

ROYAL SPECTACLE:
THE 1860 VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES
TO CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

In 1860 Queen Victoria sent her eighteen-year-old son, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, on a goodwill mission to Canada and the United States. The young heir apparent (later King Edward VII) had not yet gained his reputation as a fashion setter and rake, but he nevertheless attracted enormous crowds both in Canada, where it was the first royal visit, and in the United States. Civic leaders hosted the visitor in princely style, decorating their towns with triumphal arches and organizing royal entries, public processions, openings, and grand balls.

In *Royal Spectacle*, Ian Radforth recreates these displays of civic pride by making use of the many public and private accounts of them and analyses the heated controversies the visit provoked. When communities rushed to honour the prince and put themselves on display, social divisions inadvertently became part of the spectacle seen by the prince and described by visiting journalists. Street theatre reached a climax in Kingston, where the Prince of Wales could not disembark from his steamer because of the defiance of thousands of Orangemen dressed in their brilliant regalia and waving their banners.

Contemporary depictions of the tour provide an opportunity to interpret the cultural values and social differences that shaped Canada during the confederation decade and the United States on the eve of the Civil War. Topics explored include the Orange-Green conflict, First Nations and the politics of public display, contested representations of race and gender, the 'tourist gaze,' and the meanings of crown and empire. An original and erudite study, *Royal Spectacle* contributes greatly to historical research on public spectacle, colonial and national identities, Britishness in the Atlantic world, and the history of the monarchy.

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Royal Spectacle

The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales
to Canada and the United States

Ian Radforth

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*To the memory of my parents,
Margaret Elizabeth (Thomson) Radforth and
Sydney Edwin Radforth*

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Acknowledgments

For several months during the summer and autumn of 1860, the visit to Canada and the United States made by Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, captured the imagination of newspaper readers in England and North America. Lavish public spectacles honouring the eighteen-year-old prince (the future King Edward VII) prompted an outpouring of commentary as people pondered their fascination with royalty, gave expression to their gender, ethnic, regional, and class identities, and laid claims to public space and royal recognition. A few years ago, the young prince's celebrated tour caught my attention as a historian, and fortunately for me it has held my interest even though I have been with the tour for many more months than it took young Bertie to make the trip in the first place. While following the perambulations of His Royal Highness, I have incurred a number of debts, which I am pleased to acknowledge here.

By gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, I have been able to make use of material from the Royal Archives at Windsor. Archivists and librarians have given me the benefit of their professional assistance at a number of institutions: the British Library; the British Library Newspaper Library; the National Archives of Canada; the Archives of Ontario; the Toronto Reference Library; the City of Toronto Archives; the New York Public Library; the Chicago Public Library; the Bodleian Library, Oxford University; Robarts Library, University of Toronto; the Harriet Irving Library, University of New Brunswick; and Wayne State University Library. At the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, the registrar, Lady Sheila de Ballaigue, and her staff were wonderfully patient and knowledgeable when answering my questions and accommodating my research needs. The meticulous

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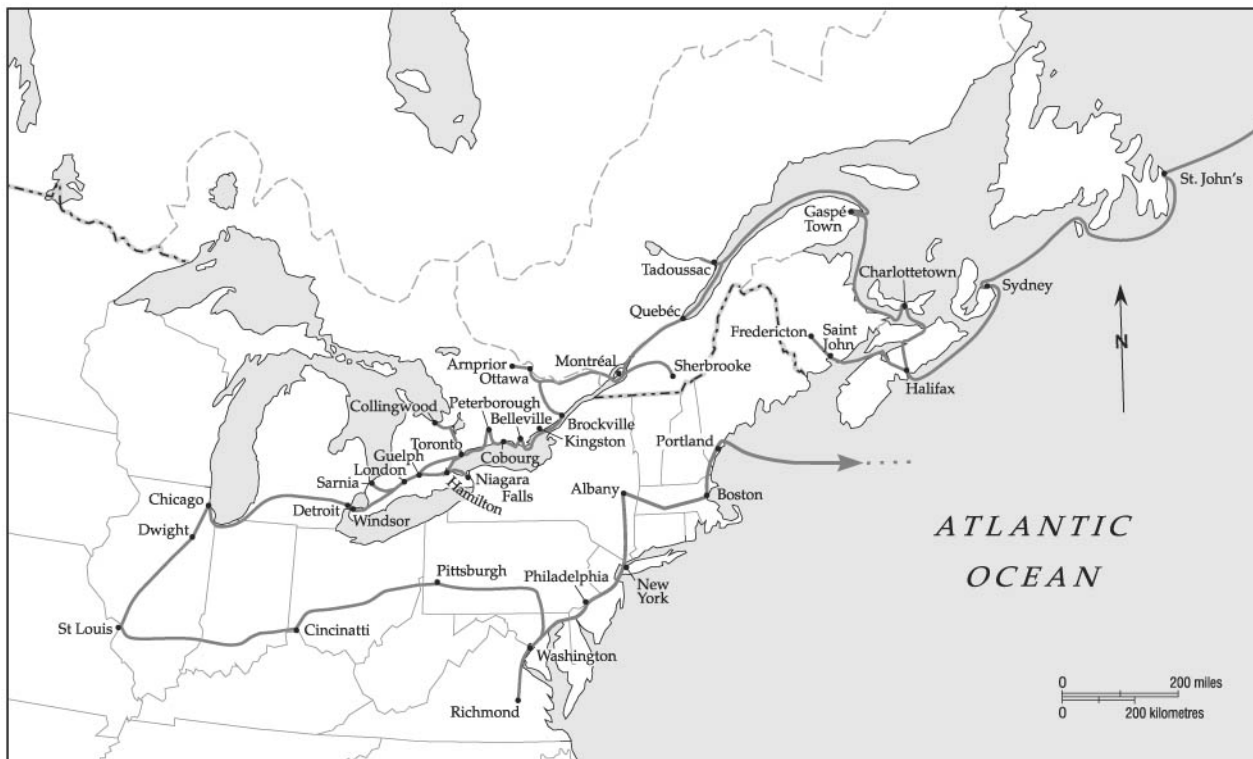
It is a pleasure to acknowledge the many historians and friends who have encouraged and cajoled me along the way. For their advice and support I want to thank my Toronto colleagues Carl Benn, Allan Greer, Sean Hawkins, Lori Loeb, Mark McGowan, Cecilia Morgan, Arthur Silver, Barbara Todd, Mariana Valverde, and Sylvia Van Kirk. Allan Greer generously helped me with the French translations. Scholars elsewhere have been equally generous in assisting and encouraging me: Phillip Buckner, Gail Campbell, Adam Crerar, Nancy Christie, Christina Harzig, Elsbeth Heaman, Dirk Hoerder, Jim Miller, Ruth Phillips, and Wendy Mitchinson. My good friends Judith Wilson and Stephen Trumper gave much-appreciated advice on the title.

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My arguments have been sharpened by feedback given by students and colleagues. The undergraduates in my seminar 'Spectacles, Crowds, and Parades' have helped me more than they know. Colleagues asked stimulating questions when I gave papers on various occasions: the Conference on Spectacle, Monument, and Memory held at York University; the Canadian Historical Association meeting at Memorial University of Newfoundland; the Conference on Boundaries hosted by the Centre of Canadian Studies, University of Edinburgh; the Conference on Recasting Canadian History organized by the Research Centre in Canadian Studies, the University of Genoa; the 2000 meeting of the Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien in Grainau, Germany; the 2003 conference of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association held in Banff, Alberta. I appreciate the penetrating questions that I was

asked when I gave guest lectures at the University of New Brunswick, the University of Manitoba, and Brandon University. On two occasions, I greatly benefited from comments made by members of the Early Canada History Group at the University of Toronto. And I particularly appreciate the advice given by my friends and colleagues in the Labour Studies Research Group who indulged me when I turned to a topic outside our usual fare.

Last but by no means least, I want to thank my partner, Franca Iacovetta. I have benefited enormously from her advice as a historian, and she gave me a much-needed push at a moment when I despaired that the tour would never end. Hosting a royal visitor in our midst was hardly what Franca expected when she first took up with a labour historian more than two decades ago. Yet she put up with Bertie as he intruded into our daily lives in Toronto, our summers on Keewaydin Island, our sojourns in Molise and Abruzzo. Here is my opportunity to acknowledge publicly her unflagging support and love.



The tour route of the Prince of Wales, 1860

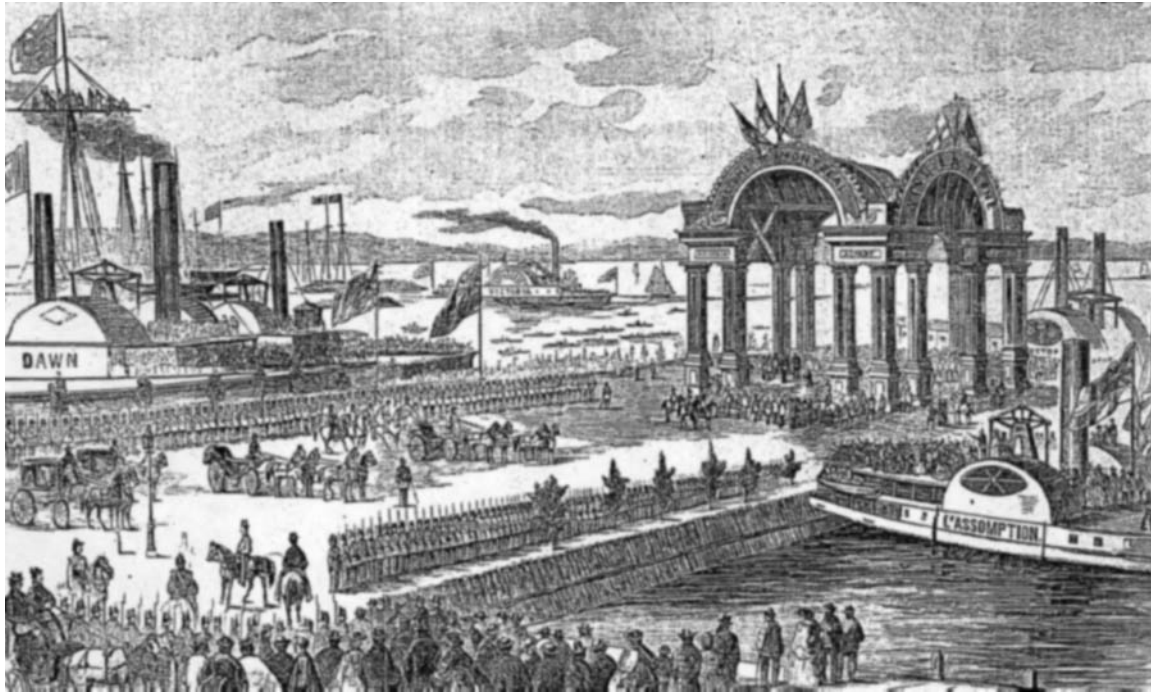
ROYAL SPECTACLE

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Introduction

At 9:30 on the morning of Saturday, 25 August 1860, Albert Edward, the eighteen-year-old Prince of Wales, stepped smartly down from the steamer *Kingston* onto the wharf at Bonsecours Market in Montreal. As church bells rang across the city and a salute thundered from the canon of the volunteer artillery, the St Helen's battery, and the guns of the men-of-war anchored in the harbour, the crowd of 40,000 to 50,000 spectators roared their welcome. The cheering in French about equalled the volume of cheers in English. 'Howard,' the reporter from the *New York Times*, told readers that in 'the square behind, on the immense market, on the decks of all the steamboats and the roofs of the neighboring and distant houses, were crowds of people, who, by their numbers, made the whole space ... black and dark.'¹ Brightening the scene were the vast swaths of red-white-and-blue bunting and the thousands of white handkerchiefs waived by the jubilant onlookers. In a cordoned-off space, the lady guests in their hoop skirts and crinolines made as pretty a show as possible, given that the heavy rain had only just stopped and mud clung to everything save for the church steeples.

At the centre of the scene, close to the handsome red and white pavilion where the welcome ceremonies were to take place, stood the dignitaries and members of the press. While some of these men – they were all men – appeared in sombre broadcloth or the black robes of judges, lawyers, and Protestant clergy, others added colour to the scene: the Roman Catholic bishops in their purple soutanes, and various uniformed officers of the British army, the Royal Navy, the Canadian volunteer forces, and the visiting band of the Boston Fusiliers. Even the co-premiers of Canada, George-Étienne Cartier and John A. Macdonald, along with the other cabinet ministers, wore smart blue



The landing of the Prince of Wales at Bonsecours Market Wharf, Montreal. This illustration highlights the order and formality of the arrangements, the predominance of steam power, and the two working languages of the city. The mottoes on the arch read 'WELCOME TO MONTREAL' and 'VIVE LA REINE.' (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 8 September 1860)

and silver court uniforms, complete with cocked hats, white kid gloves, and swords. No one, however, outdid Charles-Séraphin Rodier, the mayor of Montreal, who for this special occasion, which meant much to him personally,² chose to cloak his immense, rotund figure in a newly made outfit modelled on that of London's lord mayor: a scarlet gown, trimmed with martin fur, lined with white satin, and fastened by gold clasps; a large black hat over a black wig; lilac-coloured gloves and a sword. Needless to say, the journalists, and especially visiting ones, could not resist poking fun at the mayor, whose appearance nearly overshadowed that of the long-awaited prince.

The privilege of greeting the Prince of Wales fell to Mayor Rodier. 'With mincing step and swinging tail,' wrote Howard, the mayor came up to the prince, 'outstretched his arm stiffly, waved it dignifiedly, and pompously signified to the Prince to follow.' Having ushered the royal visitor to his throne chair, Rodier then 'diddled down the steps, put on his specs, pulled down his ruffles, threw open his scarlet robe to display the satin lining, kicked his sword from between his legs, hemmed, hawed, and cleared his throat, preparatory to reading the municipal address.' Reading first in English and then in French, the mayor formally welcomed Queen Victoria's son, the heir apparent to the British throne. At each allusion to the queen or the prince, Rodier would bow low, 'his wig touching the upper step and the end of his sword pointing upwards towards the sky,' and the giant gold seal of office that hung from his neck 'jingled against the toes of his boots.' The address assured the prince that his mother had no more devoted and loyal subjects than the people of Montreal. The address referred as well to the Victoria Bridge, the new railway link spanning the broad St Lawrence at Montreal, which the prince was scheduled to open later in the day. It was, said the mayor, a 'magnificent monument to enterprise and skill with which the fame and prosperity of this city will evermore be intimately connected and most permanently identified.' Reading his reply in English, the prince acknowledged the civic officials' expression of loyalty to the British crown, thanked them for their kind words, and praised Montreal as 'a great emporium of the Trade of Canada ... whose growing prosperity offers so striking an example of what may be effected by energy and enterprise, under the influence of free institutions.'³

These ceremonies concluded, the prince then rode in the carriage of the governor general, Sir Edmund Head, at the head of a procession that wound through the city. In behind marched the dignitaries, vari-

ous volunteer militia units, including cavalry on chargers, and the members of a great many fraternal societies, each one proudly identified by badges and banners. Taking a place near the head of the procession were some Iroquois from Caughnawaga (Kanawake), dressed specially in buckskin and feathers and with faces painted for a ceremonial occasion.⁴ Everyone marching was male, but the crowds that lined the streets and cheered from windows and rooftops were made up of women and girls, as well as men and boys. The press represented the female spectators as being particularly enraptured by the romantic figure of a real-live prince – who knew, he might choose a Canadian girl as his bride, and she would one day become queen of England and the empire! Passing under eight grand, triumphal arches which had been specially built for the occasion, the procession eventually reached the new crystal palace on the campus of McGill University where a ‘Great Exhibition’ had been organized by the Lower Canada Board of Arts and Manufactures.⁵ After more ceremonies and addresses, the prince declared the exhibition open, and then he examined the displays of industrial goods, natural products, handicrafts, and art works. Later in the day, there were yet more ceremonies, when the prince drove the last spike in Victoria Bridge, and in connection with the lavish banquet that followed. In the evening, crowds milled about the streets of Montreal, admiring the illuminations and enjoying the festive feeling. The prince tried to join in the fun by disguising himself in a slouch hat drawn low on his brow, but he and his chaperone were soon discovered, and so they rode off through the cheering, pressing throng.

So ended the first day of a busy week that the prince spent based in Montreal. While staying there, he would worship at Christ Church Cathedral, attend a display of ‘Indian Games,’ dance at ‘one of the grandest balls ever given on the continent,’ run the rapids in the St Lawrence River above the city, listen to a specially composed cantata at a musical festival, review the volunteer militia of Montreal and district, journey by canoe to pretty Île Dorval, tour the Eastern Townships, and gasp in wonder at a spectacular fireworks display. The jam-packed visit to Montreal came mid-way through the prince’s tour of British North America – the first royal visit to ‘Canada.’⁶ Immediately following this tour, the prince made a six-week, unofficial trip through the United States. Everywhere he went, the prince was met by large crowds of curious onlookers, welcomed by civic and other officials, shown the local sights, and entertained in fine style. In British North America, where the tour had the status of an official state visit, local

communities went out of their way to put themselves on display in ways that they hoped would redound to their credit, mustering all the pomp and circumstance they could for this once-in-a-lifetime occasion.

This book tells the story of the prince's 1860 tour from its beginning as a proposal coming from the Province of Canada legislature through to His Royal Highness's return to England. It is in part an exercise in historical recovery: the visit passed from public memory long ago and even in histories of the period it gets scarcely a mention.⁷ Yet the coming of the Prince of Wales to British North America and to the United States appeared tremendously important to contemporaries who poured money, talent, and time into staging spectacles and entertainments for the pleasure and profit of the prince and other visitors. Civic promoters of the tour went to great lengths to represent local places and people in ways they imagined to be appropriate for the occasion. Everyone knew that the intensive international press coverage of the royal tour would draw attention to the North America's cities and countryside, and residents could only hope that reports would be flattering. As intended by Queen Victoria and her advisers, the visit provoked much public enthusiasm for the monarchy among Her Majesty's subjects living in North America, and many public expressions of appreciation for the freedom and self-government possible under the British crown – a theme echoed in many subsequent royal visits to Canada and other dominions and colonies.⁸ During the 1860 visit to the United States, huge, curious crowds greeted Albert Edward, and various prominent figures spoke warmly of the good relations between the United States and Great Britain. At the same time, the prince's coming prompted considerable soul-searching about the meaning of the English crown for people living in former colonies that were now states of a great republic.

While touching on a range of matters relating to the visit, this book focuses on the ceremonies and spectacles of the sort the prince encountered in Montreal. I examine how civic programs of welcome were devised: who got a say, how people and social groups went about exercising their right to make decisions on behalf of their communities, and the means for legitimating their choices. The ensuing debates and struggles expose the political cultures and the power relations at work in the cities of mid-Victorian Canada and the United States. Similarly, I assess the attempts made by various groups that sought public and royal recognition and that claimed a right to public space. It comes as no surprise that these were highly contested matters; more significant

and intriguing is what the contests reveal about the fault lines in civic cultures, the tensions between metropole and colony, and the meaning of monarchy for various groups.

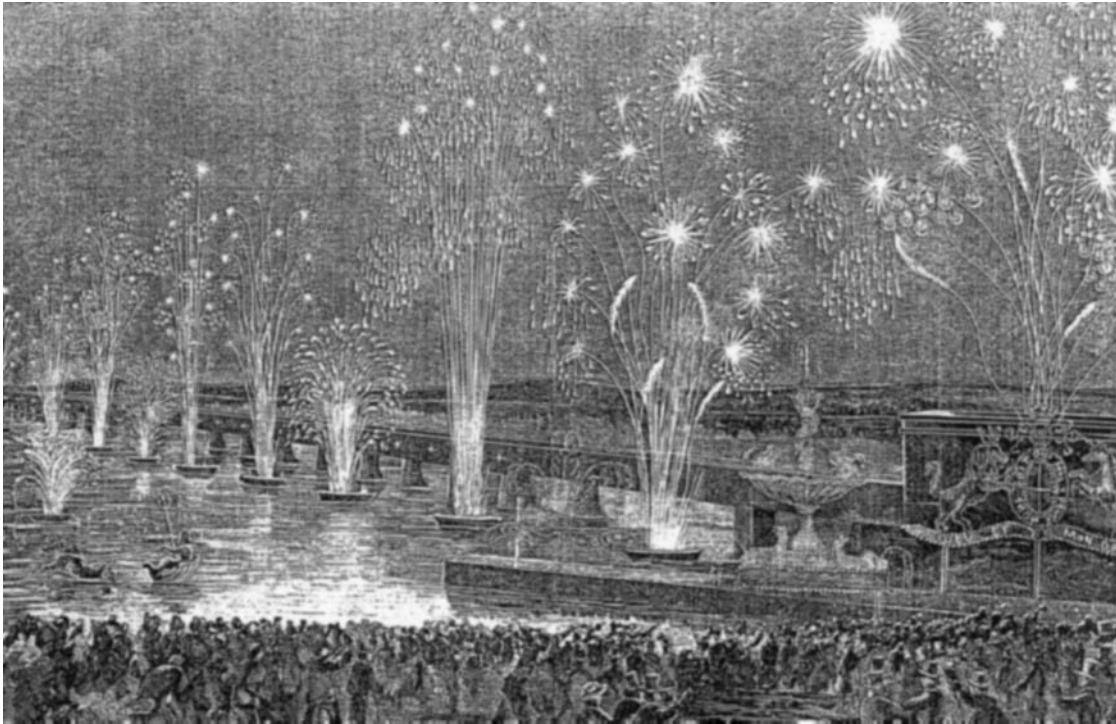
As we will see, when putting on a show for the prince, residents ended up showing off much more than they intended about themselves and their communities. Differences of gender, class, religion, and race came into play, however much the supporters of the tour sought to convey the impression of harmonious, progressive New World communities. Various Aboriginal people called attention to their presence and their concerns by performing in buckskin and feathers. The Roman Catholic hierarchy in Quebec assumed a prominent place on public platforms, making clear the church's strength in French Canada. Orangemen in Kingston and Belleville sought equal recognition from the prince and took to the streets in a vain effort to get it, a move that provoked such a public controversy that it nearly derailed the tour. Though women of every racial and religious group found themselves excluded from centre stage during civic ceremonies, women were there throughout: as enthusiastic spectators, as workers behind the scenes, and as crinolined dancers momentarily caught in the limelight at the many public balls enjoyed by the prince during his tour. In these and many other ways, the actual public performances, and the journalists' representations of them, complicated the simple images of harmonious communities that civic reception committees so assiduously crafted. The 1860 visit would highlight colonial loyalty and American goodwill towards England, but it would reveal much more as well.

This study is based mainly on contemporary newspaper sources. Local newspapers reported on preparations for the prince's visit to their towns, relating discussions held by civic reception committees, detailing the decorations prepared for the special occasion, and advertising goods and services available for participants or spectators. And, of course, they described the local visit, almost always in triumphal terms. The great metropolitan dailies, however, are an even more significant source because they could afford to provide extensive coverage of events both in their home towns and as the prince moved from place to place. Some of these papers, such as the *Toronto Globe* and the *Montreal Gazette*, contracted with journalists on the spot or they sent their own reporters to cover visits to particular places. Even more extensive was the coverage in New York and London newspapers that assigned their own 'special correspondents' to travel with the prince

for the entire tour. 'Howard' of the New York *Times* was the pen name for one such journalist (Arthur Harvey), and he had his equivalents in other leading New York papers: the New York *Herald* and the *Daily Tribune*. Nathaniel Woods, the special correspondent covering the tour for the *Times* of London, became a familiar figure in his own right in 1860, as newspapers everywhere reproduced his locally controversial 'letters.' These journalists, assigned because of their descriptive powers and flair for storytelling, sent in lively reports aimed at building readership and circulation. Quite new at the time, such human-interest reporting of distant events became feasible only with the emergence of well-financed, big-circulation dailies and the expansion of telegraphic and railway networks in the 1850s. The transatlantic cable, laid shortly before the visit, ought to have made transmissions to London just as rapid, but in fact the cable was not in good working order at the time of the visit. Mail steamers carried reports across the Atlantic in about two weeks.⁹

The 1860 visit became a media sensation. British North American newspapers, which had always been preoccupied with politics, now dwelt on matters of protocol, dress, and street decorations. In American and Canadian newspapers, French-Canadian journals included,¹⁰ the coverage of wrangling over local arrangements and elaborate celebrations everywhere filled column after column packed with tiny Victorian type. So popular and controversial did the story become that in the New York newspapers it threatened to crowd out other contemporary news concerning such matters as the presidential election campaign that brought Abraham Lincoln to the White House and the military struggle of Giuseppe Garibaldi that resulted in the unification of Italy. The illustrated newspapers of New York and London also lavished attention on the festivities, providing readers with hundreds of images based on sketches by artists on the scene or by members of their own staffs on special assignment with the tour.¹¹ In the months following the prince's return to England, no less than six 'instant books' were published to commemorate the tour and take advantage of public interest.¹²

This fascination with the young prince, and with the receptions given him, had to do with such matters as the novelty of the occasion – the arrival in North America of a real-life prince, the heir to the world's most powerful nation and empire – and the widespread admiration for Victoria and her domestic circle, but it resulted as well from the vitality of the journalism of the day. The press conveyed a keen sense of the



Fireworks punctuate the celebrations for the opening of the Victoria Bridge, Montreal. (*Harper's Weekly*, 1 September 1860)

drama of the occasion – the uncommonly brilliant spectacles, the extraordinarily large and motley crowds, the passions of those who came into conflict as a result of the visit. Best of all, the journalists of 1860 had fun narrating the visit. It was a happy break from the squabbling of provincial politicians and from the bitter fights in the United States over secession and slavery that would shortly lead to the outbreak of civil war. Journalists used humour, mockery, and hyperbole to enliven their stories of the tour. In this book I have, in turn, relied on the irreverence of much of the journalism of 1860 to enhance my retelling of the story. In places, the nature of the humour reminds me of our distance from the culture of the mid-Victorian period, but elsewhere I find myself chuckling right along with the original readers.

The journalists' accounts and assessments of what they saw during the tour lend themselves to close reading for meaning, that is to say, for insights into both the social relations and the cultural values of the period. Particularly interesting are the international conversations that took place as local commentators responded to the accounts penned by visiting journalists. At a time when residents knew that their town was in full public view for all the world to see, they were interested – and often horrified – to learn what others thought of them. In the process, civic and other identities were presented, re-presented, and reassessed.

In addition to scrutinizing these public records of the tour, I have turned where possible to private sources that shed light on the events. Where such sources have survived at all, they are generally less extensive and less consistent in their coverage of the tour than the public ones. Precious indeed is the diary of George Templeton Strong, a wealthy New Yorker who planned and participated in his city's reception for the prince and who daily recorded his impressions in a manner that was frank and acerbic.¹³ I have been fortunate, too, in having access to some fine collections of letters written by the prince and members of his 'suite' – the entourage that travelled with him. The prince himself wrote frequently to his parents, giving them brief and guarded indications of what he saw and thought about his trip.¹⁴ His personal governor, General Robert Bruce, kept the young prince's father apprised of how the tour was going and how its main attraction was handling the public attention.¹⁵ Reports also went back to England from the fifth Duke of Newcastle – the colonial secretary and the prince's political adviser and travelling companion during the tour. He penned some formal letters to Queen Victoria and more frank ones to the prime minister, Lord Palmerston.¹⁶ The richest letters written by a

member of the royal entourage were the work of Dr Henry Wentworth Acland, Regius professor of medicine at Oxford University and the prince's physician during the tour.¹⁷ Acland kept in frequent touch with his own family, and he sent home many long 'journal letters,' which commented on the sites and celebrations as well as on relations among members of the suite. In addition, Acland was an accomplished artist who sketched and painted hundreds of scenes during the trip, and these are available today in the National Archives at Ottawa in the same pristine condition as when the doctor presented them as a Christmas gift to his wife in December 1860.¹⁸

In making sense of these primary sources, both public and private, I have drawn on insights gleaned from reading a range of secondary sources, especially the recent literature that explores public spectacles in the past. Scholars of early-modern Europe have done outstanding work on the period's exceptionally rich civic pageantry, which drew from classical models to express contemporary concerns.¹⁹ In a curious yet obvious way, the royal entry of the Prince of Wales at Montreal in 1860 bears a connection to both the Renaissance and the classical precedents. More relevant still is a growing literature on street rituals in nineteenth-century cities, most notably studies by American historians interested in the parading tradition and the many civic celebrations of the period. Theatre historian Brooks McNamara has studied state visits to New York – including that by the Prince of Wales in 1860 – as staged performances. Susan G. Davis has explored the ways in which parades put on display the social order of the nineteenth-century American city. With a keen appreciation of gender dynamics, Mary P. Ryan has perceptively examined nineteenth-century public-holiday celebrations in three American cities and shown how a public was constructed even as the festivities engendered 'civic wars' among conflicting social groups.²⁰

Equally helpful have been recent works on the rituals of monarchy, particularly those of Victoria's reign. Eric Hobsbawm and David Cannadine revived interest in this field in 1983 with their contributions in the influential collection *The Invention of Tradition*.²¹ Cannadine drew attention to the fact that, over time, the forms and significance of royal ritual in Britain have been far from unchanging, and he contrasted the early- and mid-Victorian periods, when a utilitarian outlook held pageantry in low esteem, with the late nineteenth century, when imperialism fostered the extravagant pageantry of the queen's jubilees. For the past two decades, scholars have refined our knowledge of such rituals,

qualified Cannadine's periodization, and cast doubt on the validity of the term 'invention' in this context.²² William M. Kuhn, in his 1996 book *Democratic Royalism*,²³ analyses 'the high politics of symbolic representation' by showing how leading figures in English public life during the period 1861–1911 devised ceremonies of monarchy that reinforced class hierarchies *and* a sense of national community at the same time. Kuhn argues that these ceremonies helped to make monarchy relevant in an increasingly urban, industrial, and democratic polity, a theme taken up by other scholars too.²⁴ In *The Contentious Crown* (1997), Richard Williams examines the two strands of commentary on the monarchy in Victorian England, one critical, the other reverential, and shows how support for pomp and circumstance grew over time. Even in the first phase of Victoria's reign, the so-called utilitarian decades, there was tremendous enthusiasm for royal spectacles and a popular feeling that Victoria and her court could do more to gratify the public.²⁵

More recently still, John Plunkett, in *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, acknowledges that elaborate royal ceremony was less characteristic of the first third of Victoria reign than it would later become, but he shows that in the earlier period, before Victoria's widowhood (which began in December 1861), the queen and her consort became hugely popular as a result of their frequent public engagements and the intense media coverage of them. The press cast the royal family's many tours and visits throughout England and Scotland 'as a recognition of Victoria's reliance on the approval of her subjects, a celebration of the inclusivity and participation of the People in the political nation.'²⁶ These media reports, argues Plunkett, were expressed in 'the discourse of popular constitutionalism,' and they gave expression to 'royal populism.'²⁷ As we will see, the 1860 tour of British North America was part and parcel of this phenomenon. The prince's endless round of public engagements dominated the public sphere in the colonies that summer and gained wide press attention in the United States and Great Britain as well. Moreover, many reports from Canada represented the prince's popularity as being a happy sign of the people's public participation in the political life of the British nation writ large. Thus, while Plunkett confines his analysis to England, it can usefully be extended to parts of the wider empire. The 1860 tour is an illustration par excellence of the interconnectedness of cultural developments in the metropole and in the colonies.

Some of the scholarship on public spectacle explicitly focuses on the

formation of national identity. In the British case, of course, royal rituals were one of the important means for expressing nationality, as Linda Colley explains in her magisterial book, *Britons*.²⁸ And even in the case of the United States, royal rituals provided ready models for certain spectacles in the large repertoire of public celebrations that helped shaped American nationalism during the formative years of the republic. A wide-ranging study of this topic by David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, shows, for example, how George Washington's presidential tours featured civic receptions, complete with formal entry ceremonies, militia reviews, triumphal arches, and public addresses that hailed him as a war hero, founder of the nation, and father of the republic.²⁹ The story of a particular Canadian spectacle of nationalism/s has been brilliantly told by H.V. Nelles in *The Art of Nation-Building*, which studies the pageantry performed on the occasion of Quebec's tercentenary in 1908 before a large audience that included another Prince of Wales.³⁰ As Nelles shows, in 1908 a civic reception grew into a commemorative event that used romantic notions of the Canadian past as a medium for advancing contemporary political struggles and nation building. Nelles's study graces a small but ever-growing list of books on commemoration in Canada.³¹ In this connection I want to stress at the outset that, while the 1860 visit had its commemorative aspects, the tour was not mainly about looking to the past nor about using history for nationalistic purposes. In the spirit of the mid-Victorian decades, the 1860 visit looked resolutely *ahead* to further commercial expansion, industrial transformation, moral and social progress, and nation building. The two significant commemorative ceremonies performed by the prince – his opening of Montreal's Victoria Bridge and his laying of the foundation stone of the Ottawa legislature – were rituals that focused on new beginnings, on a promising future.

National identity was, of course, no straightforward matter in the British North American colonies of 1860. Local identities were strong, and the idea of a confederated state was as yet ill-defined. Old ties to France, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales fractured the population as well. People wondered whether a Canadian national identity were possible in a society where French Canadians had a sense of nationality that was distinct from, and in many ways at odds with, the national sentiment then stirring among English Canadians. Everyone – French Canadians, Irish Catholics, English Protestants, African Canadians, and others – was supposed to be proudly British, in the sense of being

part of an globe-encircling empire and linked by a sovereign who demanded allegiance but not cultural conformity. But in Canada West especially, the tidal wave of British immigration in the forty years before 1860 had reinforced notions of Britishness rooted in a cultural chauvinism that saw people from the cultural mainstream of the British Isles – its white, Protestant, and English-speaking core – as having a superior if not exclusive claim to a British identity. The 1860 tour brought both forms of Britishness into play and occasionally into conflict. Some British North Americans saw the young prince as the personification of British ethnic nationality and his visit as a confirmation of the dominance of the British ethnic fact in Canada. Other people of diverse origins latched onto the idea that they were all subjects of the queen, equal in their allegiance to her; the prince's visit was a reminder of the cultural diversity of the peoples of the empire. In sorting out these complex notions of identity, I have been influenced by the insights of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and some of the further studies and critiques it has engendered.³² Because of the colonial status of British North America in 1860, works in the new imperial history have also informed my study.³³ Catherine Hall has wisely insisted on the need to locate the racial and gender components of Englishness in the encounter between the metropole and the colonial empire.³⁴ In the white settler societies of British North America, Britishness was shaped as much by ongoing encounters with the metropole as by interactions with indigenous peoples and other residents of North America.

In organizing this account, I have parted company with the authors of the 'instant books' on the 1860 visit who followed the prince's movements from his landing at St John's, Newfoundland, to his departure from Portland, Maine. My rendition of the tour is organized topically with a bow towards chronology. The book begins with a chapter that provides background about the visit's origins, the itinerary, the division of responsibilities for the arrangements, and the leading players; it ends with the story of the prince's departure from England and transatlantic voyage. Chapter 2 turns to the preparations made in the Province of Canada and the other colonies for the prince's reception. The bulk of the book deals with the tour through British North America. Two chapters on the celebrations in colonial cities are followed by three chapters that focus on identity and inclusion. The section on British North America ends with a chapter on the prince as tourist. The last part of the book deals with the tour through the United States: one

chapter provides an overview of the American progress and the other a close look at the visit to New York City, a highpoint of the U.S. tour and indeed of the entire journey. In the book's conclusion, the prince sails home to England, the bills come in, and assessments are made of this royal spectacle.

Finally, an editorial note. Throughout this book I have used the terminology of the period to denote places. Thus, 'Canada' is sometimes used to refer to all the colonies or 'provinces' that made up what was more accurately known as 'British North America': Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the United Province of Canada. The United Province had two sections: Canada East and Canada West. In 1860 the former section, which would become the Province of Quebec in 1867, was often referred to as 'Lower Canada,' its name prior to the union of 1841, while the latter section, which became the province of Ontario in 1867, was often called by its previous name, 'Upper Canada.' In this book I use the names Lower Canada and Upper Canada interchangeably with Canada East and Canada West.

Proposal, Planning, and Players

The 1860 visit by the Prince of Wales came at the initiative of the legislature of the Province of Canada, whose members reflected the then-current admiration of the monarchy and British connection in their society. British power and prestige ran high in 1860, even though there had been some troubling recent developments: the sobering disasters of the Crimean War, the humiliating Indian Mutiny, and the outbreak of military conflict in China. Just a hint of defensiveness now lay behind the boasts of British imperialists that England was ‘the workshop of the world,’ that the Royal Navy ruled the waves, and that, whereas other nations and some former colonies had been wracked by revolution, Britain’s constitutional monarchy had endured. British North Americans were proud of the way responsible government – introduced under Victoria’s sceptre – had enabled the white settler colonies of the British empire to grow and prosper without their severing imperial ties or disclaiming monarchical traditions. Here was something to celebrate! Moreover, the comparative calm in social relations that was evident both in Great Britain and in its North American colonies by 1860 made it a propitious time for a visit.¹

‘May It please Your Majesty’

The 1859 invitation that brought the Prince of Wales to Canada came after a lengthy period of negotiations around the idea of a royal visit. Prior to 1859, Canadians had put forward various proposals for a royal visit, and though the queen turned them all down, in the mid-1850s, she had given encouragement to the notion that one day such a visit might take place. According to the official biographer of the Prince of

Wales, the queen wanted to express her appreciation for the imperial sentiment demonstrated by Canada during the Crimean War (1854–6). When approached immediately after the conflict by a delegation from Canada inviting her to visit, she had said that while she could not go herself, the Prince of Wales might make the trip once old enough to do so.²

The 1850s also saw some noisy critics of imperial policy – the so-called Little Englanders – gain attention by publicly expressing doubts about the value of colonies.³ In response, British imperialists wanted to reassure the colonists that they were indeed valued: a royal visit would serve that purpose well. Moreover, in Canada, the rebellious days of 1837–8 and of the 1849 Annexation Manifesto had passed. Canadian politicians of nearly every stripe were content to work within British institutions and the framework of monarchy and empire. The advent of responsible government in the colonies had worked wonders – not least among the French Canadians who had posed the biggest threat to British authority in 1837–8.⁴ Hostile and insulting remarks about the young Queen Victoria, uttered in some quarters in both Lower and Upper Canada in the rebellion era, were seldom heard twenty years later.⁵ There was little doubt that, overwhelmingly, Canadians would be gratified by a visit from the Prince of Wales and that he would be welcomed with loyal fervour.

The 1859 invitation from the Canadian legislature grew directly out of a botched proposal of the previous year. In the summer of 1858, John Gustavus Norris, a resident of Toronto with Reform party connections but no official position, got up a petition inviting the queen to send the Prince of Wales to Canada to open the new crystal palace exhibition hall in Toronto that October.⁶ Although the petition was presented to the queen, there was no hope of approval because Norris had failed to go through proper channels by submitting it to the governor general, and in any case it had arrived too late in the year for serious consideration of an autumn visit. Back in Canada, the Conservative newspapers ridiculed Norris,⁷ but Reformers were pleased that the petition had at least reached the queen. The Toronto city council (and its Reform mayor) formally thanked Norris for his mission and expressed the ‘fervent hope’ that a royal visit to the city might soon take place.⁸

Norris’s petition gained a great deal of press attention in Great Britain, where various journals praised this colonial expression of loyalty and endorsed the idea of a royal visit. The London *Morning Post* observed that the timing of the request for a visit was ‘singularly

opportune.' Technological advances, such as the Atlantic cable, trunk railways, and steam shipping, were linking the continents more closely. Moreover, Canadians were prospering and loyal. A royal visitor to Canada would see not only 'what the enterprise of Britain in Canada has already accomplished' but also 'that English institutions, English liberty, English self-reliance, and English loyalty are plants which do not deteriorate in the soil of Canada.' Some newspapers urged that a tour of the United States be appended to the visit to Canada. The *Leinster Express* of Belfast, for instance, argued that a tour of the States would be 'evidence of kindred feeling between communities derived from one common stock.' For Canadians, the most reassuring news came from the gossipy London *Court Journal*, which reported that in court circles there was 'a hope, and a well-grounded hope too, that in the course of the next summer the people of our great American dependencies will have their feelings gratified by a visit from some prominent member of the Royal Family, such as the Prince of Wales.'⁹

Shortly after the queen had seen Norris's petition, she invited the Canadian premier, George-Étienne Cartier, who happened to be visiting London, to Windsor Castle for the weekend. Cartier's visit with the royal couple was bound to go off well. The charming French Canadian from Montreal was an Anglophile and monarchist; indeed, he had even named a daughter 'Reine-Victoria'!¹⁰ It was in the course of this visit to Windsor that Cartier said that 'an inhabitant of Lower Canada was an Englishman who spoke French.'¹¹ When the queen and Cartier talked about a royal visit to Canada,¹² he would have been enthusiastic and reassuring, dispelling any qualms there might have been about French Canada's response.¹³ As the single most powerful politician in Canada East, Cartier worked closely both with the Roman Catholic hierarchy in French Canada and with the Anglo-dominated business community of Montreal. After returning to Canada, Cartier backed the legislature's initiative that came at the end of the session in May 1859. In the assembly he moved the address to the queen.¹⁴

The address to Victoria gained the support of both chambers of the legislature without a single dissenting vote. In the 1850s, complete agreement was seldom reached in the Canadian legislature, where partisan differences were keenly felt and where the government majority was always in doubt. The Liberal-Conservative government in power in the Province of Canada in 1859-60 was headed not just by Cartier but also by his co-premier from Kingston, Canada West, John A. Macdonald. As one of his biographers has put it, John A. was 'British to the

core' and 'intensely proud of his lifelong commitment to the British monarchy and Canada's ties to the motherland.'¹⁵ Yet, although Macdonald came from a different background than Cartier – John A. was Scottish-born, Upper-Canada reared, and a Protestant – he found that he could work effectively with Cartier by making judicious trade-offs and cleverly balancing conflicting interests. Macdonald's nemesis was George Brown, the editor of the *Toronto Globe* and a Reform politician who claimed with some justification to speak for the majority of Upper Canadians. Brown, a Free Kirk and Scottish immigrant who believed fervently in the separation of church and state, never tired of railing against the machinations of the Roman Catholic bishops and the political domination of English-speaking and Protestant Canada West by the French-speaking Catholics of Canada East. Notwithstanding their many differences, when it came to proposing a royal visit, Brown and other members of the opposition happily allied themselves with the Cartier-Macdonald government.¹⁶

The joint address of the legislature expressed the hope that the queen would honour her subjects in British North America with her presence and 'receive the personal tribute of [their] unwavering attachment to [her] rule.' The people would be gratified if she were 'to witness the progress and prosperity of this distant part of [her] dominions,' and to that end it was proposed that she be present on the occasion of the opening of the Victoria Bridge, 'the most gigantic work of modern days.' An invitation was extended, as well, to the prince consort and other members of the royal family who might accompany her on the trip.¹⁷ The address was included in the official dispatch of the governor general, which was taken specially to England and presented to the queen by Henry Smith, a senior Conservative politician and the speaker of the assembly. In London, Smith and the address were handled by the colonial secretary, Henry Pelham, fifth Duke of Newcastle, a minister in the new, Liberal government of Lord Palmerston and a man committed, as he said, to strengthening imperial 'bonds of mutual sympathy and of mutual obligation.'¹⁸

A reply to the legislature's invitation was slow in coming even though by August the queen had signalled to Newcastle her willingness not to go to Canada herself but to send the Prince of Wales. (It is likely that no one, including the Canadians, had expected a visit by Victoria herself, but etiquette required that the invitation go first to her.) That summer, Palmerston's cabinet agreed on the 'desirability of the visit and ... that the Prince of Wales would represent the Queen at

the ceremony of the opening of the Bridge, [that] he should go with a certain amount of state and that any necessary expenditure would be authorized.¹⁹ Newcastle, however, had consulted with John Rose, a respected Canadian cabinet minister, who had some misgivings about the visit, perhaps in connection with the financial problems of the company responsible for building the bridge, the Grand Trunk Railway.²⁰ Newcastle double-checked with the governor general of British North America, Sir Edmund Head, and the invitation was formally accepted on 30 January 1860.

Newcastle informed the governor general that the address of the Canadian legislature had been presented to the queen, and that she valued the attachment to her and the loyalty to the crown that lay behind the address. It was her hope that, when the time came for the opening of the Victoria Bridge, the Prince of Wales would attend the ceremony in her name and 'become acquainted with a people, in whose rapid progress towards greatness, Her Majesty, in common with Her subjects in Great Britain, feels a lively and enduring sympathy.' It was anticipated that the visit would take place that summer.²¹

The bridge opening made a fitting focus for the tour. 'Everyone' in Britain and North America knew about the Victoria Bridge: its great length (9,144 feet), its innovative tubular structure, its staggering cost (\$6,600,000), its defiance of nature's challenges, most notably the massive ice floes that annually attacked its stone piers, the brilliance of its designers, Robert Stephenson, Alexander Ross, and Thomas Keefer, and the Herculean powers of the workforce, organized by James Hodges and the contractors Peto, Brassey, and Betts.²² Hailed at the time as the 'Eighth Wonder of the World,' it was also a symbol of British imperial achievement: British capital, engineering, and contractors had marshalled the strength and skills of colonial workers to span Canada's grandest river. More particularly, the bridge signified Montreal's commercial prowess, with its long reach into the hinterland of North America and its new, ready access to an ice-free winter port on the Atlantic at Portland, Maine. Surely the entrepreneurs behind the Grand Trunk Railway and its audacious project deserved the attention and legitimacy that royal recognition would bring! In the new, industrial era, the royal family had taken on such a role, conferring its approval on the class of men who built such tangible symbols of progress.²³ Industrialists basked 'in a warm royal glow' while they bolstered the monarchy by publicly acknowledging its continued importance.²⁴

By the time the governor general read the queen's reply to the Canadian legislature,²⁵ the item was scarcely newsworthy because the acceptance had been long expected, but the *Times* of London published two editorials endorsing the tour.²⁶ The visit, the *Times* maintained, would break a long-standing tradition: the immobility of royalty. In the case of past kings, that immobility had reinforced the monarch's narrowness and despotic tendencies, and so by implication the *Times* linked the prince's tour with broader horizons and the liberalism of the mid-Victorian period. The newspaper speculated that the visit would make travel on the American continent more popular and that it would bring Canada more public attention – which was only fitting. After all, during the period of Victoria's reign, 'what may be called a nation' had grown 'upon the banks of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario.' Moreover, it was a nation content to remain within the empire – 'as long as the mother country rules with kindness and moderation.' The *Times* urged that the prince's tour be extended to include the United States, a recommendation that prompted further discussion among Americans about the possibility of the prince's touring the republic. It was not until June 1860, however, when invitations reached England from James Buchanan, the president of the United States, and from the mayor and city of New York, that the prince's U.S. tour was formally announced and the details worked out.

As for the Atlantic colonies, each of the legislatures petitioned for a visit once news of the Canadian tour reached them. In the diplomatic language of the day, Newcastle had as much as told the lieutenant governors to arrange petitions from Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.²⁷ On 19 March, when it was moved in the New Brunswick assembly that the province invite the Prince of Wales to pay a visit, some members of the government, as well as of the opposition, objected to the proposal, complaining variously that there was no money to pay for the welcome, that constituencies off the tour route would fail to benefit directly, or that just a few individuals would stand to gain (by acquiring honours) while everyone would have to pay for the visit. The next day the newspapers howled at the behaviour of these critics of the tour, and, as one historian has put it, 'overpowered by a sense of shame for the province before the bar of posterity,' the assembly agreed both to expunge the grumbling from the official record and to invite the prince to New Brunswick.²⁸ Newspapers in the province were soon hailing the practical benefits of the visit.²⁹ It appears that New Brunswick was the only

place where there was any open opposition to the idea of inviting the prince to visit British North America.

Planning an Imperial Progress

The prince's itinerary was firmed up quite quickly after only a little consultation within a small circle. On 17 February, Newcastle wrote to Governor General Head sketching in barest outline the plan, the essentials of which changed little in the end. The prince would leave England on about 10 July and pay short visits to the Atlantic colonies before arriving in Canada where he would formally represent the queen at the opening of the Victoria Bridge in Montreal. It would be a state visit, so he would therefore have a naval escort for the Atlantic crossing and be accompanied on his travels with certain 'Functionaries of State.' If, upon leaving Canada, he were to travel in the United States, he would do so 'in a strictly private capacity.' Newcastle then asked the governor general to suggest a program for the visit, with proposals as to how the prince would spend his time. The duke explained that, while the queen wished the program to reflect the preferences of the people of Canada, she would nevertheless need to consider and approve all suggestions.³⁰ The ball was now in the governor general's court.

Sir Edmund laid out a program for the tour that Newcastle and the queen soon approved with only minor amendments. It appears that Head himself set the itinerary, although he mentioned to Newcastle that it had the approval of the principal members of his Executive Council. Head recommended flying visits to the capitals of the Atlantic colonies and longer stays in Canada at Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, Niagara Falls, followed by visits to Detroit, Chicago, western Illinois, St Louis, Cincinnati, Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. The governor general worried that Her Majesty 'may think it is too much,' but he believed that even the whirlwind tour of the United States could be 'easily performed and without much fatigue.'³¹ (As it turned out, members of the royal party would disagree with this latter point as they raced through the eastern United States.) The itinerary included visits to all the cities of British North America and to many of the largest cities in the United States. (See table 1.1.) In palace circles there was concern to prevent the visit to the United States – with its population ten times that of British North America – from overwhelming the visit to the more modest colonies.³²

The schedule was both tight and rigid up to the visit to Montreal

because the bridge opening was intended to be the centrepiece of the tour and it had to occur on a set date so that all the people involved could make their arrangements. Afterwards, more flexibility was possible. There was a chance that the program could include a two-day canoe trip up the Ottawa River, which the Hudson's Bay Company proposed, and a three- or four-day excursion to the Prairies beyond Chicago for shooting. Newcastle and the prince were interested in both these excursions. Although there had been concerns that the queen might not want the risk of a canoe trip for the heir apparent, she approved it.³³

The royal parents worked closely with senior officials in making plans for the visit. Though the queen acted as final arbiter, it was the prince consort who corresponded with officials and oversaw arrangements, a role where his indefatigable energy and attention to detail were decided assets. Early in March 1860 the Duke of Somerset wrote Prince Albert from the Admiralty, requesting the queen's approval for the naval arrangements for the young prince's trip. The prince would travel aboard a ninety-gun ship from the Channel or Mediterranean fleet, with two smaller escort vessels to do double duty where coastal and river waters were too shallow for the ship. Even so, Prince Albert thought that a local river steamer would be needed for travel up the St Lawrence River above Quebec. He liked the idea of using 'one of the fine large Canadian River Steamers, which are built expressly for that service & are said to be very good and very fast.' The Admiralty gave Prince Albert a list of three ships to choose from for the main duty but recommended the *Hero*.³⁴

On the Canadian end there were queries and worries about a number of matters, which the colonial secretary did his best to answer reassuringly. Newcastle told Head that he would not be troubled with many visitors from England besides those in the official party, which was expected to number only seven or eight men. No special royal mount would be necessary when the prince rode out on a saddle-horse. Uniforms would be optional for anyone presented to the prince at a levee, where the ceremonies should be kept relatively simple and in line with those familiar to people who had attended New Year's levees hosted by colonial governors. The governor general could decide for himself as to where and when the prince should lodge while at Quebec, both the governor's residence or quarters in town being acceptable.³⁵

The duke and Sir Edmund together decided on the distribution

Table 1.1
Reported population, 1860–1

Selected cities of British North America, 1861	
St John's	24,851*
Halifax	25,026
Saint John	27,317
Quebec	59,990
Montreal	90,323
Ottawa	14,669
Toronto	44,821
Hamilton	19,096
Provinces of British North America, 1861	
Newfoundland	124,000
Nova Scotia	331,000
New Brunswick	252,000
Prince Edward Island	80,000
Canada East	1,112,000
Canada West	1,396,000
Total	3,295,000
Selected cities in the United States, 1860	
Albany	62,367
Baltimore	212,418
Boston	177,840
Chicago	112,172
Cincinnati	161,044
Detroit	45,619
New York	1,174,779
Philadelphia	565,529
Richmond	37,910
St Louis	160,773
Washington	61,122
(United States)	31,443,321)

*Population in 1857.

Source: George A. Nader, *Cities of Canada*, 2 vols. (Toronto: Macmillan 1976), vol. 2; Census of Canada; Donald B. Dodd, comp., *Historical Statistics of the States of the United States: Two Centuries of the Census, 1790–1990* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood 1993), 443–63.

of honours. Newcastle had been advised by a Mr Fraser, a prominent merchant at Quebec, that it would please French Canada were a French-Canadian member of the 100th Regiment of the colony to be appointed aide-de-camp to the prince during the Canadian tour.

Everyone realized that that would mean having to appoint a second aide-de-camp from among the officers of the volunteer force of Upper Canada. Head recommended two men, who were duly appointed: Étienne Taché and Sir Allan MacNab. Both had had long careers in public service and were strong supporters of the militia.³⁶ Head and Newcastle decided as well that it would be best if the queen were to honour the Canadian legislature, which had made the invitation, by the conferring of knighthoods on the speakers of the lower and upper chambers, Henry Smith and Narcisse Belleau, who, conveniently, happened to be an English-speaking Upper Canadian and a French-speaking Lower Canadian. The queen readily agreed that the honours should be given, and it was only left to decide whether the knighthoods would be conferred in the usual way by the queen or whether special arrangements would be made so that the prince might knight Smith and Belleau while in Canada.³⁷

Another delicate matter concerned the role that the consulate officer of France would play while the prince visited French Canada. The consul, Charles-Henri-Philippe Gauldrée-Boilleau, was eager to augment his own role in Canadian affairs,³⁸ an ambition that fit well with France's interest in French Canada, recently rekindled by the goodwill visit of the French corvette *la Capricieuse* to Canada in 1855.³⁹ For the enhancement of the 1860 ceremonies at Quebec, Boilleau offered his 'services' to Head. 'I think you had better find a good excuse for declining his invitation,' Newcastle wrote Head. 'He has no real standing in the Queen's Colony in respect of the Prince, and if he wishes to appear as representing the French Canadians such interlocutions between the Prince and them should be discountenanced.' The duke added that the refusal would need to be handled with care because 'of course it will not be desirable to appear to suspect him of such intention.' Head must have done his job well because there is no indication in the papers of the French consul at Quebec that Boilleau took offence, and indeed his reports to Paris are strongly enthusiastic about the reception given the prince at Quebec.⁴⁰ Though relations between France and England were strained in 1860, the French government paid the prince an honour by having a naval vessel or two follow his movements from port to port as far as Quebec. The escort reminded everyone – in a diplomatically acceptable way – of France's interest in the colonies that she had founded.

The early months of 1860 also saw authorities in Britain sorting out the financial arrangements for the visit. The lords of the Treasury

started from the premise that, while the prince would use his own income (from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall) to defray his private expenses, the British government would cover most of the costs of the trip because the government had recognized it to be 'a Mission undertaken with a view to a great Public Object,' and it wanted to ensure that the proceedings were conducted 'in a manner befitting the occasion.'⁴¹ The Treasury planned to reimburse the Admiralty for the cost of transporting the prince and his suite by sea. The British government would also pay for land transportation in the colonies, public receptions and levees hosted by the prince, and donations made by the prince to charitable or educational institutions. (Such donations were described as being the means for commemorating the visit.) Gifts that the prince would give to hosts and others who provided services, and who were not in a position to be paid for them, would similarly be paid for by the government. The expenses associated with 'the maintenance' of the travellers were to be mostly covered by the government, but the prince was to defray his own expenses and those of the members of his immediate household. He also, of course, would pay for any private expenditures and for any donations he wished to make to private charities or individuals. Since the trip through the United States was not a state visit, the prince would pay all the expenses incurred there, including those of his suite.⁴²

Altogether it was estimated that the Treasury would be faced with a bill of about £10 000, a sum that officials considered 'not very large.' Initially the plan was to take the estimates to Parliament, but in the end Newcastle's advice was followed and the expenses were lumped with others and put down to 'Civil Contingencies,' as had been done in similar situations in the past. Newcastle said that he was reluctant to take to Parliament estimates that were 'necessarily imperfect,' but the dodge was a way of avoiding close scrutiny and embarrassing questions in the House of Commons. It appears to have worked because, on this occasion, there was no public outcry – in contrast with the later tour of India taken by the Prince of Wales, which drew howls about excess and provoked attacks on the monarchy.⁴³ As for practical matters in 1860 – obtaining cash in each of the colonies, making necessary payments while en route, and keeping accounts for the Treasury Board – these were assigned to the colonial secretary's private secretary for the period when the prince was touring the Atlantic colonies. For the longer trip through the Canadas, an official was to be attached to the suite to handle finances.⁴⁴

Provincial Preparations

Across the Atlantic, the Canadian government was similarly engaged in a flurry of planning and preparing. The opposition in the assembly had proposed that, since the invitation had come from the legislature rather than the government, a joint committee of both chambers and all parties arrange the visit, but the government of the day had flatly rejected the idea.⁴⁵ The Cartier-Macdonald ministry had a responsibility to take charge – and thus to assume whatever glory or blame fell their way as a result. The governor general, as both the representative of the queen in the province and the government's chief executive officer, had a role to play especially in conferring with London, but the administrative duties associated with the preparations fell to the ministry and more particularly to one of the ministers, the chief commissioner of public works, John Rose.

John Rose had a flair for business and administration that served the Canadian government well, and not only at the time of the royal visit. Rose had emigrated from Scotland as an adolescent along with his family, and they settled in Lower Canada. After building a thriving law practice serving the Anglo elite of Montreal, Rose was persuaded to enter politics in 1857 by his old friend, John A. Macdonald, who appointed him to his cabinet as solicitor general, Canada East. In January 1859 Rose moved to Public Works, an important portfolio at the time, given the disputes over the construction of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. His position was made more onerous, though probably more appealing too, once he took on the job of planning for the prince's visit.⁴⁶

Effective administrator that he was, Rose sought the assistance of a talented subordinate, Thomas Wily, a young officer in the Canadian militia, who made many of the necessary arrangements and who – fortunately for the historian – wrote an account of his role in the visit some twenty-three years later.⁴⁷ The assignment stood out in Wily's memory as a challenging and exciting time when his manhood and mettle were tested, what with all the tasks that needed to be accomplished in short order and the negotiating he had to do with dozens of people from many walks of life.

Early in May 1860 Wily was summoned by Rose and informed that the government had decided to second him from the military and attach him to Public Works, where he was to make arrangements for the transportation, accommodation, and other needs of the royal party



John Rose, as chief commissioner of public works for the Province of Canada, carried the main responsibility for arranging the tour of Canada. The text accompanying this sketch attributed much of the success of the visit 'to the abilities and exertions of the Hon. John Rose.' (*Illustrated London News*, 6 April 1861)

and for the large number of people who were expected to follow alongside the visitors. Most of the entertainments – the public processions, ceremonies, touring, balls, and so on – would fall to the municipalities or particular individuals to organize, but getting the prince and his following from city to city and finding them places to stay and food to eat would be the responsibility of the Canadian government.

Arranging for transportation involved negotiations with various railway companies, steamship owners, and liverymen. Since the prince would travel long distances up the St Lawrence River and Lake Ontario, it was decided to hire one vessel for the entire run. Wily chartered the *Kingston*, one of the Upper Canada Mail steamers, and it was refitted and embellished for the occasion. Negotiations took place with a great many railway companies, which agreed to have special train services available when and where needed. Such commitments set in motion a competition among the railway companies to improve their facilities for the event and to prepare luxurious cars for royal use. A contract was made with W. Kirwin, 'a noted Livery Stable Keeper at Quebec,' to supply eighteen horses for the use of members of the royal party wherever they were visiting. An especially fine charge, 'Lady Franklin,' was kept for the exclusive use of the prince.⁴⁸

Wily also travelled throughout Canada to arrange accommodation for the visitors. At Quebec, he set in motion a major refit of the neglected and unoccupied Parliament Buildings, where the prince and his suite could stay and where official receptions could be held. Governor Head planned to host the visitors for part of their stay at Quebec, but since his official residence, Spencer Wood, was only partially rebuilt following a fire in 1859, it was decided that only some of the less important members of the suite would be accommodated there and that improvements would be made to Head's temporary home, Cataraqui, for the comfort of the distinguished guests. In Montreal, Rose's own fine house on Mount Royal (rented to General Fenwick Williams, commander of the British forces in Canada) was selected as a fit residence for the prince, but, because it lacked sufficient bedrooms even for the core party, the construction of a new wing was begun. (One member of the royal party highly approved of the house: 'a good library, a splendid view, and some nice pictures – a place altogether in good taste.'⁴⁹) In Montreal the overflow of visitors attached to the prince was housed in St Lawrence Hall, a large hotel on Craig Street. In Ottawa, Wily leased the entire Victoria Hotel, which could accommodate everyone; he was able to do so because the hotel had only just

been completed and had not yet taken any reservations. Wily oversaw preparations in Kingston of the former government house, known as Alwington House, and in Toronto the old Government House was similarly made ready for the prince and his inner suite, with additional rooms reserved at the Rossin House, the city's only luxury hotel. For the reception in London, Wily made arrangements with the proprietor of the Tecumseh Hotel, while in Niagara Falls, Emmeline Zimmerman, the widow of businessman Samuel Zimmerman, leased her fine house for the use of the prince and a few of the visitors, with the rest to be accommodated at the prestigious Clifton House. Similarly, at Hamilton, a fine residence owned by Richard Juson, who would be away in Europe, was to provide a comfortable home for the appreciative visitors, while the Royal Hotel looked after the overflow.⁵⁰ The Canadian cabinet approved these arrangements at its meeting of 22 May.⁵¹

Only a little controversy swirled in Canada around the decisions made with respect to the prince's accommodations. Isaac Buchanan, a prominent Hamilton merchant closely connected to the Great Western Railway, publicly accused Rose and the government of showing a preference for spending money lavishly in places on the route of the Grand Trunk Railway (the railway closely associated with the Conservatives), to the neglect of rival places without Grand Trunk connections. Rose denied the allegation, insisting that it was wise to select a few main stopping places (Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto), where full services would be set up for the prince and his retinue, while simpler arrangements would be sufficient at other places where the prince was staying only briefly.⁵²

Local newspapers filled in the details about the refurbishing of particular buildings for the use of the prince, in the process reassuring the public that he would be treated royally. The *Toronto Globe*, for instance, carefully described the apartments being fitted up at Government House in Toronto. A little wallpapering was necessary to freshen the rooms, which were in good repair, but, since the building was empty, the commissioner of public works had to have it carpeted and he placed large orders for furniture with Jacques and Hay, the city's largest and most prestigious furniture-making firm. Craftsmen rushed to complete top-quality suites, with custom carving that featured Prince-of-Wales plumes and maple leaves. The prince was given a large apartment in the building's southeast corner with a view both of the well-kept garden ('supplied with a variety of choice and fragrant flowers') and of the lake.⁵³

Officials also had to make arrangements for feeding the visitors. Hotels would provide meals for the parties they accommodated, but catering arrangements – and splendid ones – would be needed for the prince and others when staying in private homes or government buildings. Wily credits Rose with securing the talents of I.M. Sanderson, the impresario at one of New York's large hotels (the New York Hotel). He was judged to have the requisite skills both in overseeing the complexities of the mobile food operations and in acting as head chef. During the tour, some of his menus gained the attention of the press, which praised their elegance, and Wily reports that the distinguished visitors 'became quite enthusiastic over them.' Sanderson had ambitions for himself and for American cuisine. 'I am a gastronomer by taste, by profession, and by science,' he boasted to one member of the prince's suite. 'I hope to live to prove that in my hands the school of cookery in France, England, and Russia or Germany is inferior to the school of America.'⁵⁴ If the diners had praise for the catering arrangements, the opposition press found fault with them on nationalist grounds. The *Toronto Globe*, always ready to pounce on a Conservative minister, criticized Rose for his 'unpatriotic mission' to New York to select 'a cook for the Prince from Yankeeland, as if no Canadian *maître de cuisine* was competent to tickle a princely palate.'⁵⁵

As part of the preparations for the entertainment of the royal party and their guests, the Canadian government also placed orders for fine glassware, plate, and dinner sets with firms in England that customized them for the occasion. The tableware, for instance, displayed the prince's crest, surrounded by wreathes of maple leaves, and it was, according to Wily, 'extremely handsome, very costly, & much admired.' Two complete sets of everything were ordered so that, while one set was in use, the other could be shipped to the next place on the prince's itinerary. A London purveyor that often supplied the royal household offered to ship candelabras to Canada, but Rose decided that they would not be needed because there was gas in all the houses where the prince was to stay.⁵⁶ It was Wily's job to order considerable quantities of wine, spirits, and beer, which he had distributed to various points along the route of the tour. The wines were imported, except for a few cases of a rare Canadian wine, which Wily identifies as 'Catawba' and which he says he procured only with some difficulty. Predictably, the visitors found the Canadian wine unpleasing and drank little of it. Ironically, when the leftover cases were sold at auction, they fetched quadruple their original price

because, says Wily, for 'connoisseurs' the wine now had 'the imprimatur of the Prince!'

Wily also had to make arrangements with the military and police. The prince would be escorted by three officers and 100 men of the Royal Canadian Rifles, who, with their brass band, accompanied the visitors from place to place. In most locales they provided an honour guard for state ceremonies. Providing the soldiers with accommodations was easily done, since they camped wherever the prince stopped, but the transportation of the men and their considerable amount of equipment had to be arranged. Wily says that the soldiers enjoyed themselves, for the detail was a pleasant change 'from the dreary monotony of barrack life.' Their duties were light, they got to see all the sights, and they had a field allowance that enabled them to make 'a jolly time of it.' According to press reports, these men in their smart tunics drew the attention of admiring spectators, many of them young ladies. By contrast, the police that accompanied the prince for security purposes drew little comment at the time and have left scarcely a trace in the historical record. Wily notes in passing only that 'several clever & experienced detectives accompanied us from first to last,' and that for the visit to Ottawa, where tour organizers still feared violence from the Shiners who had once terrorized the town, a detachment of twelve men and a sergeant from the Montreal Harbour Police were taken up to the frontier capital.⁵⁷

The onerous responsibilities of Wily notwithstanding, the Canadian government, like the imperial one, took a back seat to the municipalities in the planning of the tour. During the prince's progress through British North America, civic receptions dominated the public sphere. In an era when the administrative state was not yet full-blown, it was, of course, convenient for the higher levels of government to delegate the job to local committees, which would raise the funds and do the job. Yet delegating the responsibilities also accomplished important political and cultural goals. In this regard, there are parallels with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's visits throughout England and Scotland in the 1840s and 1850s. For these visits pageantry was not imposed from the centre or top down onto the localities. Local committees made the arrangements and, in the process, notes British historian John Plunkett, the visits 'helped to forge a local consensus around the crown.'⁵⁸ Such was the idea in British North America in 1860. And it actually worked out that way – much of the time.

The Prince and His Suite

Who was this young man, the Prince of Wales, and who were the members of his entourage? On the eve of the royal visit of 1860, the public knew precious little about Albert Edward, or 'Bertie,' as he was commonly known. Newspapers had given the prince attention on only a few occasions, notably, at the time of his birth on 9 November 1841, his christening several weeks later, and when he turned eighteen in 1859.⁵⁹ His personality and interests were so little understood by the public in 1860 that commentators could graft onto his name whatever qualities they chose. Certainly, his future reputation as womanizer and bon vivant had not yet been established. To the extent that he personally had any public image at all before his 1860 tour, it was as one of the nine children who clustered around Victoria and Albert in royal family portraits. Visual and verbal representations of Victoria, her husband, and the family (as a unit) were everywhere in the mid-Victorian years, and the people who planned, observed, and read about the prince's tour would have fit the images projected in the course of the tour into a wider knowledge of the royal family. By 1860, Victoria had been on the throne for twenty-three years; she was a mature (but not yet elderly) woman, best known – because the image was endlessly reinforced by media reports – as a hard-working monarch ever serving the public at openings, dedications, charity events, and the like.⁶⁰ In England, the press she received during the decade before the tour was overwhelmingly positive, though there was always a critical voice directed at the institution if not the woman.⁶¹ Victoria's service to the people, and their support for her, were reinforced by images of her as a good wife to an equally industrious husband and as a model mother to an ever-growing family. She was the mother to the nation, and the nation's most potent and ubiquitous symbol. According to the middle-class press, notes historian Richard Williams, 'the qualities which she and the Royal Family ... exemplified were those prized as the foundations of Victorian society – hard work, thrift, probity and the sanctity of the home and family.'⁶²

The public knew little about the Prince of Wales before the tour not only because, prior to his eighteenth birthday, he was officially not permitted a public role on account of his youth, but also because his parents placed tight constraints on him.⁶³ The prince consort in particular worked tirelessly at supervising Bertie's schooling in the hope of rearing a son fully capable of one day assuming the burden of rule. Tutored



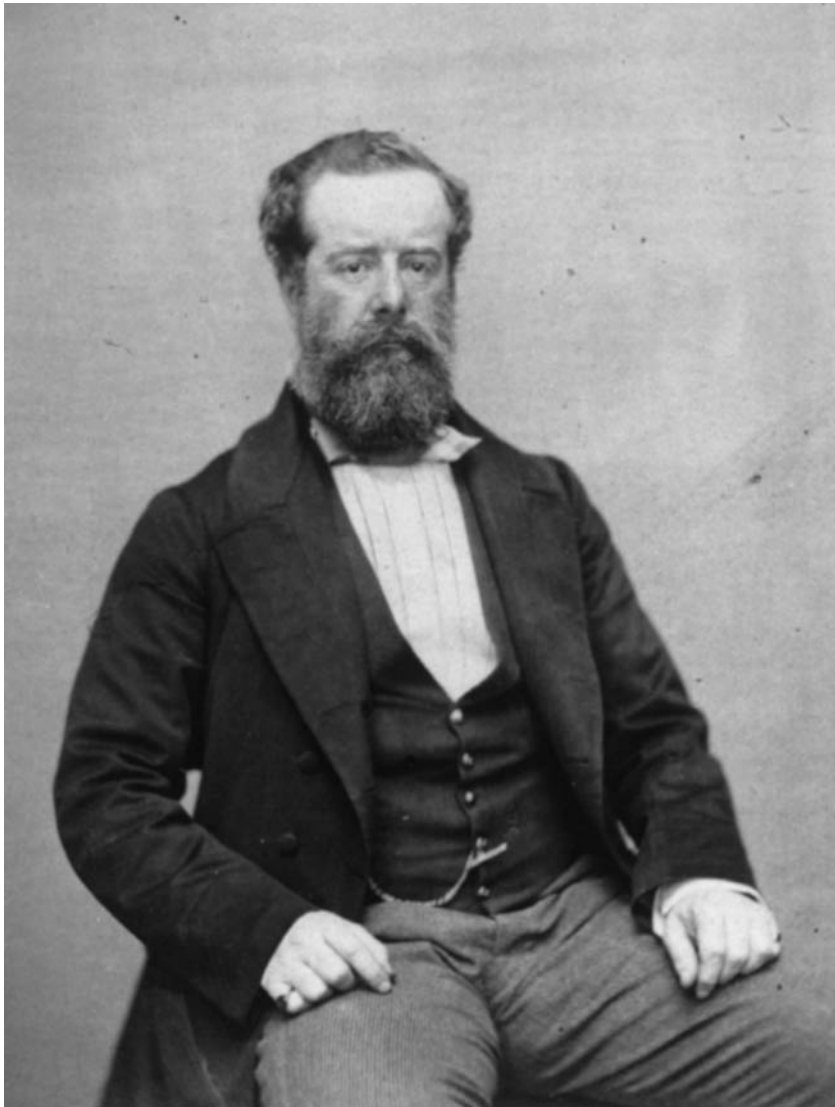
Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, as photographed in Boston, 19 October 1860, by J. Gurney and Son of New York. Though young-looking for his age (he was about to turn nineteen), the prince appears self-assured in his smart clothes. (National Archives of Canada, PA 127299)

privately until he started at Oxford in October 1859, Bertie, a social extrovert, was a reluctant and lacklustre solitary scholar, and he got little positive reinforcement from his tutors and parents, who continually nagged him and found fault with his performance. The royal couple's parenting might well have been disastrous, and it is something of a miracle that the young prince who visited North America was not an utter misfit.

Before coming to North America, Albert Edward had had some experience with travel, and it was during his travels that he had been allowed a few pleasures. At fourteen he accompanied his parents and elder sister, Vicky, the princess royal, on a state visit to Paris, where Bertie charmed the court of Emperor Napoleon III and gained considerable attention. Later he travelled unofficially on the continent, and when he visited the court in Berlin, Albert Edward was 'a brilliant success.'⁶⁴ Several balls were given at which he danced well and with enthusiasm, foreshadowing his success in North America. About the same time, the prince consort complained that his eldest son took 'no interest in anything but clothes, and again clothes. Even when out shooting he is more occupied with his trousers than with the game!'⁶⁵ Perhaps he would benefit from a trip to North America, where he might gain focus and maturity by assuming some state responsibilities.

On the 1860 tour of British North America and the United States, the members of the prince's suite supported him in his duties and protected him on his travels. Moreover, the gentlemen who made up this retinue added weight and lustre to the grandeur of the tour.

The leading figure of the prince's suite was the Duke of Newcastle, member of the cabinet at Westminster, who was entrusted by the queen with giving her young son political advice during the 1860 tour and who, as colonial secretary, bore official responsibility for the state visit to the colonies. Born Henry Pelham, and titled Lord Lincoln at his birth in 1811, the prince's political adviser became the fifth Duke of Newcastle upon the death of his father in 1851. Lincoln had been elected to the House of Commons in 1832 and soon became a follower of Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative leader.⁶⁶ By the time he came to Canada in 1860, the Duke of Newcastle was best known to the public for his embarrassments, notably his humiliating divorce, which had exposed his wife's sexual adventures in England and on the continent, and the bad press he got for the part he played in the mishandling Britain's military campaign in the Crimea. When British setbacks in the field and the appalling condition of the troops became a cause célèbre



The fifth Duke of Newcastle, as photographed in Boston, 19 October 1860, by J. Gurney and Son of New York. On Newcastle's shoulders rested the burden of advising the prince, the effects of which are evident in this image taken near the end of the tour. (National Archives of Canada, PA 127301)