

Strangers to London. The transformations of travellers and go-betweens in three 18th-century travelogues

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In his novel *Invisible cities*, Italo Calvino put the experience of arriving in an unknown new city into words: “the foreignness of what you no longer are or no longer possess lies in wait for you in foreign, unpossessed places”.¹ Travellers of today may discern a hint of this disconnect when exiting an airplane or an hotel, faced with the task to navigate unfamiliar neighbourhoods. Yet, visitors to a modern metropolis are surrounded by various infrastructures that mitigate this feeling of alienation: ranging from named and numbered streets, through public transport, to GPS maps with turn-by-turn navigation. Early modern travellers lacked most such tools. While it was common to desire a “view from above” of a city (e.g., by buying pocket maps and guidebooks), newcomers to the metropolises of eighteenth-century Europe primarily depended on intricate networks of contacts, when attempting to claim possession of a strange city.² Any historian studying visitors to early modern cities, should thus pay attention to the range of interactions and social practices by which it was possible to enter these foreign spaces.

Until recently, studies of travel literature have generally focused on the narratives of European travellers and their reports of the world through travelogues, maps or the making of anthropologic knowledge. Such studies have examined how European travellers constructed representations of colonial others through a range of strategies, while the travellers presented themselves as unbiased and trustworthy witnesses.³ As pointed out by Kapil Raj, more recent studies have also come to emphasize the interplay between travellers (and other mobile actors) and the cultures they encounter. This approach has shown the full complexity of travelling as intercultural encounters.⁴

Particularly, Pierre-Yves Saunier has analysed the practices of crossing traditional territories, and how actors who crossed such boundaries juggled the possibilities and constraints of the spaces they moved through. Whereas older histories primarily studied intercultural encounters in the colonial territories of European empires, Saunier proposes urban spaces as the transnational and

1. Calvino 2010, 24.

2. On the wish of eighteenth-century travellers to establish a view from above, see Rydén 2013.

3. For a discussion of European travel writing as an expression of the metropolis' wish to represent the periphery, see Pratt 2008, 4f. A critique of these studies of travel literature, which I agree with, can be found in Schaffer *et al.* 2009, xiv.

4. Raj 2016, 43.

intercultural arena *par excellence*.⁵ These urban spaces could be found both in the colonies as well as in European metropolises. Building on such more recent work, this paper analyses the interactions between go-betweens and travellers in the European metropolis of London, using three travelogues written by Swedish 18th-century visitors to the city. The analysis focuses on the complex interactions between two types of mobile actors: *go-betweens* and *travellers*, in order to highlight the work required to become a part of a strange city.

Travellers are continuously transformed in relation to the spaces they move through. Moreover, the travellers studied here were also writers of travel narratives, and they were subsequently transformed in the eyes of the readers of their travelogues. Paradoxically, travellers such as these were defined both by their mobility, and the immobility that resulted from their weak connections to the communities that they encountered. That is: when passing through foreign spaces, they continuously faced obstacles to their movement, which they needed to overcome by learning new skills, making new contacts and by using what available resources they had. *Go-betweens*, on the other hand, are defined by Raj as actors who “actively articulate relationships between disparate worlds or cultures by being able to translate between them”. Thus, whereas the travellers studied here were defined by their lack of access to communities in London, the go-betweens were defined by their knowledge not only of the English culture in which they lived, but also by the Swedish spaces from which the travellers originated. Furthermore, as Raj has pointed out, go-betweens are generally “comparatively stationary” compared to travellers.⁶ For example, the travellers studied here visited England for a couple of years at the most, whereas the merchant brokers, with whom they interacted, had lived in London for decades. By studying the interactions between these two very different types of mobile actors, I aim to contribute to the understanding of mobility in early modern Europe.

As pointed out by scholars of travel writing, early modern travelogues were not neutral accounts of what actually happened during voyages: they were consciously edited products, made in relation to certain genre conventions and expectations of relevant audiences.⁷ Generally, the travelogues portrayed how the travelling protagonist overcame their obstacles through conscious training and transformations. In the three texts studied here, the effect was that readers were faced with something of a *Bildungsroman*, consisting of the travelling protagonists’ transformation from a young inexperienced stranger to a man able to participate in London’s scientific communities.

5. Saunier 2005, 251.

6. Raj 2016, 43–44.

7. In 18th-century Europe, the method for travelling and travel writing was prescribed by the *artes apodemicae*, or apodemic arts. On the apodemica in 18th-century Sweden see Eliasson 1999, 34–52.

Travel writers and their readers

Over the 1700s, London became one of the go-to destinations for the study tours of young men aiming for a career in universities, trade, and civil service. At the same time, these voyages became a way for Swedish scientific networks – most prominently those of Linnaean natural history, metallurgy, and mathematical sciences – to assert their place among the European scholarly elite.⁸ The journals studied here were thus shaped by the period's complex power relationships between Sweden – a poor state on Europe's geographic and economic periphery, which nonetheless claimed a position as a centre of many sciences of the time – and Britain: a major scientific, commercial and military power.⁹

The travelogues were written by three visitors to England in the 1740s and 50s: Pehr Kalm (1716–1779), Reinhold Angerstein (1718–1760) and Bengt Ferrner (1724–1802).¹⁰ These travellers bore many similarities: they were all young Swedish men born in the early 18th century, they were graduates from Uppsala university, and they all travelled through Europe to further their respective careers. However, there were differences between the three. Especially, they were part of different scholarly fields and scientific networks, and their journals reflect their different backgrounds and the diverse expectations of their readers. By comparing these travel narratives, it is therefore possible to understand how tactics of travelling and travel-writing transcended, and varied between, diverse Swedish institutions or communities of the time. To lay the groundworks of such an analysis, let us first touch briefly upon the writers' biographies and the readerships with which they communicated.

The first author, Kalm, was a student of the famous natural historian Carl Linnaeus. Using the extensive contacts of his teacher and patron, in 1747 he secured funds from the Swedish state for a voyage to North America, where he would collect and catalogue indigenous flora.¹¹ On his way to North America, he visited England in 1748. The journey to Britain comprised the whole of the first volume of his travel journal. Interestingly, of the three travelogues studied here, Kalm's travel journal is the only one that was printed and published during its author's lifetime. Kalm's potential readership was thus much larger, and consequently more heterogeneous, than Angerstein's and Ferrner's.

8. On Linnaean travelling, see Hodacs *et al.* 2007; Hodacs 2011. On mining officials study tours, see Rydén 2013, 64–69; Fors 2015, 8, 53–58; Orrje 2015a, 111. On voyages in mathematical sciences, Orrje 2015b, 89–110.

9. On 18th-century Sweden from an international perspective, Evans 2013, 33–37.

10. My analysis is based on later-day printed editions, except for Kalm's journal which exists in an 18th-century printed edition. Moreover, where an English translation exist, I use (and refer to) them instead of the original Swedish. The quotes from Ferrner's journal, as well as from Kalm's preface, are however my own translations.

11. Kalm 1753, *företal*.

Our second traveller, Angerstein, was an up-and-coming mining official. Having studied “politics” at Uppsala, in 1738 he applied for, and was granted, a position as auscultator (i.e., a training position or a traineeship) at the Bureau of Mines [*Bergskollegium*] in Stockholm.¹² In 1749, the 31-year-old Angerstein received stipends from the Bureau to travel in Europe. Such voyages were a typical part of the career of officials who aimed for higher-ranking positions in the Bureau’s hierarchy, and usually followed years of service and several domestic tours. By giving travel grants to young men, the Bureau collected information about metal trade and production, while it educated its future officials. The travel report, that the official submitted to his superiors after returning home, was both a means to communicate both new knowledge, relevant for Swedish mining officials, and a way to present the traveller’s new merits to his superiors.¹³ As a part of his state-sponsored voyage, Angerstein visited Britain in 1753–1755.

Finally, the third traveller, Ferrner, studied astronomy and mathematics at Uppsala. He was part of the networks of *mathematici* in Uppsala and Stockholm, which were vital in introducing Newtonian mathematics and physics in Sweden.¹⁴ Whereas Kalm had received state funding for his journey, Ferrner travelled as a tutor for Henri Lefebure, the son of the rich Swedish metal merchant Jean Lefebure. Nevertheless, several parts of the Swedish state apparatus, especially the navy and the Bureau of Mines, took an interest in Ferrner’s voyage and the experiences that he communicated through his travelogue. Besides Britain, which they visited 1759–60, Ferrner and the young Lefebure travelled through many parts of Europe (including the German states, the Netherlands, France and Italy).¹⁵

For all three men, London only comprised a part of a grander journey. Still, all devoted large portions of their travelogues to the British capital. The city became an important backdrop for narratives of how the travellers were transformed by their voyages, and their interactions with the inhabitants and go-betweens of the city. In the following, I will turn to, and compare, these interactions and transformations.

Arriving: the interplay of travellers and go-betweens

Eighteenth-century London was ever growing. By mid-century, it was the largest city in Europe (e.g., in the 1760s it consisted of approximately 740 000 inhabitants). At the start of the century, London had overtaken Amsterdam as Europe’s primary commercial hub.¹⁶ Consequently, it was

12. Angerstein 1738.

13. On the Bureau’s educational system, see Orrje 2015a, 80–123.

14. This network of *mathematici* is discussed in detail in Fors 2008.

15. I have previously analysed this travelogue in Orrje 2015b.

16. Ormrod 2003, 1–23.

also an important node in the Northern-European region of the North Sea and the Baltic sea. Britain was a key market for Swedish metals, and Swedish authorities and manufacturers thus wished to know everything they could about the British metal market. Swedish scholars and officials also considered the country an important source of useful knowledge, especially pertaining to production and experimental sciences.¹⁷ It was thus common for Swedish visitors to the British capital to engage with both material and knowledge production, and not to separate the two.

Contemporary observers, both from England and abroad, often described London as an unintelligible and chaotic place. The city's demographics reflected its global connections, and the streets were filled with peoples from all over the British Isles, Europe and the rest of the world.¹⁸ The interplay of circulations and transnational connections, which Saunier argues are typical of urban spaces, thus permeated the 18th-century British capital. Moreover, these circulations and connections became an important part of the travel narratives.

The three travelogues vary greatly in how they describe the protagonist's initial social interactions in London. Kalm highlighted and praised the Swedish migrant community (located in the suburb of Wapping, east of London), and how they helped him during his visit:

Immediately upon my arrival I addressed myself, according to the instructions given me by the Royal Academy of Science of Sweden, to Mr Abraham Spalding, a Swedish merchant in London, who afterwards, during the whole of my visit to England gave me every imaginable information, help, advice, and explanation of various things; recommended me, partly himself, partly through his friends, to all the places I had occasion to visit, or where there was anything remarkable to see; lent me all the money I required for the whole of my foreign travels, and besides that, showed me manifold kindness.¹⁹

Similar praise of the Swedish merchants in London, though sometimes less explicit, can be found in all three travelogues. The merchants Carl and Anders Lindegren, Abraham Spalding, and Gustavus Brander, as well as the clergyman Carl Noring are reoccurring characters. All these middlemen were part of family networks of merchants, centred around the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, which earned their fortunes from the Anglo-Swedish metal trade. Moreover, these men acted as go-betweens between English and Swedish scholarly networks. As such, they offered financial, logistical and social services to corresponding and travelling scholars. They not only guided and helped scholarly visitors to London, but also extended their credit to them, and helped to transport letters, books and instruments between the two countries.²⁰

17. For a detailed but mainly descriptive account of Swedish 18th-century study tours to England, see Rydberg 1951.

18. Shoemaker 2004, 2; Bucholz *et al.* 2012, 40, 68–70.

19. Kalm 1892, 6.

20. How merchants extended their credit to travellers is for example discussed in the preface of Kalm's travelogue: Kalm 1753, *företal*.

Ferrner contrasted the go-between merchants against the initial chaotic experiences of London. In his journal, the first impression of London was one of shock and disappointment. In a dramatic voice, he depicted the filthy and disorderly streets and the fear, which both he and his student Lefebure felt when waiting at the King's Arms tavern after having left their stage coach.²¹ This episode constitutes the starting-point of the journal's narrative of a journey from chaos to order. The merchant go-betweens, and their servants, constitute the first step towards normality, and when Spalding and Branders' manservant eventually appears, and follows the travellers to their lodging, most of the initial bewilderment settles. Eventually, Ferrner's journal portrays how London opened up to him: the protagonist gradually gains the skills necessary to navigate the streets of London and to interact with the city's inhabitants.

In Angerstein's journal, the protagonist's arrival in London is much less dramatic. After having described an initial voyage from Hartwich to London by post-chaise, it relates Angerstein's sight-seeing in London, his interactions with the Swedish community there, and a meeting with the Huguenot clockmaker John Ellicot. His journal only implicitly hints at the efforts of learning to interact with relevant English communities in London (for example, by pointing out his difficulties of learning English in London because of the many Swedes living there). Still, Angerstein also mentioned the merchant go-betweens and their important role in facilitating his travels.²²

Why were these go-betweens reoccurring actors in the travelogues? According to a naïve reading, which sees the texts as neutral descriptions of what happened on the voyages, the answer would be simple: the merchants were mentioned because the travellers met them and because the merchants provided help worthy to mention. However, there are many other categories of people who obviously were helpful, but who were not mentioned in the travelogues: such as servants who accompanied the travellers and shippers who transported them. The merchants' role in the travelogues might thus be better understood from a different perspective. In order to conduct their business, it was pivotal for the Swedish merchants in London to be trusted by both English and Swedish relevant networks, and praise in a travelogue could go a long way to reaffirm the trust of potential Swedish clients and partners. These actors' role in the travel journals might thus be seen as a part of a reciprocal exchange of favours: that is, the merchants expected public recognition in exchange for their many services to the travellers. Moreover, by praising the merchants' services, the travellers could highlight the fact that they were loyal Swedes who kept socialising with compatriots during their voyages. Consequently, these passages presented both the merchants and the travellers as patriots to diverse audiences.

21. Ferrner 1956, 133.

22. Angerstein 2001, 3.

Still, the relations between travellers and go-betweens were generally more complicated than simple mutually beneficial relationships. Whereas most previous studies of brokers and go-betweens have studied how such actors facilitated cross-cultural exchange, much less attention has been given to how they at the same time obstructed certain interactions.²³ In the travelogues, it is possible to discern conflicting goals of the travelling protagonists on the one hand, and the merchant brokers on the other. Whereas the traveller wished to learn how to move about London and to interact with relevant English networks, the go-betweens remained relevant only so long as they remained a mediator between the traveller and the city.

The travelogues generally portrayed a process where the protagonist was transformed from someone bewildered by the city's chaos, into a mature man who navigated the city's neighbourhoods as a native. Consequently, while the travelogues initially presented the merchant middlemen as vital for the travellers, only by taking the city into their own hands, and by directly socialising with relevant London communities, could the travellers comply with their readers' expectations. In order to do this, the travellers needed to learn how to speak English. In this endeavour, the multilingual go-betweens were more of obstacles than helping hands. Hence, the travellers needed to employ different tactics, by which they could break free from the helping merchants, and instead connect with other relevant groups in the city. It is possible to identify two sets of tactics, by which the travellers aimed to circumvent the go-betweens in order to establish a direct relationship with relevant London communities. First, by choosing their lodging carefully, and by relocating to new neighbourhoods, they could befriend and learn from vital contacts. Second, by eating and drinking together with Londoners, they established and deepened these relationships. Let us focus on these tactics in the following two sections.

Turning lodgings into use and changing them often

When the Swedish scholar, and eventual mystic, Emanuel Swedenborg visited London at the beginning of the century, he pointed out how choosing the right place for lodging was vital in order to learn the correct skills: "I also turn my lodgings to some use, and change them often; [...] from them I steal their trades, which some day will be of use to me".²⁴ This statement was also true for the three travellers studied here: lodging was a matter of learning.

After the initial praise of the merchant brokers, a reoccurring plot element was the move away from London and its Swedish community, to a town or a small adjacent village, where the protagonist could learn to speak English without the detrimental influence of his compatriots.

23. Compare to Schaffer *et al.* 2009. Raj makes a similar point by pointing out that transnational circulation and brokerage was not necessarily fluid, in Raj 2017, 52.

24. Tafel, ed. 1875, 212.

For example, Angerstein wrote of how he some weeks after having arrived in London “ordered a carriage for the journey to Oxford, where I hope to learn English with more success than in London, where there are too many Swedes.”²⁵ A couple of weeks after arriving in London, Kalm also went into the country side, to the city of Woodford in Essex.²⁶ Likewise, just one day after Ferrner and Lefebure’s arrival, Abraham Spalding offered his guests to go out into the countryside to find accommodation with some clergyman or school master, who could teach them English. Four days later, the two travellers moved to Walthamstow, where they planned to stay for 8–10 full weeks.²⁷ In the journals, these initial self-imposed exiles constitute important transitional passages. The transformations instigated by these visits to the countryside made the travellers ready to interact directly with relevant communities in London. Consequently, the merchant brokers gradually, and at least partially, stopped being necessary cultural translators for the travellers.

When returning to the city, the three travellers continued to juggle with the constraints established by London’s communities, as well as the very spatiality of the city, by changing their place of lodging. Exactly one month after arriving, Angerstein started to attend the physical lectures of Erasmus King. King was the most prolific public lecturer in 1750s London, and he held lectures in experimental philosophy in his house at Duke’s Court near the Mews.²⁸ He held both private lectures for “Gentlemen or Ladies” in his “Experimental Room in *Duke’s Court*” as well as public lectures “where all Persons are admitted” for a fee of 6 pence per lecture. Angerstein’s diary from the early 1750s corresponds remarkably well with King’s catalogue of experiments from the early 40s, which described similar experiments with magnetism and air pumps. Thus, Angerstein seems to have followed a fairly standardised series of lectures that King had been giving for a long time.²⁹ After a couple of weeks of attending the lectures, Angerstein moved to King’s household at Duke’s Court. For the Swedish mining official, attending public lectures seems to have been a way to learn whether Mr King’s house was a space where useful knowledge could be gained. After he had been convinced by King’s display, the next step was to lodge with the lecturer in order to acquire knowledge that was not communicated through lectures alone. Angerstein continued to attend the lectures, but also made experiments of his own in King’s house.³⁰

Ferrner waited much longer before he moved away from the Swedish colony in eastern London. He remained there for the first six months of his visit, before he started looking for “comfortable rooms at Westminster”. At this time, he noted in his diary that he and Lefebure had decided

25. Angerstein 2001, 11.

26. Kalm 1753, 146.

27. Ferrner 1956, 133–134.

28. Angerstein 2001, 23. For more information on Erasmus King, see also Morton 1990, 417.

29. King 1741.

30. Angerstein 2001, 23.

that it would be “more comfortable to live in that part of the city”, and soon he found a new room in the Strand, opposite Cecil Street.³¹ His primary reason for relocating seems to have been a wish to facilitate his interactions with the scientific communities and his visits to the cultural venues in the city centre. During his time in London, he became increasingly intertwined in the city’s scientific networks and cultural life, and while he stayed in Wapping he was thus required to commute back and forth through the city on almost a daily basis. By moving to the Strand, he could reduce this time and effort.

These episodes again highlight how the travelogues were as much narratives about the protagonists’ transformations, as they were descriptions of London as a travel destination. In early modern Northern Europe, the household was the primary social unit, and moreover it was an important space for making knowledge.³² By writing of their lodgings, the travellers thus signalled to their readers that they knew how to situate themselves in the right place, in order to live in the right households and communities through which they could learn and to gain important contacts.

Eating and drinking in London’s public science

For those who knew how to move about and interact in the streets of London, the city was teeming with more or less public displays and forums of science. Above, I discussed how Angerstein participated in public physics lectures, which was an easy way to hear about the latest scientific developments. Perhaps it was no coincidence that Angerstein was the one of the three travellers who visited the most lectures. For him, who was a mining official rather than a university scholar, and who did not have a strong Swedish scholarly network by which he could be introduced in the right circles in London, the lectures became an alternate route to establish English contacts. Another similar venue where a traveller could engage with the knowledge-making of the city without a specific introduction was through the workshops of instrument makers. Like the lecture halls, no special membership or contacts were required to enter these commercial spaces, and the travellers could spend whole days with the instrument makers, discussing the latest inventions in their respective fields.³³ The workshops were thus not only locations where visitors could shop for instruments, but also spaces for conversation about scientific development and for establishing new contacts.

The other two travellers had easier access to more effective routes into London science. They could use their Swedish scientific networks and their patrons’ English contacts (in Kalm’s case

31. Angerstein 2001, 219.

32. Algazi 2003; Werrett 2013, 629–633.

33. On the role of the workshops of the instrument makers, see McConnell 1994; Bennett 2002, 370–395.

Linnaeus, in Ferrner's the astronomer Mårten Strömmer and the mathematician Samuel Klingenstierna) in order to enter clubs and networks that were central the city's scientific life.³⁴ The process of converting the patrons' contacts – which usually had been established through previous voyages and which had been sustained through continuous letter correspondence – into locally valid relationships, required suitable semi-public spaces. These spaces needed to be open enough, so that the visitors could be invited based on their patrons' recommendations, but at the same time sufficiently intimate for the development of new personal relationships. Whereas workshops and lecture halls were too open for this process, households were generally too private. Instead, the scientific clubs and societies, which were relatively common in 18th-century London, were ideal.³⁵

For example, Kalm described a day of making new contacts, which started with the merchant Spalding taking him to the clockmaker Ellicot, who in turn introduced Kalm to the naturalist Peter Collinson, who in turn brought Kalm to the Thursday meeting of the Royal Society, where he was introduced to a number of other members of the society.³⁶ In the clubs, patrons' contacts were made into personal relationships, and eventually friendships, through communal eating and drinking. Ferrner excelled in the social transactions made in these semi-public spaces, and he diligently noted all his dinner companions in his diary so that his readers could follow his success in establishing noteworthy contacts among English scholars. Starting already during the autumn of 1759, Ferrner dined with the Royal Society club on Thursdays, which met before the society's meetings. By attending these dinners, he was invited to make more personal visits at the homes and observatories of the club's members. Soon after leaving London, Ferrner was even elected a fellow of the Royal Society himself.³⁷ Angerstein too was introduced to the Royal Society by Ellicot. However, this visit only generated a brief remark in his journal. Possibly, his lack of a famous patron, and weak position in the international scholarly community, made it more difficult for him to attract the attention of the society's fellows.³⁸

At least for Ferrner and Kalm, these settings became places where they could connect to the scientific communities of the city. They thus functioned as a gateway into other contexts. The clockmaker John Ellicot – who was a friend of the merchant Abraham Spalding as well as a member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences and a correspondent of its secretary the astronomer Pehr Wargentin – seems to have been pivotal in giving the Swedes access to such scientific clubs. His help, together with the recommendations of their Swedish patrons, were necessary in order for them to establish a direct relationship with the scientific elite of London.

34. For a discussion on the role of patronage in Swedish 18th-century science see Fors 2003, 200–201; for a discussion of patronage in general in 18th-century Sweden, see Winton 2006, 29–30.

35. On the role of clubs in early modern British culture, see Clark 2000.

36. Kalm 1892.

37. Lindberg 1956.

38. Angerstein 2001, 24.

The emergence of a useful observer

So far, this paper has discussed the travelling transformations of three 18th-century travelogues. Hence, I have approached these texts in a way that differs from most studies of travel literature: by focusing more on the presentation of the authorial self, and its changes, than what was described. But what was the supposed end-product of these transformations, brought about through both the social interactions depicted in the texts and the text presented to the readers of the journals? The travellers studied here were all expected to observe useful phenomena abroad. Moreover, they were expected to be able to discern the useful from the useless, or the new from the everyday, in ways that the merchant go-betweens could not. Hence, the travelogues aimed to accomplish two things: first they sought to establish the protagonists as capable observers in the eyes of their readers; second, they intended to communicate useful and novel observations to them.

Generally, London was the stage against which the first task of establishing an authorial self was accomplished. While the descriptions of London certainly contained their fair share of descriptions of noteworthy sights, industries and scientific facts, as shown above, the sections about the British capital were also highly reflexive, and to a great degree discussed the protagonist's social interactions. The rural descriptions, on the other hand, contained very little of what has been discussed above. Instead, these sections are mainly written in a passive voice, and they discussed neither the transformations of the protagonist, nor his social interactions. In Angerstein's journal, his rural descriptions were written like field studies made in a mechanical landscape, which was depicted and described as sparsely populated by humans but instead packed with useful machines and industry. Through his travel writing, Angerstein sought to describe the techniques of English industry as well as specific new and curious processes at certain sites.³⁹

Ferrner's journal reflects the mixed purposes of his travels, and the many audiences: his scientific networks and the demands of Lefebure, who financed his son's grand tour. The sections of the text that treated rural and urban spaces became a way to divide the text into part that communicated with each of these groups of readers. As discussed above, the sections treating his interactions in London, as well as in other English and Scottish cities were filled with discussions about his interactions with British scientific and cultural life. On the other hand, his rural descriptions mainly consisted of descriptions of arts and industry. Still, these rural sections were not as void of an active voice as the corresponding parts of Angerstein's journal. For example, Ferrner explicitly discussed the strategies he employed to gain knowledge of British production.⁴⁰

Of the three journals, Kalm was the one that focused the least on the protagonist's social interactions. Still, it also differed from the way Angerstein reported specific observations in the

39. See for example Ferrner 1956, 166–214.

40. For a discussion and an English translation of parts of these industrial descriptions, see Ferrner 1987.

countryside. Instead, Kalm combined the form of a chronological diary with that of a catalogue of various information, ranging from farming techniques, the ways to care for hedges or English eating habits. While Kalm excused himself for the dryness of his journal, he argued that this mode of writing made for the most useful text. Thus, he employed a rhetoric of non-rhetoric, which hid the transformative process of the travelling protagonists, while the mode of writing at the same time presented the author as someone who valued usefulness even if it made for a dryer book. One might be surprised that Kalm's journal was the driest of them all, despite the fact, which I pointed out above, that it was the only of the three which was published during the authors' lifetime. Perhaps this broad audience was even the reason for its passive voice: whereas the two other journals sought to present their authors' qualities to financiers and superiors, Kalm's text instead aimed to establish the author as a source of useful information and matters of fact in the eyes of the reading public.

Conclusions

The travelogues juggled between a wish to portray the travelling transformations of the protagonist, and the readers' demands of trustworthy descriptions of useful foreign observations. Each author reconciled these demands differently, depending on what audiences he wrote for, and the expectations of the specific audiences on the travel writer.

My analysis of the journals reveals how the travel writing consciously alternated between an active voice used in urban settings, and the passive voice of rural landscapes. While this tendency is most clear in Ferrner's journal, it exists in all three texts. First, by discussing the social manoeuvring of the protagonist, the journals could present the positive effects of travelling on the traveller to the prospective readers. The extensive descriptions of lodgings, dinners and socializing in London's cultural and scientific communities can thus be seen as a way for the travel writers to present to their audiences at home how they were transformed by their voyage – descriptions which in turn aimed to transform the authors in the eyes of their readers. By then describing rural landscapes in a passive voice, the texts further underlined what the traveller had become: a useful observer of industry and nature, who could be trusted to describe phenomena as they actually were.

But more importantly, when reading the three texts, it becomes clear that the journeys involved as much social manoeuvring as spatial relocation. These manoeuvres involved the tactics of becoming part of a strange city. As seen from the analysis, merchant go-betweens, who were long-term residents in London, were important in these efforts. They provided vital services to the travellers, especially in the initial phase when the visitors did not know how to talk, navigate or socialize in the new city. However, the analysis has also revealed other interesting, and little studied, aspects of the services of these cultural translators. The travellers' efforts to circumnavigate the

go-betweens, and to establish direct connections with relevant London networks, underline the friction involved in making knowledge move, and how efforts to facilitate exchange (through mediation) also could hamper it (e.g. by making it harder for travellers to learn how to communicate directly with indigenous Britons). These travelogues thus call for more nuanced analyses of early modern mobile actors, which engage with their complex interactions, as well as with the fact that they not always facilitated transnational exchange, but sometimes partially hindered it.

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