. Evidence that the dress of the family members indicates ‘tourist attire’ is offered by Flood, who describes the outfits as “excursion clothing.”¹⁴⁶ Further primary evidence in support of this claim, at least in the case of the male figures, can be found in the 1908 and 1911 *Handbook for London*. In a printed advertisement for Chas. Baker & Co.’s Stores Ltd., similar outfits are advertised with images depicting affordable “tourist suits” and “sailor suits”.¹⁴⁷ This points to targeting of the middle and working class passengers who would be likely to read and partake in shopping at these “off the rack” shops. Supporting evidence is also offered in another tourist book, *Seven Days in London*, which also features at front and rear, a large number of advertisement

¹⁴⁵ I have deliberately omitted analysis of the poster hanging on the far right of the wall as it depicts a seaside location beyond the reach of the London transport network. This poster offers connections to mainline rail services and as such is outside the scope of this dissertation. Significant contributions to seaside tourist travel by rail in England have already been made. For seaside destinations as places of tourist retreat see for example: Mingay, G.E. *The Transformation of Britain 1830-1939*. London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul and Methuen, 1986; Hassan, John. *The seaside, health and the environment in England and Wales since 1800*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2003; Walton, John K. *The British Seaside: holidays and resorts in the twentieth century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

¹⁴⁶ Flood, op. cit., 33.

¹⁴⁷ Karl Baedeker. *Baedeker’s Handbook for London: London and its Environs*. (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1908 & 1911), unpaginated.

pages for Chas. Baker & Co. These depict the type of clothing worn by the family in this posters, described as tourist suit, cycling suits, flannel, tennis and boating suits, walking shoes and shooting boots. More men's fashion is pictured in these advertisements, but women's shoes and hosiery are also included albeit to a lesser degree and in text rather than imagery.¹⁴⁸

This poster provides a visual connection between the Underground posters and the passengers who would view them. Printed in the larger, double royal format it would likely have been viewed from a distance, displayed perhaps on the exterior of the stations in one of the purpose built frames that were hung on the walls, across a platform or against the fences that lined the tracks.¹⁴⁹ Having examined the genuine article at the Transport Museum's Depot in Acton, reproductions cannot do this poster justice. The impact of the colours, size and detail of this poster are striking; this poster provides a spectacular example of their attention-grabbing quality, their scope, and the public who would see them and use the network. After seeing this poster from a distance, the passenger would undoubtedly be compelled to have a closer look, satisfying the goal of Pick and his poster commissions. In a single poster, *Too Much of a Good Thing* neatly encompasses the all of the topics I have discussed in this dissertation. It illustrates the concerted effort made by Frank Pick and the publicity department at London Underground to very deliberately promote the Underground through appropriating countryside leisure destinations.

¹⁴⁸ T.N. Spurrll. *Seven Days in London* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne & London: Andrew Reid & Company Ltd), unpaginated advertisement sections.

¹⁴⁹ See Plate 30 for a model of a LU station representing the poster frames outside the stations. For related photographic imagery, visit London Transport Museum's extensive online photographic archive at: <http://www.ltmcollection.org/photos/index.html>.

CONCLUSION

The ceaselessly developing metropolis of London in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century underwent significant changes during a period of rapid modernisation. As explored in the first chapter of this dissertation, the construction and development of the underground railway network, and subsequent branches thereof, altered the visual and geographic perception of the city, evident in photographic and other artistic depictions of the period. This building work lasted for several decades and paradoxically, the disturbances and displacement caused by this upheaval in the city subsequently resulted in providing a means to escape it. A focused analysis of images and primary texts depicting the construction of this rail network has shown one contributing factor in the modern alienation felt in the city of London. Once the network was running, the financiers and the Underground Railway company itself clearly needed a worthy return on their investment. The initially poor finances of the Underground companies led to Frank Pick's employment as the officer in charge of the publicity department, which he successfully turned into a successful business. It is my argument that a large part of this success can be found in his active engagement in advertising and marketing rural spaces as destinations to be arrived at by the Underground network. In the majority of posters commissioned by Pick in the period of 1908 to 1912, images of landscape and countryside village destinations were featured. This contributed to the construction of a greater cultural myth of the English countryside as an ideal pleasure escape and in which the *authentic* England could be rediscovered. The new and detailed analysis of a proportionately small, but highly relevant number of the two hundred posters created in this period has demonstrated how the publicity department visually targeted the working class demographic of the population with

its cultural constructions. According to the posters, these alienated citizens could remove themselves from the chaos of urban life during the increased number of legislated days away from their place work in the city and find respite in an idealised surrounding. Capitalising on these new days of leisure for the working class, the Underground, through posters and other publicity material, began a sustained and successful visual promotion campaign targeting existing commuters with the goal of increasing travel in off-peak periods. What this dissertation has shown, is that rather than focus on inner-city sights and attractions, the Underground was promoted predominantly as an early facilitator of tourism to peripheral destinations *away* from the city itself perpetuating the myth of the English countryside in a modern media. Pick's background as a solicitor and statistician belied his artistic and design acumen. His initiative and consistent dedication created an artistic, cultural and business legacy of the man as a legendary patron of early-modern tourism.

As with any piece of academic work, each new branch of research should open doors to further areas of potentially interesting and useful study. This dissertation has focused on one reading of a set of London Underground posters in a distinct period of time, but I believe there is room for further exploration of many of the topics discussed. In the first instance, I believe it would be useful to extend the argument to examine the promotion of the countryside during the interwar years. It has been proposed that landscape and nationalism are inextricably linked,

and thus the onset of war must have had a significant and related impact on this type of London Underground poster beyond the 'call to arms' mentioned earlier.¹⁵⁰

While the subject of *Metroland*, to which I referred in my introduction, has been heavily studied, there are in my estimation further areas in which to develop research. As the Underground network grew and pushed people to live in the outlying areas of the city, new suburbs were created and continually expanded, pushing the countryside further away from the centre of London in a similar fashion to the original urban sprawl of the nineteenth century. As the 'idealised countryside' that was so heavily constructed and promoted in the early posters eventually lay outside the reach of the metropolitan network, what trends can be determined and studied as a result? Again, the impact of two devastating World Wars on the country would have an undeniably marked impression on the cultural geography map of London (and of course the country), but how these changes were handled through advertising posters, especially after Pick's death in 1941 would be an interesting research area.

Perhaps another potentially intriguing angle from which to approach the subject my dissertation has offered would be to investigate its converse: examining the impact on the village citizens travelling into the city by Underground. Waugh broached this topic briefly in his essay on *Railroads and the Changing Face of Britain*, but there is considerable room to expand on this topic relating it to the metropolitan system rather than a mainline rail network that penetrated deep into

¹⁵⁰ See for example: Daniels, Stephen. *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003; Burden, Robert and Stephan Kohl. *Landscape and Englishness*. New York: Rodopi, 2006; MacNaughten, Phil and John Urry. *Contested Natures*. London: Sage, 1998.

the country.¹⁵¹ It would be feasible to imagine each of these branches as smaller, independent areas of study, but an amalgamated and extended thesis could indeed be possible if interconnectivity could be revealed as a network of routes to another destination, as it were.

¹⁵¹ Eric L. Waugh. "Railroads and the Changing Face of Britain, 1825-1901." *The Business History Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Sep., 1956): 274-296.



Photograph

Henry Flather, 1866

Construction of the Metropolitan Railway, Praed Street, London.

Science Museum Archive/Science and Society
<http://www.scienceandsociety.co.uk/>



Photograph

Henry Flather, c.1867

Construction of the Metropolitan Railway, Praed Street, London. This view shows the tunnel being constructed along Praed Street, Paddington. Note the three ladies standing on the platform just above the centre of the image.

Science Museum Archive/Science and Society
<http://www.scienceandsociety.co.uk/>



Engraving

Unknown Artist, 1867

The Metropolitan District Railway works at Westminster. The extension of the worlds first underground railway, joining up Westminster and South Kensington to Paddington.

The Illustrated London News, 16 March 1867

The Illustrated London News Picture Library, Code: ILNG001502



Photograph

Unknown Photographer, Jan 17, 1867

Parliament Square during the construction of the District Railway, view at surface level from the north side of the Square looking towards Westminster Bridge and the Houses of Parliament (background right). Fenced off area in foreground with huge amounts of stacked bricks and construction debris; open cut-and-cover site just visible to left. Statue of George Canning, foreground right, seen in rear view.

Image no: U9483, Inventory no: 1998/75410

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Photograph

Topical Press, Jun 1, 1903

20th Century London caption: This is a busy street scene at Shepherd's Bush on Whit Monday afternoon, looking west towards the junction of Shepherd's Bush Green and Uxbridge Road. Large groups of pedestrians dressed in holiday finery spill out onto the road. In the foreground is a 'garden seat' horse bus filled with passengers. People also crowd onto a London United Tramways (L.U.T.) type W (later U) open-top electric tram that is standing in front of Lloyds Tailors shop. More congregate around type Z and type W trams in the background. This photo shows the crossover between the old and new forms of transport. Buses carried a larger load in London than in other cities. Trams were not allowed in the City of London or the West End. The News of the World newspaper advertised was a mass-market Sunday newspaper. It cost 1 penny in 1903.

Image no: U9539, Inventory no: 1998/77244

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Photograph

Topical Press, 1908

Oxford Circus traffic scene, Westminster. W1

Image no: 057908

Inventory no: 1998/87248

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Photograph

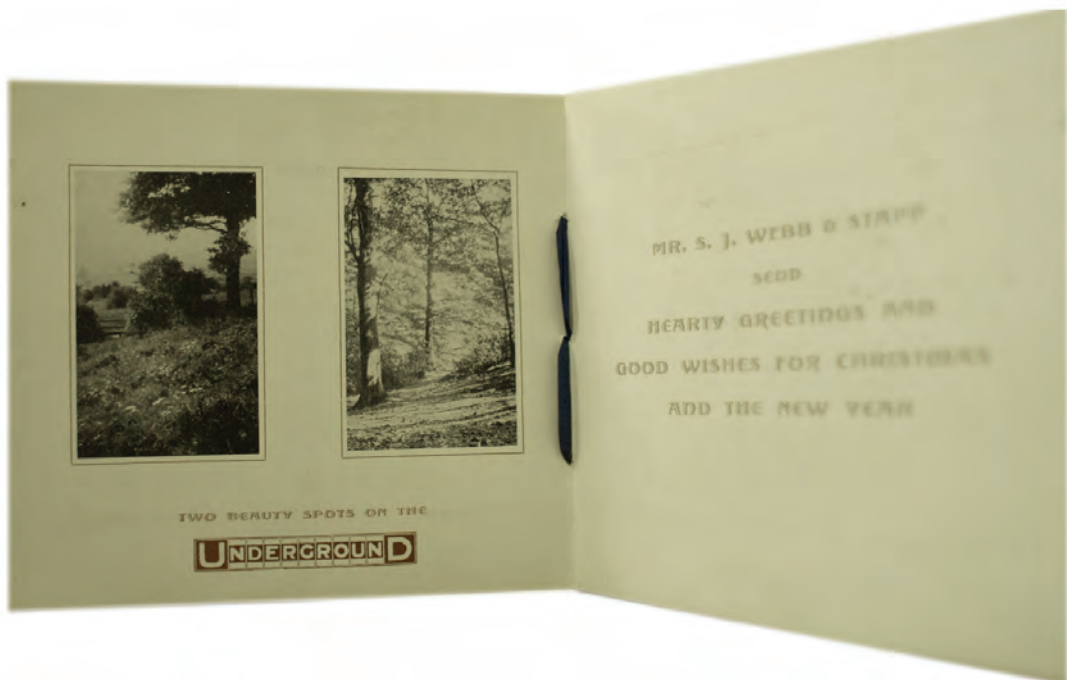
Topical Press, Jun 1, 1903

LUT-type Z (later Y) open-top electric tram seen in Shepherd's Bush on surrounded by the Whit Monday holiday crowds. Many people are waiting to board. Shepherd's Bush, Hammersmith, W12

Image no: U9561

Inventory no: 1998/75431

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Christmas and New Year Card from the Passenger Agents Office of the Underground Network, 1913
Photograph by the Author, June 2008

This holiday card interestingly features two “beauty spots on the Underground” on the interior cover.

London Transport Museum Depot Archive

METROPOLITAN RAILWAY.

November, 1905.

Programme

OF

EXCURSION

AND

WEEK-END

TICKETS,

From and to **LONDON**

AND

**MIDDLESEX, HERTFORDSHIRE,
& BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.**

NOVEMBER, 1905, & until further notice.

GENERAL NOTES RELATING TO ISSUE OF EXCURSION AND WEEK-END TICKETS.

The Tickets mentioned herein are not transferable, and should they be used by any other Train or on any other day than as specified herein, or to or from any other Stations than those issued upon them, the Tickets will be cancelled and the full Ordinary Fares charged.

Children under Three years of age, free; above Three and under Twelve, Half-fares.

No luggage allowed to Passengers holding Half-day or Day Tickets. Hand luggage only allowed to Passengers holding Week-end Tickets.

All Bills of a previous date are hereby cancelled.

GENERAL MANAGERS' OFFICE,
25, WATKINSON'S TERRACE, W.

A. C. ELLIS,
General Manager.

3/156/10/1000 WATERLOW AND SONS LIMITED, PRINTERS, LONDON WALL, LONDON.

CHEAP THIRD CLASS

EXCURSION TICKETS

are now issued on

SUNDAYS

FROM		S.M.	FROM	S.M.	
A-ALDERSGATE STREET	dep	10 55	A-SHOOPGATE STREET	dep	10 55
A-ALDOTE	...	10 59	A-HEADEN	...	11 01
A-ALDOTE EAST	...	10 55	B-NEW CROSS (L. E. & S. C.)	...	10 3
A-BISHOPSGATE	...	10 51	B-NOTTING HILL	...	10 55
A-BISHOP'S ROAD	...	11 3	A-NOTTING HILL GATE	...	10 49
B-CANNON STREET	...	10 31	A-PORTLAND ROAD	...	11 5
B-DEPTFORD ROAD	...	10 30	A-PRAED ST. PADINGTON	...	10 55
A-EDGWARE ROAD	...	11 5	A-QUEEN'S RD. BAYSWATER	...	10 61
A-FARRINGHOOD STREET	...	10 57	B-ROTHERHITHE	...	10 55
A-FINCHLEY ROAD	...	11 19	B-ROYAL OAK	...	11 0
A-GLOUCESTER ROAD	...	10 45	A-ST. JOHN'S WOOD ROAD	...	11 15
A-GOWER STREET	...	11 3	B-SE MARY'S (WHITECHAPEL)	...	10 58
B-HAMMERSMITH	...	10 45	B-SHADWELL	...	10 55
A-HIGH ST. KENSINGTON	...	10 41	B-SHEPHERD'S BUSH	...	10 53
A-KILBURN	...	11 22	A-SOUTH KENSINGTON	...	10 43
B-LATIMER ROAD	...	10 55	A-SWISS COTTAGE	...	11 17
B-MARK LAKE	...	10 55	B-WAFFINS	...	10 50
A-MARLBOROUGH ROAD	...	11 15	B-WESTBOURNE PARK	...	10 53
B-MONUMENT	...	10 55	A-WEST HAMPTSTEAD	...	11 50
			A-WILLESDEN GREEN	...	11 24

AND

BAKER STREET 11.20 a.m.

TO	Fares from BAKER ST. and Stations marked A.		Fares from Stations marked B.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
CHORLEY WOOD (CHORLEY WOOD COMMON, Etc.) ...	1	6	1	9
CHALFONT ROAD (CHERRIES, CHALFONT ST. GILES, Etc.) ...	1	9	2	0
CHESHAM (FOR LEYHILL COMMON, CHARTERIDGE, Etc.) ...	2	0	2	3
AMERSHAM (FOR PENN WOODS, BEACONSFIELD, Etc.) ...	2	3	2	6
GREAT MISSENDEN (FOR CHILTERN HILLS) ...	2	6	2	9
WENDOVER (FOR THE CHILTERN HILLS) ...	2	9	3	0
STOKE MANDEVILLE ...	2	9	3	0
AYLESBURY (FOR VALE OF AYLESBURY) ...	2	9	3	0

PASSENGERS RETURN BY ANY TRAIN SAME DAY.

D. GREAT EAST STATION.

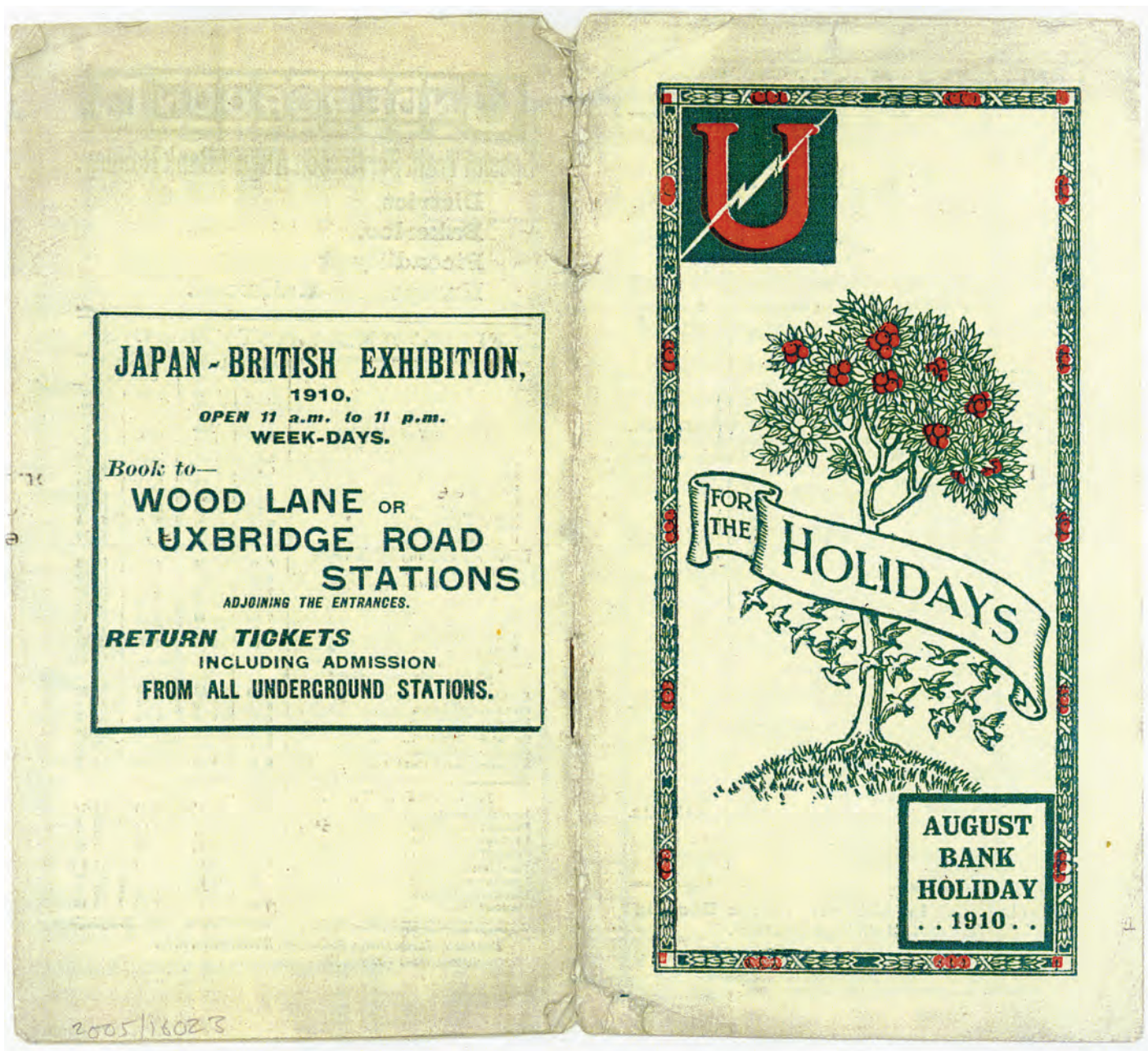
(4)

Excursion and Week-End Tickets From and To London, 1905

Photograph by the Author, June 2008

This double-sided flyer (approximately 210 x 150mm) shows early Underground promotion of countryside travel before Frank Pick joined the publicity department.

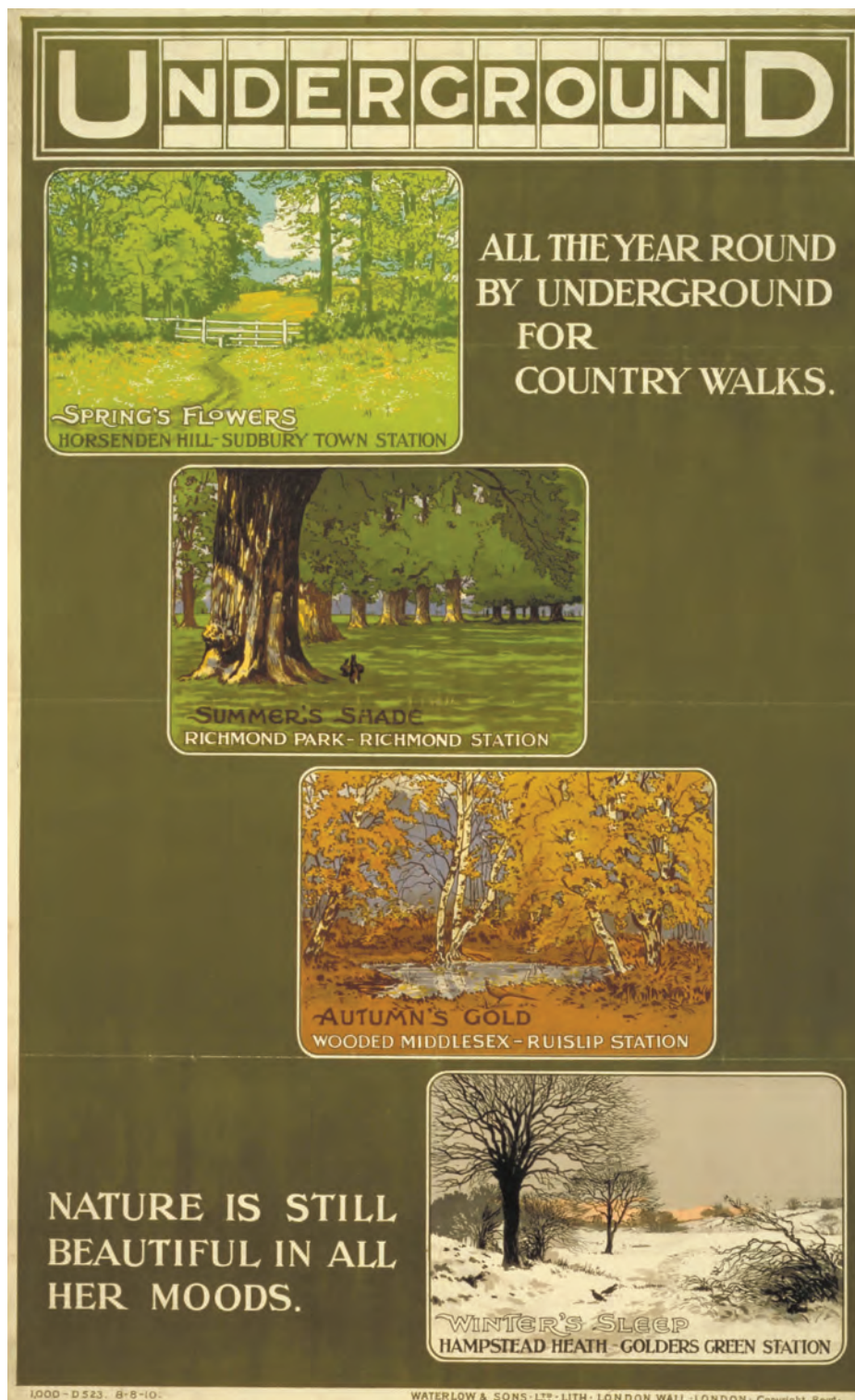
Note the text-laden design and lack of any pictorial representation.



For the Holidays - August Bank Holiday, 1910 (Front and Rear Covers)

Photograph by the Author, June 2008

This twelve-page pamphlet (approximately 80 x 150 mm) promotes countryside travel on every page, with the exception of the back cover, which advertised the Japan-British exhibition. It also shows more pictorial and decorative representations than earlier publicity material, which were predominantly text-based.



All the Year Round by Underground

Charles Sharland, 1910

Published by Underground Electric Railway Company Ltd.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 635mm, Height: 1016mm

Reference number: 1983/4/69

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Underground for Business or Pleasure

F E Witney, 1913

Published by Underground Electric Railway Company Ltd.

Printed by Johnson, Riddle & Company Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 1016mm, Height: 635mm

Reference number: 1983/4/302

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Underground - The Way for All

Alfred France, 1911

Published by Underground Electric Railway Company Ltd.

Printed by Johnson, Riddle & Company Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 628mm, Height: 1005mm

Reference number: 1983/4/124

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



By Tram to Uxbridge Terminus

Unknown Artist, 1910

Published by Underground Electric Railways Company Ltd.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Ltd.

Format: Double crown

Dimensions: Width: 508mm, Height: 762mm

Reference number: 1983/4/94

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



For the Fragrance and Shade of Kew Gardens

Unknown Artist, 1910

Published by Underground Electric Railways Company Ltd.

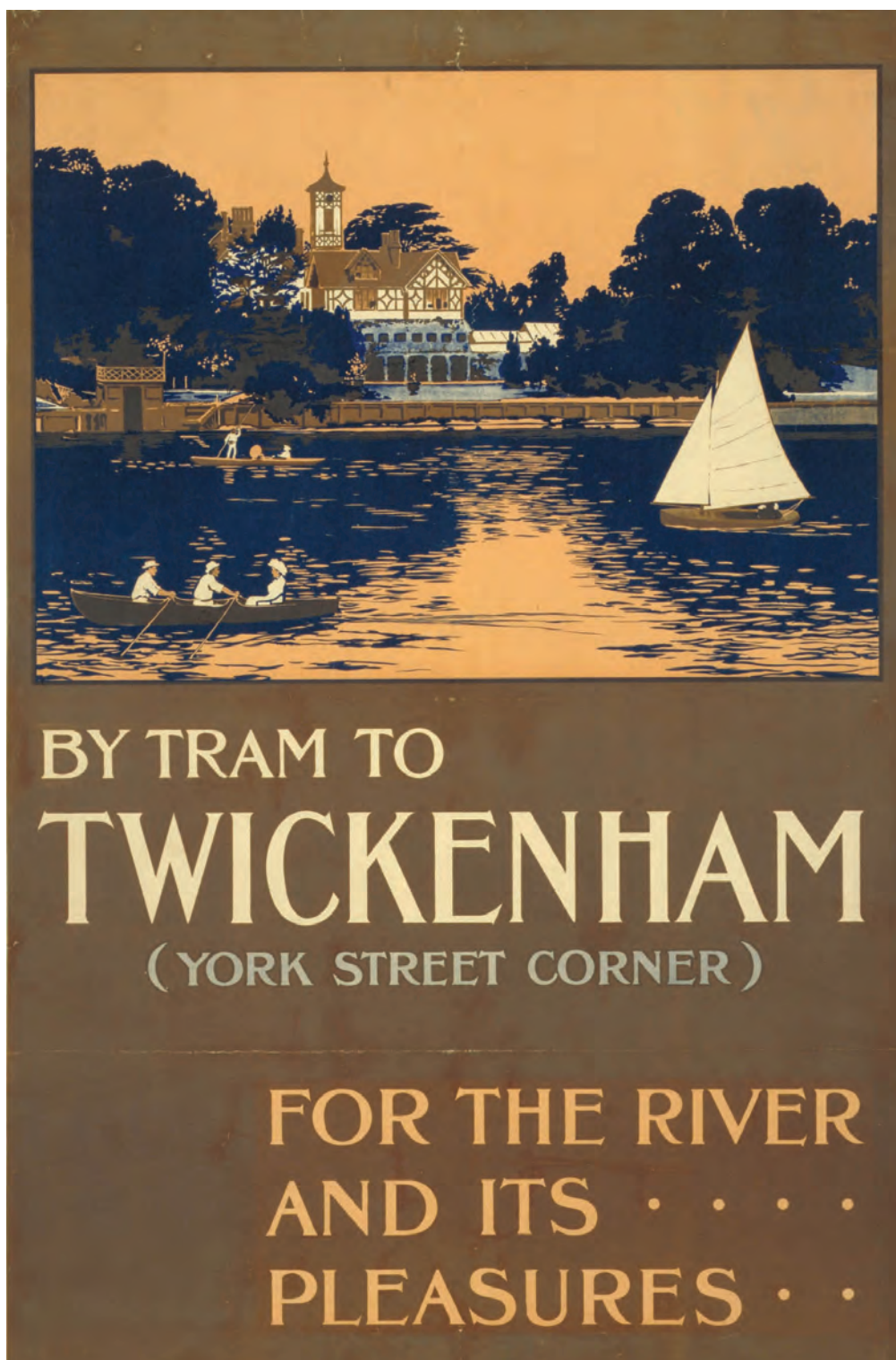
Printed by Waterlow & Sons Ltd.

Format: Double crown

Dimensions: Width: 508mm, Height: 762mm

Reference number: 1983/4/92

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



By Tram to Twickenham (York Street Corner)

Unknown Artist, 1910

Published by Underground Electric Railways Company Ltd.

Printed by Johnson, Riddle & Company Ltd.

Format: Double crown

Dimensions: Width: 508mm, Height: 762mm

Reference number: 1983/4/88

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



By Tram to Wimbledon

Unknown Artist, 1910

Published by Underground Electric Railways Company Ltd.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Ltd.

Format: Double crown

Dimensions: Width: 508mm, Height: 762mm

Reference number: 1983/4/93

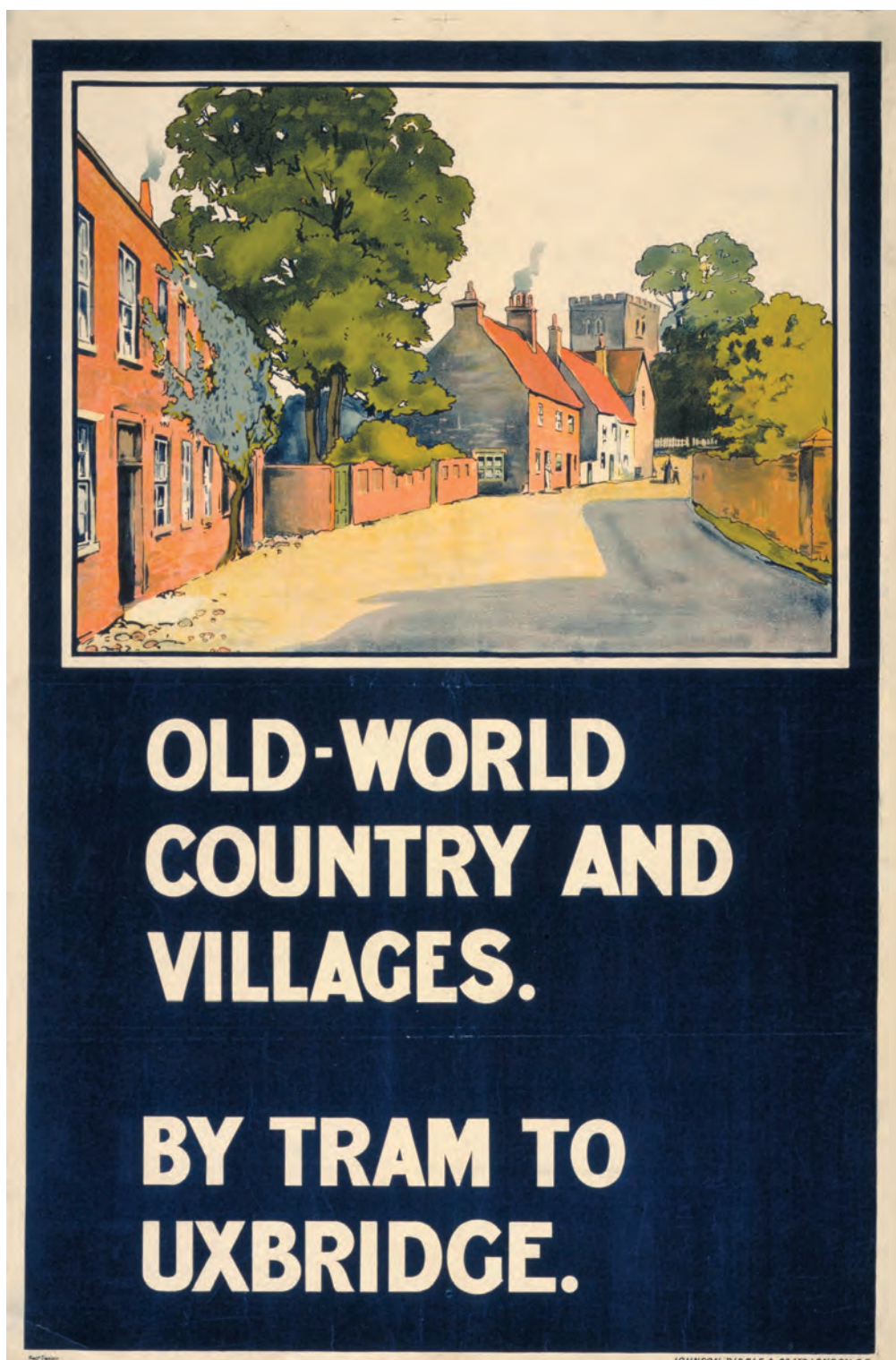
Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Postcard: Pope's Villa, Twickenham, 1906

This hand-coloured photograph of the Twickenham riverbank constructs an idyllic landscape in the height of summer foliage, populated only by the pair of rowers. It is very similar to the *By Tram to Twickenham* Underground poster shown in Plate 13.

Author's Personal Collection



By Tram to Uxbridge

Unknown Artist, 1910

Published by Underground Electric Railways Company Ltd.

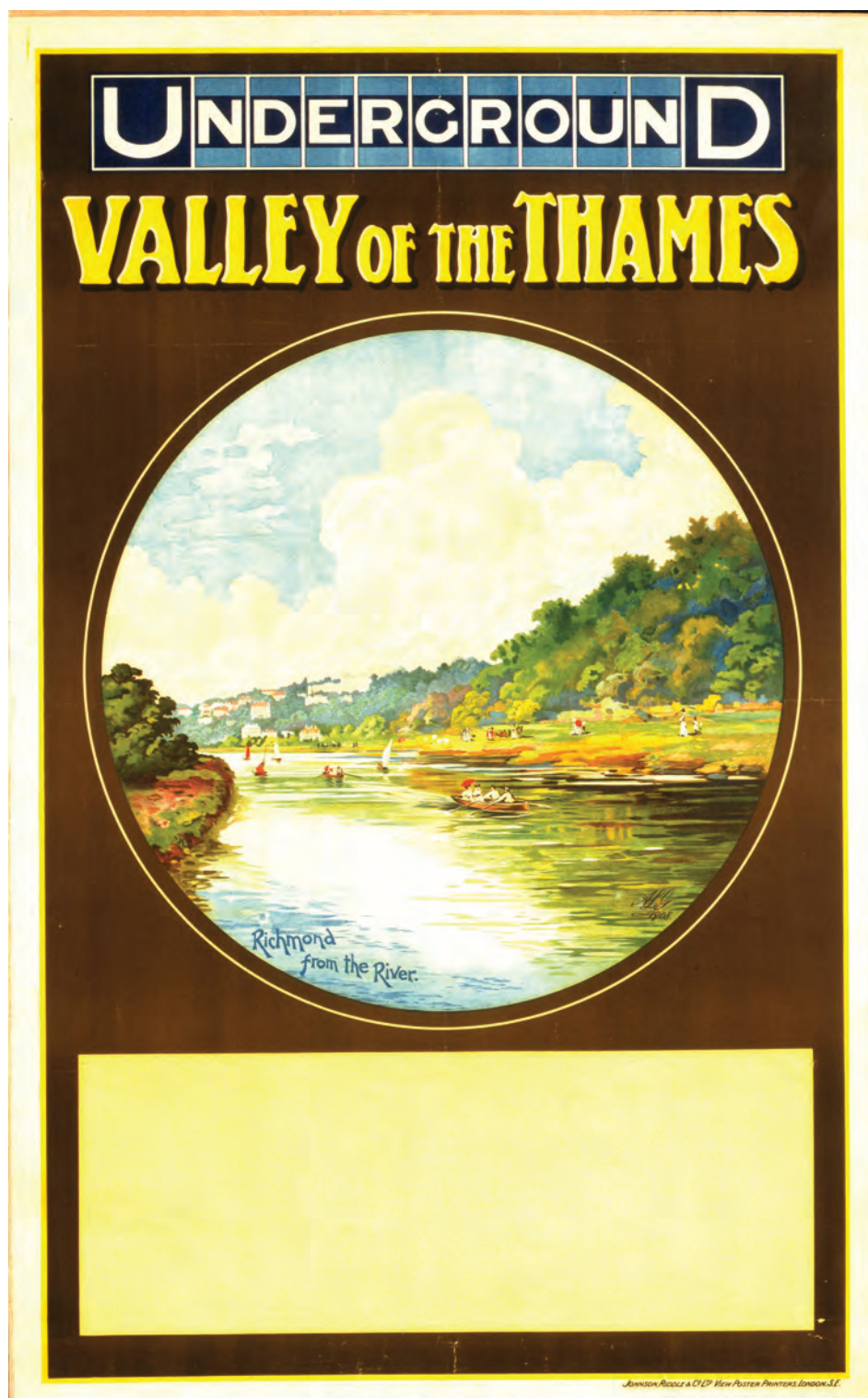
Printed by Johnson, Riddle & Company Ltd.

Format: Double crown

Dimensions: Width: 508mm, Height: 762mm

Reference number: 1983/4/84

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Valley of the Thames

Charles Sharland, 1908

Published by Underground Electric Railways Company Ltd.

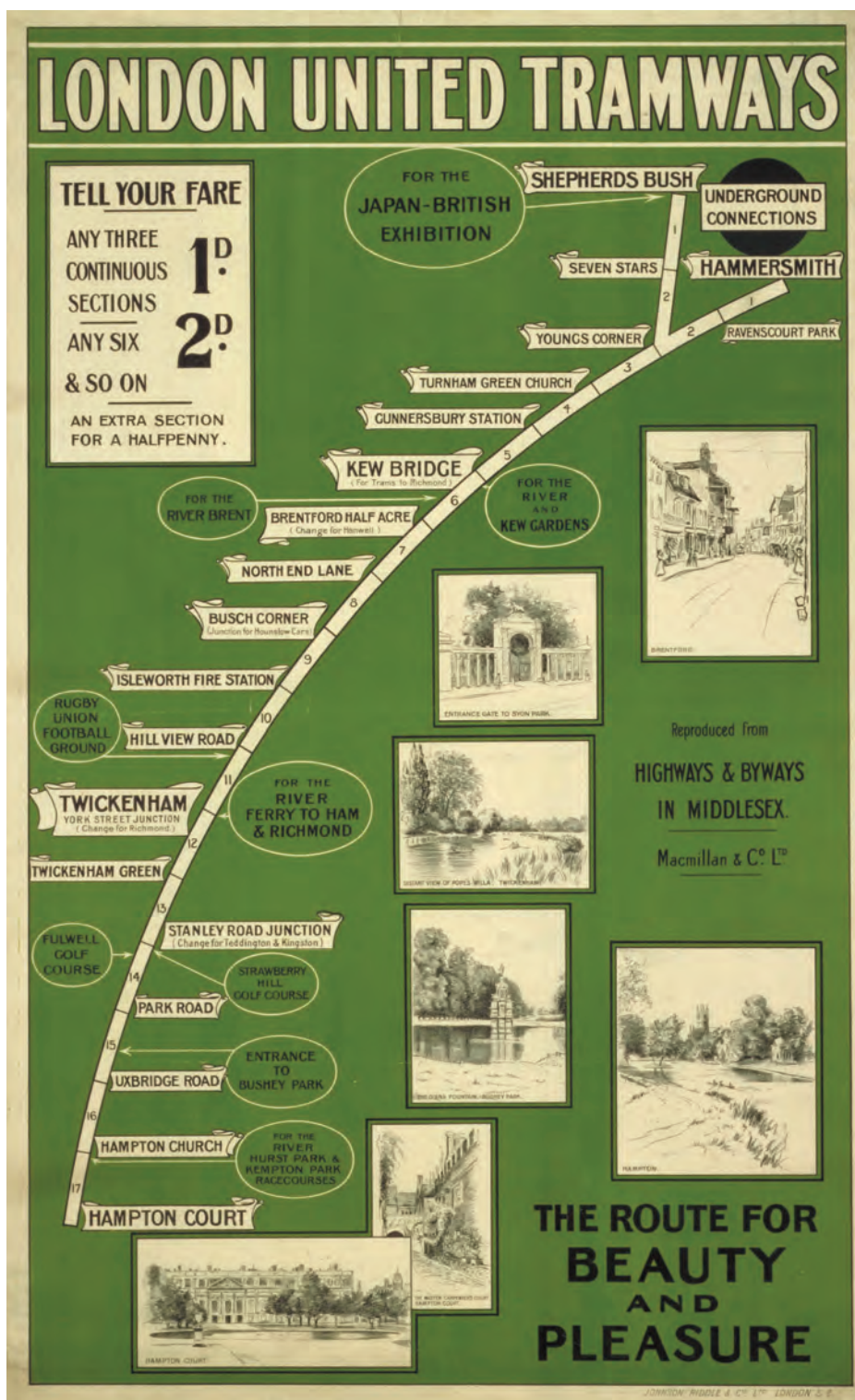
Printed by Johnson, Riddle & Company Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 635mm, Height: 1016mm

Reference number: 2006/376

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



London United Tramways - Map and Farechart: Hampton Court
Unknown Artist, 1910

Published by Underground Electric Railways Company Ltd.

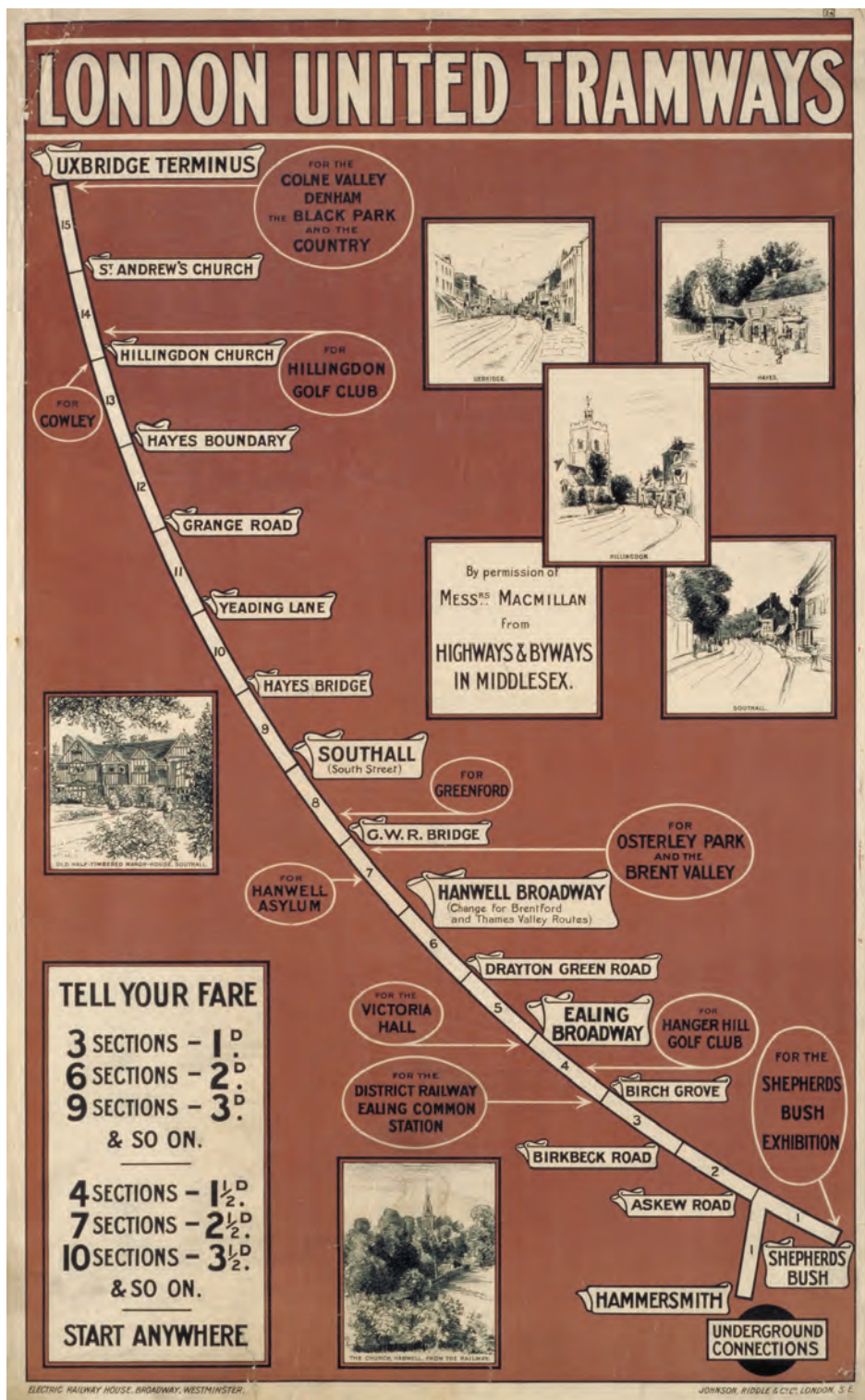
Printed by Johnson, Riddle & Company Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 635mm, Height: 1016mm

Reference number: 1983/4/96

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum




London United Tramways Map and Fare Chart: Uxbridge Terminus
Unknown Artist, 1910

Published by London United Tramways Company
 Printed by Johnson, Riddle & Company Ltd.
 Format: Double royal
 Dimensions: Width: 635mm, Height: 1016mm
 Reference number: 1983/4/95

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum

UNDERGROUND

HARROW




INTERIOR OF CHURCH, EAST END.

**THE FINEST
VIEW-POINT
NEAR LONDON**


**MEMORABLE
FOR ITS
ASSOCIATIONS**

**A CENTRE FOR
WALKS IN THE
COUNTRY**


**BOOK TO
SOUTH HARROW
BY DISTRICT
RAILWAY**




HIGH STREET.




NEW SPEECH HOUSE.




VAUGHAN LIBRARY.




THE "BYRON" ELM & TOMBSTONE.




SCHOOL BUILDINGS.



PLAYING FIELDS.



WEST STREET.



THE CHURCH & LYCH GATE.

222-1000, 30.5.12.

T. WAY, LITH. 6 & 7, GOUGH SQUARE, E.C.

Harrow

Thomas Robert Way, 1912

Published by Underground Electric Railway Company Ltd.

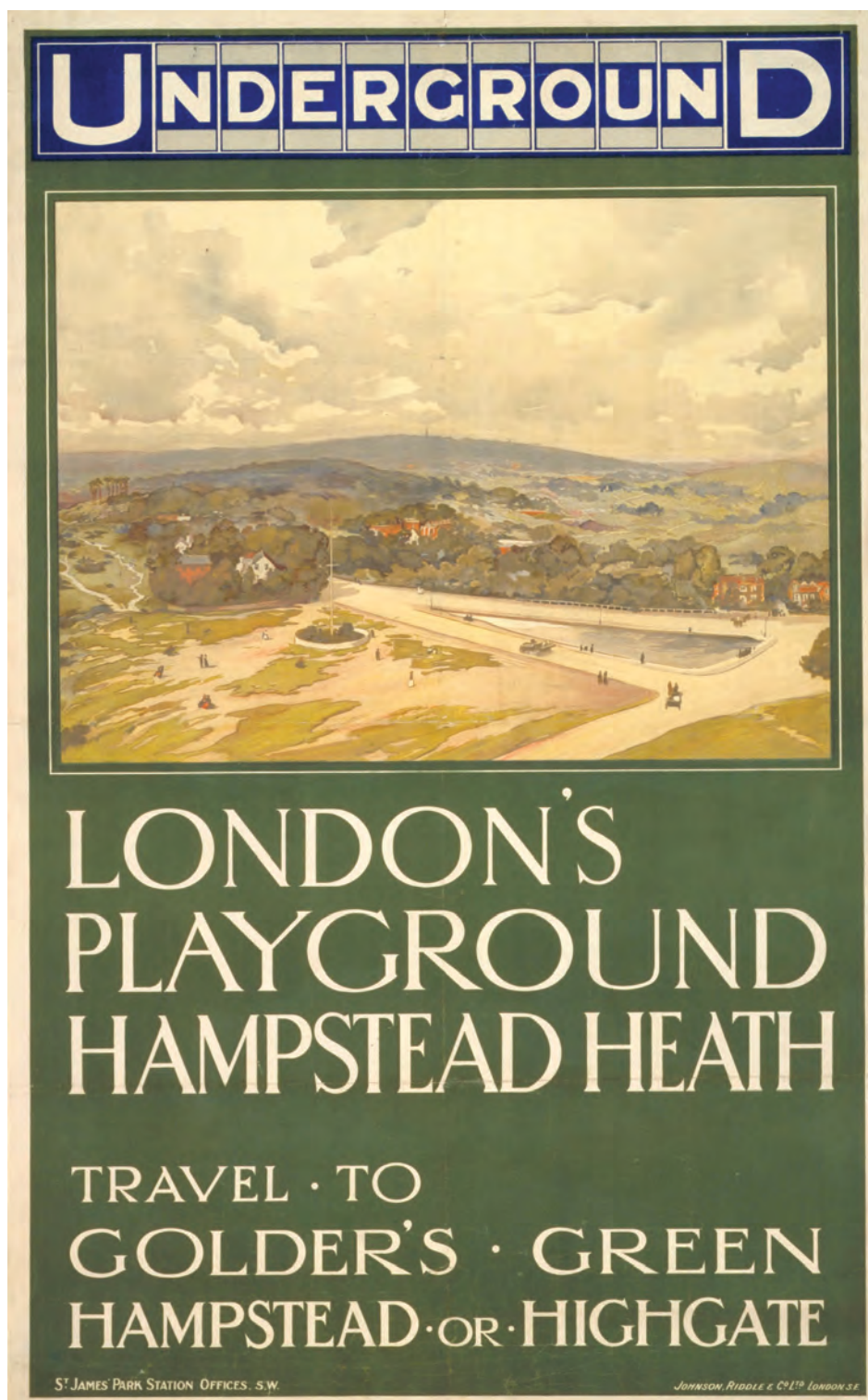
Printed by T R Way and Company Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 635mm, Height: 1016mm

Reference number: 1983/4/168

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



London's Playground: Hampstead Heath

Unknown Artist, 1908

Published by Underground Electric Railway Company Ltd.

Printed by Johnson, Riddle & Company Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 635mm, Height: 1016mm

Reference number: 1983/4/15

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Book to Perivale, Sudbury or Harrow

Charles Sharland, 1909

Published by Underground Electric Railway Company Ltd.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 635mm, Height: 1016mm

Reference number: 1983/4/27

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Engraving, Northolt Church near Perivale, 1909

This image, reproduced from *Highways and Byways in Middlesex* features two young girls. It has been constructed similarly to other images depicting this area from the same time period, including Underground publicity material (see Plates 21 and Appendix F).

Reproduced from:
Walter Jerrold. *Highways & Byways in Middlesex* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1909), 249.



Underground for Country Walks (Middlesex), 1912 (Cover)

This Underground pamphlet features two young girls. It has been constructed similarly to other images depicting this area from the same time period, including an Underground poster and engravings from contemporaneous guidebooks (see Plates 21 and Appendix E).



I Came by Underground to Golders Green

Alfred France, 1910

Published by Underground Electric Railway Company Ltd.

Printed by Avenue Press Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 635mm, Height: 1016mm

Reference number: 1983/4/73

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Too Much of a Good Thing

John Henry Lloyd, 1910

Published by Underground Electric Railway Company Ltd.

Printed by Johnson, Riddle & Company Ltd.

Format: Double royal

Dimensions: Width: 635mm, Height: 1016mm

Reference number: 2000/9389

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum



Photograph of Underground Station Model, Embankment, Villiers Street, WC2N
Unknown Photographer, 1916

Charing Cross station (now Embankment) Underground station; District, Circle, Bakerloo and Northern line. Close-up of the Villiers Street entrance, featuring a large mosaic roundel displaying “Underground” on the facade of the building. Below, either side of the doorway another mosaic reading Bakerloo, Hampstead & District Railways is displayed. Beneath each of these are skyline logo, glass fronted poster panels displaying to the right a tube map and to the left three posters. A canopy over the entrance displays ‘Charing Cross and Underground’. There is a clock on top of the canopy. Two men stand outside of the station, holding newspapers and posters with the days headlines on them. The poster on the left hand side of the model is “Book to Perivale, Sudbury or Harrow (Plate 25). Reference Number: 1998/89621

Courtesy of the London Transport Museum

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