

: for the Inauguration of the Degree in United States and Latin American Studies, King's College, University of London, May 10, 1994... 1

By the 1880s, the American fiction writer, Henry James, could write, after being established in for a dozen years in English literary and fine arts circles:

I can't look at the English-American world, or feel about them any more, save as a big Anglo-Saxon total, destined to such an amount of melting together that an insistence on their differences becomes more and more idle and pedantic; and that melting together will become the faster the more one takes it for granted and treats the life of the two countries as continuous or more or less convertible, or at any rate as simply different chapters of the same general subject.

This was not, as idle literary critics read it, just James working out where he found himself, but an accurate statement of a cultural process that began in the late eighteenth century, and increased during the nineteenth and into the twentieth. In the arts, it is somewhat known to a few educated people, but the detailed facts of the American presence during these one hundred and eighty or so years are little known. A brief sketch might therefore provide a context for this celebration of the creation, in King's College, of a further stage in the process, a BA Degree in United States and Latin American Studies.

Between 1763 and 1820, the popular success of the American painter Benjamin West, under the patronage of George III, led to his co-founding of the Royal Academy, of which he became president in 1792, and his encouragement of John Copley, Gilbert Stuart and others in the large, successful American community of artists in London. Benjamin Thompson, later Count Rumford, after developing his multiple talents elsewhere in Europe, became a major social reformist in England, and founded the Royal Institute for Technology in 1799, a major centre of invention, especially of household technology, and containing laboratories made famous later by Humphrey Davy and Michael Faraday. In 1787, Robert Fulton, initially a painter, offered Britain engineering skills in canals, aqueducts, bridges and, in 1800, his "undersea ship", the *Nautilus*, together with underwater torpedoes. In 1826, John Audubon arrived at Liverpool Docks, with wolfskin coat and long rifle, and the following year began travelling for subscribers to the prospectus of his magnificent pictures in *Birds of America*, completed with plate 435 in 1838. One of his clients, visited in Newcastle, was the great engraver, Thomas Bewick. Washington Irving, one of many who responded to the Romantic Call, arrived in London in 1815, and four years later published his immediately esteemed *Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon*, a collection of joint American-British romanticism. Aston Hall, Birmingham, became the inspiration for his *Bracebridge Hall* in 1822. He earned a living as secretary in the American Legation in London.

The painter Washington Alston, a seminal figure between English Romantics and American Transcendentalists, arrived in 1801; he considerably affected Coleridge, and they later explored Rome together. The actor John Payne, reputed to be Tom Paine's bastard,

Handwritten notes on the left margin:
- "a 'rough' copy for John - if he has a comment!"
- "Dun 2 etc."

and the first American to play Hamlet (in 1813), is only remembered for one number in his libretto for an opera called *Clari or The Maid of Milan*, performed at Covent Garden in 1823, music by Henry Bishop, one of the first American pop hits in Britain, "Home, Sweet Home".

In 1847, the highly active bookseller and manuscript collector-dealer, Henry Stevens, was commissioned by the British Museum to buy in his native America every American book they did not yet own. But, after a national outcry, he was forced to sell his collection at home, and cheap. One purchaser, buying a collection of Benjamin Franklin's papers, was George Peabody, a wealthy merchant banker, who arrived in Britain in 1837, at the age of forty-two. In the Great Exhibition of 1851, the initial American exhibit was a failure, a collection of commercial trash. Peabody put his ample funds towards exhibiting Colt's revolver, Hobb's unpickable lock, McCormick's reaper and other American technology. Growing old, the massive financier engaged as a younger partner J.S. Morgan - the beginning of the House of Morgan, one of the most powerful American financial dynasties, and backed by the Bank of England in 1857, part of what continued to be a colossal American financial presence in Britain. But Peabody wanted to present England with a recognition of his expatriate success: the first of the great modern foundations for housing the poor, the Peabody Donation Fund of 1862. The Peabody Trust still exists.

Henry James arrived permanently in 1876, tried the Welsh border, the Wye Valley, the Cotswolds and Oxford, but settled for London and the Worcestershire village of Broadway. In London, he put up with the soft-coal city's filth and wet in order to know as many distinguished people as possible in what he called "the most complete compendium of the world" - and in particular Rossetti, Morris, Ruskin, and Browning. But as also in order to experience what he termed "the Londonizing process", a major basis for his superb fiction. But he also needed the American community in Broadway, the family and entourage of Frank Millet, painter and manic restorer of ancient British buildings not yet considered a heritage by the natives. The Russell House people included John Singer Sargent, the fashionable American portrait painter, also closely associated with Henry James in 1884. In 1896 the Royal Academy elected Sargent a member.

By the end of the century, the wealthy American community had grown considerably. The signs of their presence were clear. An American fellow was the first Roman Catholic to be admitted to high table at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the 1880s. The American Edwin Abbey, famous for his huge paintings of the opulent British past and scenes from Shakespeare's plays, painted Edward VII's coronation. But he went down with the *Titanic* in 1912. At Rye, James welcomed to his later residence the fine novelist Stephen Crane and his Florida madame wife, and became part of a highly lively literary community in that Kent-Sussex border area, that included Conrad, Ford Madox Ford and H. G. Wells.

A number of wealthy American women married into the British nobility, bringing

high finance in exchange for a peerage and sometimes love, but some also achieved remarkably powerful social controls. A classic instance is in the Marlborough-Churchill family, whose Jennie Churchill the Press called "the most influential Anglo-Saxon woman in the world". She wrote well-received plays, instrumentally organized the first National Theatre committee, raised large funds for the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, funded and edited *The Anglo-Saxon Review*, fought for a British hospital ship for the Boer War wounded, and very much more.

In 1890, the financier William Waldorf Astor fled an America he believed was "a poor man's country". In England, which pronounced to be "a country fit for a gentleman to live in", he wrote dreadful historical novels, purchased the Duke of Westminster's Cliveden House, an 1850 Roman villa, packed it with Roman, medieval and Tudor things, and a two-hundred-yards marble balustrade from the Villa Borghese, purchased the *Pall Mall Gazette* - which became a leading Tory paper - and founded the *Pall Mall Magazine* that H.G. Wells, Kipling and Stevenson wrote for. Then he bought the *Observer* newspaper. When he became a British citizen, New York crowds burnt his effigy. After donating large sums for the Boer War and to London, Cambridge and Oxford universities, and contributing to four charities, and so on, he finally reached his target, becoming Baron Astor of Hever Castle, which he had already bought. His son's wife, Nancy Astor, entered British political and literary life powerfully, in 1919, contesting a Plymouth Conservative seat in the Commons. Her campaign and her victory made her the first woman member of the House, and what was worse for the diehards, she was an American. It was, however, only later that she worked for women's rights. When the unforgiving Winston Churchill called her the "American virago", she countered with - the story is well known - "Winston, if I was married to you I'd put poison in your coffee". To which Churchill, at breakfast with her, responded: "Nancy, if I was married to you, I'd drink it!" Later, like many others of the day, she backed Hitler, and also entertained the Nazi Foreign Minister at Cliveden. But she stayed in the House until 1944.

In the visual arts, James McNeill Whistler, a friend of Rossetti, became a major controller of style and taste, a pioneer of impressionism before Degas, Monet and the rest, and with his Thames landscapes and "nocturnes" permeated the British tradition. When an admirer said that the haze on the Thames was reminiscent of a Whistler, he replied: "Yes, madame, Nature is creeping up". He prompted a classic British anti-American sneer from the weekly magazine *London* in 1877:

Mr. Whistler's brave attempt to enlighten us British is lost on us... But we can't despair, remembering as we do that the Whistlerian idea arose in the land of progress and Presidents, the land where Barnum blows and Whitman catalogues. But after his financial failures, and Ruskin's philistine objections, he became President of the Royal Society of British Artists, even if they did soon turn him out in 1888. He resigned, with a group of followers, saying: "I am taking with me the artists and I leave the

British". Ezra Pound, who first came to London in 1906, three years after Whistler's death, praised him as a major American artist for those "Who bear the brunt of our America/And try to wrench her impulse into art".

The design of the popular newspaper, the tabloid press, with large advertising coverage - what Marshall McLuhan referred to as the good news in the margins - began to dominate in America with names such as *Herald-Tribune*, and more ominously for Britain today, *Star* and *Sun* - the New York *Sun* dates from 1833. Admass, or the control of markets by advertising, dates from John L. Hooper in 1841. Another significant opportunity proved to be newspaper and magazine cartoons. Between 1867 and 1876, *Harper's Magazine* ran a series by Thomas Nast against the notorious Tweed Ring in New York City. Tweed complained not so much against the "muck-racking" journalism of the time but the cartoons: "my constituents can't read; but damn it, they can see pictures!"

This art of public-control within the capitalist system reached extremes in the newspaper showman Ralph D. Blumenfeld, known as RDB, and his close friend George Selfridge. Through the American James Gordon Bennett newspapers, RDB became an influential journalist by the age of thirty. Then Lord Northcliffe's *Daily Mail* employed him in 1900, followed by Cyril Pearson's *Daily Express* in 1902, where, from 1904, he edited for thirty years, then became chairman of the board. He became highly influential in Tory circles, controlling the masses through American tabloid styles and market sensationalism. He clearly stated his creed:

A certain amount of exaggeration is legitimate, even necessary...boldness in generalization, staccato rhetoric, exaggeration of emphasis - these are the essential qualities in the style of a good popular leader...Never in all its history has the press had such opportunity of leadership...

English culture was the feudal mythology of a greatness based on: the peer's son and the labourer's son who, accustomed to fight England's battles from the first day of England's history, lived up to their traditions, the peer's son as leader, the labourer's son as enthusiastic follower. They think alike, they act alike... Blumenfeld predicted the future dominance of America as the world's creditor nation, and so did his intimate mate Selfridge, self-conscious inheritor of the grim bankers and merchant princes of Europe, with a predictive philosophy of "the world market".

After success at Chicago's Marshall Field store, in 1903, at the age of forty, he bought a mercantile firm, changed its name to his own, and in 1906 arrived in London with a million and half dollars, built the Selfridge store, opened in 1909. The staff for his one hundred and thirty departments was the first to be tightly organized as a controlled community. His philosophy was to control the imagination towards fantasies of buying, under the anxiety psychology known as advertising. Selfridge, as a powerful controller of British capitalism, was influential in getting America into World War 1, and as a devotee of the Tory party, became totally hysterical over Labour's victory in

1929. His showmanship made him stage-struck, especially for stage women, who made millions out of him. By 1937, when he was eighty, his extravagance became debt. He died in 1947 practically forgotten. The show plays on.

Americans also entered the controls of London literature during these years, Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot in particular. Pound began residence in Europe in 1908. In London, to survive, he persuaded the Regent Street Polytechnic, a centre for practical culture, to let him give courses on "Developments of Literature in Southern Europe" (1908-9) and "Medieval Literature", which went into *The Spirit of Romance* in 1910. When his first book of poems, *A Lume Spento*, appeared *The Evening Standard* wrote of a new voice -

wild haunting stuff, absolutely poetic, original, imaginative, passionate and spiritual.

Coming after the trite and decorous verse of most of our decorous poets, this poet seems like a minstrel of Provence at a suburban musical evening...

Even *Punch* chanted: "The bays that formerly old Dante crowned/Are worn today by Ezra Loomis Pound". Such were the opening shots of a battle for and against American poetry in Britain that continues to this day. Pound's work appeared in *The English Review* and elsewhere alongside James, Conrad, Hudson and Galsworthy. T.E. Hulme moved him into the Guild Socialist circle of A.R. Orage and *The New Age journal*, to which he contributed translations and essays. Through Pound, the distinguished American poet and novelist HD began her career when she left America for England in 1911 - one of many writers he assisted.

From 1900, the New England photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn developed the art of portraiture with his fine pictures of Pound, James, Stieglitz, Rodin, Shaw, Wyndham Lewis and many others. His article "The Future of Pictorial Photography" became a major origin for Pound's Vorticist movement, and in 1916 he invented his vortoscope, a camera with a three-mirrored lens to produce images with an impression of movement which he called vortographs. Jacob Epstein, a New York Jew, encouraged by the New English Art Club in 1905, became a favoured artist in Pound's influential 1914 essay "The New Sculpture", but fame came with the hostile response to his statues for the British Medical Association's building in the Strand, at the corner of Agar Street. Through Hulme, Epstein met Pound, Lewis and the sculptor Gaudier-Brzeska, and contributed drawings to *Blast No. 1* in 1914. But timid hostility persisted against his work until after the war. In the 1940s his group of Jacob wrestling in the nude with the Angel was exhibited as a sexy sideshow on Blackpool beach.

T.S. Eliot, emigrant to London via St. Louis and Harvard, at first referred to Pound as "an anthropologist", but changed his mind by 1914, receiving help from Pound essential for his early publication. Eliot was also supported by Bertrand Russell, and enabled by his wife's connections to find work at Lloyd's bank. He bank-clerked until 1925, although Pound did find him a little extra as assistant editor of *The Egoist*. But by 1920 Pound had been rejected by the literary establishment and moved to Paris. Lady Rothermere founded

The Criterion in 1922, with Eliot as editor, and also arranged for him to join the newly founded publishing firm of Faber and Dwyer as a director. Faber published Pound's *Cantos* but Eliot notoriously turned down George Orwell's later work and Basil Bunting's poetry. Both Pound and Eliot embraced authoritarian ideologies of the inter-war years, but while the Americans arrested Pound for treason in Italy at the end of World War 11, Eliot received an OM, the highest British non-noble award, and a memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey.

An account of commercial control in popular music tastes and expenditures from American imports can begin in Liverpool, over a century before the Beatles' radical borrowings, with the arrival of T. Dan Rice with the first all-black minstrel shows, by 1850 so fashionable, especially in London, that local music production complained, and youth delinquency was blamed on numbers like "O, Suzannah". "The Old Folks at Home" became a music-hall staple, its American origins forgotten. Cylinder sales were boosted by Edison's coin-in-the-slot machines, the first juke-box. Cylinders were replaced by flat discs mass produced from a matrix, and a New Jersey factory mass-manufactured clockwork motors for phonographs. Emil Berliner, who emigrated from Germany to America in 1888, had sent a mission to Britain in Queen Victoria's jubilee year to drum up funds for what became Victrola-HMV.

In the ragtime dominance of the late nineteenth century, were Eubie Blake's "Memories of You" and the tunes in *Floradora*, the hit of 1900. Piano rags, after Scott Joplin's, were manufactured in America as part of a huge sheet-music business, known later as Tin Pan Alley. They included the "British" music-hall number "Down At the Old Bull and Bush", an American presence to this day. Already Harry van Tilson was known as "The Man who Launched a Thousand Hits", whose bases were as few notes as possible to play or sing - for example, "A Bird in a Gilded Cage". Tilson hired the tunesmith Irving Berlin, and it was his "Alexander's Ragtime Band", the hit of 1912, that initiated the domination of white-face ragtime in Britain. Rudyard Kipling exclaimed that he hated "being hummed at nasally by an alien" - anticipating J.B. Priestley later proclaiming that this music was "drumming us into another kind of life, fascinating jungle-haunted, monstrous".

The British dance-floor became an American colony. The "buck 'n wing" by the Buck Dancers - syncopated tapdancers, Afro-American responses to white foot-work, was soon taken over by Ruby Keeler, and later, Fred Astaire. It was filmed by Edison, who had already added the cake-walk to his *Uncle Tom's Cabin* film in 1903. The company of the first all-black musical to reach London, that same year, cake-walked for Edward VII at Buckingham Palace. These tastes cut across class layers. But the Afro-pop Turkey Trot, one of many erotic dances, was denounced by the Vatican, and also by a peeress who wrote to the *Times*:

these repulsive innovations must be stamped out - they belong to the African kraal, not in the ballroom...

In 1913, the African-Cuban-Argentinian-American tango began to dominate the market, and by 1917, music accompanying films became highly popular, dominated by American imports. Already, about twenty million people attended cinemas weekly. In World War 1, Tin Pan Alley was exempted from paper rationing in order to mass-produce war songs, and between April 1917 and 1918 - the first an American army had been welcomed to Britain - production peaked as never before. The folk-song collector, Cecil Sharp, said he believed that "English folk-singing would be extinct in less than a decade." But when the

white Dixieland Jazz Band, from New York in 1917, became the first band ever to sell a million copies of a record, the gramophone industry launched the new folk music of the machine age. By 1922, popular British bands were named Kentucky Fire and Manhattan Seven. A Bolton pierrot troupe piano-player named Jack Hilton took up "dixie-land" music and boomed. So did the first pop-dance millionaire Victor Sylvester, winning the world dance-floor championship in Paris in 1922. In 1923 the hit was "Yes, We Have No Bananas", fresh from America, even if it was based on Handel's "Hallelujah" chorus. That year the Charleston arrived, created by Eubie Blake's pupil, James P. Johnson. The Prince of Wales learned it, the church opposed it, and so did ball-room managers until Sylvester's version modified the violent kicks. In 1926, "Tea for Two" and the "Black Bottom" dominated, and this year Hilton's band sold three million records and gave seven hundred concerts - and France gave him the Legion D'Honneur...

END IS FROM MY BONNIE LILS OVER THE OCEAN!
SIGMUND SPAETH

In the 1920s, the Defense of the Realm Act was invoked to prevent entertainment from cluttering the radio air-waves. Radio-for-all was under way as a government-licensed service. In pop music, American microphone technology took over for a mechanized singing called crooning. Christopher Stone became the first British dj. After 1929 the foxtrot and Hollywood musicals such as *Fortysecond Street* dominated; *Gold Diggers of 1935* conquered Britain with "We're in the Money" and "Lullaby of Broadway". But it was not until the 1940s that Frank Sinatra's performances caused screaming and fainting hysterical crowds. Then, in the early 1950s, the cover headline of the current music magazine, accurately called *Cash Box*, read "Captains of the Industry Rock 'n' Roll". "Nashville" became a current British term, and the clothing followed the music. Royalty soon got the message - in 1952 the Queen asked for the Royal Performance film *The Caine Mutiny* to be replaced by Bill Haley's *Rock Around the Clock*, a film that had provoked so-called riots all over Britain, the police repeatedly called out to control teenagers. The ever-watchful Press helped with headlines like: "1000 Crazy Teenagers in Cinema Riot". But "rock" music soon became an international American Presence. In the 1980s Japanese money distributed American pop culture, and British companies were buying into this production machine. Global homogenization is a main feature of cultural studies.

When Benjamin Franklin, co-creator of the Declaration of Independence, wrote, as a distinguished scientist and member of the Royal Society, letters on electricity to a London Quaker, Peter Collinson, the latter replied at one point: "I expect something from your New World, our Old World being as it were exhausted". United States ideas on science and education did not take long to penetrate Britain, as well as policies for agriculture and aids for the poor. Before Sir George Cayley founded his London Polytechnic Institution in 1838, he studied with another member of the Royal Society, who certainly knew Franklin's work and himself published *Lectures on Electricity*. Already a "school for mechanics", to include what were called "the lower classes, had been created in 1800 by the American inventor Benjamin Thompson, supported by Humphrey Davy and Michael Faraday - as stated earlier. Thomas Jefferson's idea for a non-sectarian university contributed to those who founded the University of London in 1827, in opposition to Oxbridge religious-test colleges and imitating those American colleges which, as Dickens wrote in 1867, "disseminate no prejudices; rear no bigots; dig up no buried ashes of no old superstitions".

Liberal-minded nineteenth-century Britons took their cues from American education, including the establishment of school boards, a wider variety of courses, and the idea of a national education system. Serious reports on American culture were steadily published, with opposition particularly from those who required labour for growing industrialization. The idea of mass literacy panicked capitalist industrialists and their backers. But the 1870 Education Act confirmed the American notion of mass literacy. It also contributed to an invasion of American-style newspapers. In fact, the first newspaper comic strip - in the *New York World*, and called "The Yellow Kid" - supplied the abusive term "the yellow press" for newspapers such as the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror*. At the end of the nineteenth century, railway station bookstalls contained more American than British books. Detective fiction, after Poe's pipe-smoking synthesist, August Dupin, was reworked through Conan Doyle's hero - named after the American philosopher Oliver Wendell Holmes. However, the great Sherlock was

first stage acted in Buffalo, in 1899. Dramatic fiction featuring the exceptional "private eye" has continued to dominate British reading.

The exodus of British academics began in the nineteenth century. Oxford's Professor of Modern History emigrated to Cornell, an exemplary "land grant college", with a range of courses that scared Matthew Arnold into a pathetic criticism of such institutions as "the enemies of culture...calculated to produce miners, or engineers, or architects, not sweetness and light". Many scientists were determined that Britain should emulate American college training in their necessities. Reading University sent a deputation to report on agriculture education in Wisconsin as late as 1910, and the training of engineers as the technicians of the future power state had firm examples in America - and received further support from the American cultural studies expert, Thorstein Veblen's *The Engineers and the Price System* in 1921. In 1904, Oxford appointed an American to the Regius Chair of Medicine. He soon proposed a National School of Medicine at Cardiff.

The first visit of several hundred British school children to the United States and Canada was organized in 1906-7, initiated by the American Ambassador. In 1910 the Central Bureau for the International Exchange of Students was founded to increase young people's "efficiency as citizens". In 1906 the Overseas Club, later the Overseas League, was founded, and after World War 1, the American Ambassador founded the English-Speaking Union, which itself absorbed the 1897 Anglo-American Society. In the 1920s, good British graduates wishing to study in the States were subsidized by the Commonwealth Fund, established by Mrs. Harkness in 1916 - for women and men "of character and ability", and this continues. At this time the Rockefeller Foundation began to provide fellowships for Medical, Natural and Social Sciences, Public Health and the Humanities, to American universities, whose large incomes contrasted with the paltry Parliamentary grants to British universities. One celebrated American presence had been recorded in George Calderon's novel *The Adventures of Downy V. Green, Rhodes Scholar at Oxford*, in 1902.

Visiting America in 1918 as a member of the British University Mission, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge declared that it

11

appeared that "all cities are university cities" there. In 1926, Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, refused the University of London money either by trust or from the Rockefeller Foundation. It took Sir William Beveridge, the future proponent of the Welfare State - a concept now in the process of demolition by another Tory gang - to obtain Rockefeller money to purchase the Bloomsbury site, a notable American charity building. Beveridge also obtained Rockefeller money for the London School of Economics, and for University College Hospital Medical School so the latter might take up the American practice of schools with full-time clinical teachers. The story is similar for Cambridge and Oxford. One further related event: in 1930 Edward Harkness founded the Pilgrim Trust, which supported the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre.

This selection from a much larger history might well prompt a question, more obvious today than it has ever been: if all American products, industrial controls and money were removed from Britain today - all American foodstuffs and pharmaceuticals, fast food places, films and TV productions, clothing, videos and pop-rock musics - what would be left of an alleged indigenous culture?

Cultural Studies became at least an incipient invasion of universities' so-called "humanities" departments in the 1930s, concomitant with developments in investigative sociology and the documentary movement. In America, in the late 1920s and 1930s, colleges increased their range of courses to include experimental cultural studies - the most well-known being the "great books" course at Chicago University, and the full-study of an ancient or modern civilization developed by Alexander Meiklejohn at Wisconsin between 1926 and 1933. In the first issue of *Scrutiny* in 1933, F.R. Leavis suggested the significance of Meiklejohn's 1932 book *The Experimental College* for "a real training in intelligence... associated with the training of sensibility in the literature of the student's own language", and that "our present educational problem is to devise a method of 'cultural instruction' which will - in the modern world - take the place of the old 'liberal arts'" within the Cambridge Tripos syllabus. After developing such necessities in *Culture and Environment*, with Denys Thompson 1933, and *Education and the University* in 1943, and suggesting that Ezra Pound's sense

of "kulchur" and "epic" could profitably be examined, Leavis became a target for the fearful academic literati and limited discipline obsessives.

One of the most influential investigators of cultural complexities, Marshal McLuhan - a Canadian who later inherited the Chicago cultural studies techniques through Harold Adams Innis - learned initial methods as a Cambridge student. Between 1934 and 1936, he learned I.A. Richards' techniques of communication analysis, and the exposure of the "proper meaning" superstition. He learned that multiple meanings, overt and concealed, were poised and rooted in cultural contexts. He also read Richards' pupil William Empson's 1930 *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, a major text exposing single meaning training. This kind of work instigated his own studies of "the extensions of man" in cultural action, particularly the operations of subliminal control, media technology and the cultural transformations achieved by twentieth-century electronics. After meeting Leavis in 1935, he studied *Culture and Environment*, reinforcing a note he had made in his diary for March 1930 that "practical criticism" could be used for cultural environment - a basis for his own 1951 *The Mechanical Bride*, largely on American media effects, and his later books, still highly necessary for any cultural studies investigation.

Part of the report of the University Grants Committee, set up after World War 2, concerned the potential for "one or more institutions of university rank devoted predominantly to the teaching and study of various forms of technology". The Committee were responding to their visit to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. But the result at Imperial College, at Cambridge and at the Royal College of Science and Technology had none of the magnificent range of MIT, and in any case finding staff to teach and study proved highly problematic - only part caused by the "brain drain" to America. In 1962, the Fulbright scheme strongly reinforced university exchange with America. In 1964, the American concept of an "open university" became the Labour Party's idea for a "University of the Air", which became, in 1966, the present Open University - a hefty blow to the rigid tradition of "university, and archaic definitions of what constitutes university study. Any course of study that broke the fences and defenses of narrow specialism was, and still is, considered dilettantism.

Among the effects of American styles of physical training and gymnasia, and certain sports, the Iroquois Indian game of lacrosse entered Britain in the 1860s; and in 1904 and 1906 Ernest Seton Thompson toured England, welcomed as the author of *How to Play Injun*, later renamed *The Birch-bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians*, a major text for Baden-Powell's founding the Boy Scout movement. In this context, the steady concern throughout the nineteenth century with American educational methods for children - playgrounds, milk in schools, kindergarten techniques, clubs, and so forth, was maintained. As early as 1834, a mission was sent to America to find out about methods for the care of juvenile offenders, asylums for the deaf and dumb, poorhouses, etc..

In 1816, Joseph Dyer, co-founder of the *North American Review*, migrated to Manchester, where one of his many radical activities was to help found the *Manchester Guardian*. He opposed the Corn Laws, took part in the Reform movement, and in his *Remarks on Education* in 1850 attacked the education public system, accurately, as "beneath contempt". His diagnosis of crime among the poor still stands: the poor may be incited "by witnessing superflux". One prognostication in his 1859 *Democracy* remains important:

England, at no distant day, will find herself compelled to act in concert with despotic rulers and thus aid in the general enthrallment of European nations - or she must be prepared to meet the combined hostility of such rulers.

Therefore America and England must meet that challenge of "enslavement" together as "the only *shield* to human freedom left in the wide world". But the issue of an Atlantic culture armaments alliance immediately appears. Since *Blood on the Nash Ambassador* already broaches some of this subject, a few examples might here be representative. Samuel Colt's Lee-Enfield rifle was manufactured according to American techniques at Enfield, then near London, from 1851, the factory in the hands of John Anderson, a British inspector of machines who had reported American manufacture to a Parliamentary Commission on Small Arms. Within three years, Anderson's factory was turning out 2,000 guns a week - a good early example of production methods towards international politics by weaponry. But this was also part of a continuing American presence. In 1859, the famous British Free Trader John Bright was ridiculed in for concluding that the sheer enterprise of American technology called for a movement to "Americanize England". Many industrialists agreed with him, and British engineers invited an American to edit their new journal *Engineering*, as it was eventually named in 1866; it emphasized the American example. After the founding of Rockefeller's Standard Oil in 1870 and, in 1883, the Edison Swan Electric Company, operating in England, and the accelerating increase of American iron and steel imports to Britain in the early twentieth century, these issues became blatantly obvious. For example, by 1927 the British government had introduced the Quota Act to require companies distributing American film to cinemas - called Astoria, Paramount etc. - to make a number of films themselves. But American film importation increased rapidly.

The failure of British industry to invest in laboratory industries for electrical and chemical products, and of automobiles, enabled American enterprise to move steadily in. General Motors bought up Vauxhall in 1927 and Fords came to Dagenham in 1929, and in another field, Hoover entered in 1931. After World War 2, these and other presences operated within another kind of action. In 1947, America initiated the Economic Cooperation Administration to aid post-war Europe. In 1948, the Anglo-American Advisory Council, was founded under Philip Reed, chairman of General Electric. But in 1951 and 1954 the largest contribution was made to British defense materials, part of industry's fortunes made out of the alleged Communist threat. Within this development, radically significant changes were made in the structure of metals, ceramics, energy-storage, and communication techniques, and towards the first satellite system, called Early Bird. Since then, American control in British so-called defense systems has been large and expensive.

But also in the postwar years, the United States launched a programme to educate Europe in what may broadly called its culture rather than, to employ President Eisenhower's term, its "military-industrial complex". These developments must be placed in the context of the fact that by 1962, American economic investment in Britain was ten times its pre-war figure. One in twenty employees in manufacturing industries worked for Americans. American razor blades and electric razors, feature films and TV products, clothing, cosmetics, drugs and cars dominated. One commentator observed:

... the social face that America presents for emulation by the world is not the product of education in any sense in which the word is commonly used in an intellectually adult society. It is the end result of the most sustained effort in applied conformism in the history of the world.

But it was eminently clear to a few university people, writers and and artists that American literature, music, dance, film, architecture and visual arts constituted one of the finest cultures in history. To educate European young scholars and artists, in 1947 students of Harvard University founded the Salzburg Seminar in American Civilization. The first session included Harvard's own

F.O. Matthiessen, as well as Margaret Mead, Alfred Kazin, and Mario Praz from Rome. In his opening speech, Matthiessen used basic terms for any future course of American Studies:

None of our group come as imperialists of the pax Americana to impose our values upon you. . . [we] come with strong

F.O. Matthiessen, as well as Margaret Mead, Alfred Kazin, and Mario Praz from Rome. In his opening speech, Matthiessen used basic terms for any future course of American Studies:

None of our group come as imperialists of the pax Americana to impose our values upon you...[we] come with strong conviction...of a saving characteristic of American civilization: a sharp critical sense of both its excesses and its limitations. We come...not merely as teachers but as students.

Students from countries recently at war met in interchange under the aegis of cultural studies, and in eager concern for American culture. As late as 1953, the atmosphere between a number of the participants of different nationalities was itself eclectic. Some would return years later to lecturer, as I did myself in 1974, vividly recalling 1953, and the years between.

In Britain, a handful of university people decided to inaugurate American studies - at considerable risk to their careers - largely at this time in literature and history. The aggressive opposition from panic ignorance was classically stated by a Warwick University English department incumbent as late as 1970:

American chauvinism has been remarkably successful in imposing on English universities Departments of American Studies of a thoroughly divisive kind, where American literature is divided from English literature.

In 1930, the Commonwealth Fund Chair of American History was founded at University College, London, but it took another 30 years before King's College English Department, in the hands of the distinguished Shakespearian scholar Geoffrey Bullough, with advice from Robert Spiller, visiting professor from the University of Pennsylvania, made a junior appointment for "English and American Literature". It promoted an editorial in the *Times*. That relationship with Pennsylvania remains part of the Department's life. A few years later, the Cultural Affairs attaché at the American Embassy substantially supported Harry Allen, Professor of American History at University College, and that junior at King's, as well as other less confident university members, in the establishment of the University's graduate Institute of United States Studies. And it must be added that the Embassy also supported the Polytechnic of Central London's founding of an American

Studies Resources Centre. Under the redoubtable Christopher Brookeman it became a pioneering major centre for higher education not only in London but throughout the country.

Articles and reports from 1963 onwards show a growth in university American studies at Manchester, Keele and Sussex, and later at Nottingham and Hull, and for literature and history, still separately, at London, East Anglia, and elsewhere. The first chair at chair in American Studies at Manchester dates from 1948. Between 1963 and 1964, Jim Potter, a convinced Americanist at the London School of Economics compiled the first survey of the United States in British Education. In 1963, the *Guardian* published a four-page supplement on Anglo-American cultural relations, and three years later the Institute's MA in Area Studies (the United States), became a major issue, as part of an abortive Centre for Area Studies. It remained a controversial issue for many of those in power in the University, until they successfully destroyed its highly successful teaching, library and administration basis in Tavistock Square in the late 1980s.

At the beginning of the 1950s, only four schools had separate American courses. Towards rectifying this situation, the British Association for American Studies, founded in 1955, began to offer an annual conference of courses for schools and higher education college teachers, and against the Cultural Affairs office at the Embassy sponsored short courses, one major brief summer series coordinated at New College, Oxford, by the great American Melville scholar Howard Vincent. By 1969, Roy Avery, Headmaster of Harrow County School, could draw attention in an article to the significance of American studies in British schools. All these developments were greatly assisted by the extremely fine library of books, music and film at the Embassy - a postal service as well a local London one - curated by a remarkable woman, Maggie Haferd. This was part of the Embassy's excellent programme in American culture, abruptly terminated for no *stated* reason during the Vietnam War.

Whereas one PhD in American studies was award in 1952-3 - in history - in 1963-4 more than 100 students were registered for graduate courses, and by 1989 this ^{number} had tripled. In 1976, the *Times Educational Supplement* published a special issue on

American Studies as a bicentennial recognition of the States, with reports on increases in school syllabuses. A member of the Associated Examining Board reported:

[Since] if Chrysler run into difficulties they curtail their operations in Britain; our TV uses a great deal of American material; our defense and foreign policy is a joint commitment... [and since] many young Britons take their lead from American media and popular culture, they ought to know about their sources, and gain information from studies in history, geography, literature, cultural sociology and so forth.

Michael Gidley, as he then signed himself, drew attention to the American Arts Documentation Centre at Exeter University, with its graduate resources and study pamphlets on music, film, the Underground Press, Black literature and contemporary poetry - the latter major factor for British poets since 1946. Frank Thistlethwaite's paper cited the tremendous pioneering achievement of Bernard Crick and Miriam Almon's *Guide to Manuscripts Relating to America in Great Britain*, and also his belief that, by 1970, the increased popularity of American Studies had been caused - in his view, deliteriously - by what he called "the hysteria of student unrest" - an abusive inaccuracy for student participation in the Civil Rights and anti-war movements in America. Thistlewaite added Black Studies and Women's Studies... More intelligent would be Rob Halsall's 1979 study *The Teaching of American Studies in Schools*, pointing out a great and necessary improvement of the American presence in schools:

A good deal of staff and pupil interest in, and familiarity with, the United States seems to exist largely because of the impact of mass media. So many American films, TV shows and musical recordings are evident in Britain that most people are more familiar with the United States than any other nation.

All the more reason why this should be studied, therefore. In fact there were to be important extensions of cultural studies, one of the finest being Essex University's timely graduate degree in cross-cultural studies, curtailed as soon as it showed signs of being highly successful in its innovative enterprise. But American Studies were already under attack.

In 1987 *The American* for November 27 reported "British univ-

ersity courses in US Studies could be gone in a year".The cue came from a BAAS Bulletin article in 1986 on a report by Jack Salzman,from the Columbia University American Studies Centre, made for the USIA,on the appalling and worsening situation - lack of funds,cut-backs and no replacement of staff,and other curtailments by Tory government policy dictates.A letter in the *International Herald Tribune* for January 1 said:

Since Mrs.Thatcher came to power in 1979, half of the twenty-six full-time specialists in United States history, literature,culture and politics who held full-time professorships, have retired and have not been replaced... There is no full-time professor of American literature in any British university.The entire American studies at one university,Hull,has been closed.

Then it quoted Salzman:"The signal is going out to young academ- that there are no jobs and that there will not be any positions available in the foreseeable future".A shortage of teachers for schools and polytechnics was unavoidable.The failure of knowledge of America beyond TV soaps and so forth would be disastrous:"The leaders of the future will have absolutely inadequate knowledge". An article in the *Times* stated that the notorious "special relationship",so boosted by Reagan,Thatcher and the rest,had little or no cultural dimension.But,the Times added,at least the Fulbright Commission remained,and the American Embassy's resources.But,as stated earlier,latter the Embassy had closed the library and terminated the regular cultural lectures and other events,a major blow to American Studies throughout Britain.

This brief selection towards a study of the American Presence omits important information that can only be indexed here – for example, the effects of American architectural styles, and the continuous Americanization of the British English language, clothing fashion and fast-food habits. But enough has been placed here to show that "cultural studies" cannot ever be interpreted as literature plus what is inaccurately called "background", or, equally feebly, as elementary "comparative literature", or any other attempt at simplification. In the winter of 1989, the last conference of the Institute of United States Studies, organized by the last secretary-librarian, the late Dr. Howell Daniels, was convened at Regent's College, itself founded on the governmental wreckage of Bedford College. Entitled *The American Presence in Britain*, the papers were salutary towards a proper definition of "American Studies". Subjects included: the American military presence in Britain, Anglo-American strategic relations, the transfer of higher education institutions across national boundaries, British attitudes towards American foreign and defence policies and multinational corporations, the Americanization of British leisure – this turned out, surprisingly, to be restricted to the London zoo – the cross influences between United States and British intelligence – referring not to intelligence but spies and secret military behaviour – American institutions in the City – meaning banks and exchanges – and the marketing of American products. Then the foolhardy Professor of English and American studies at King's College offered a paper on "American Arts and American Culture in Britain". But this conference was truly a useful gesture towards "cultural studies", and stands as a challenge to any other definition. The King's College professor's memory was returning to his inaugural lecture at Groningen University, in Holland, in 1955, on "American Studies in Europe", for which the narrow-minded British Ambassador, who was present, expressed his earnest displeasure, and his ignorance of a vital necessity to show that the so-called "special relationship" between Britain, as part of Europe, and America has been detailed and powerful at least since the Declaration of Independence.