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The image of England in the travelogues and correspondence of Ukrainian travelers of the 19th century

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This article examines the image of nineteenth-century England as perceived by travelers from the Dnieper region of Ukraine. Drawing on travelogues, memoirs, diaries, and correspondence – considered here as narrative sources – the study identifies the travelers' objectives (education, health, and leisure), principal routes, and markers of material culture and everyday life that attracted their attention.

The analysis demonstrates that travelers' actual experiences of England were geographically limited to major cities, particularly London, and resort towns such as Torquay and St Leonards, resulting in a fragmented and partially "unknown" image of the country. At the same time, many travelers prioritized intellectual exchange, focusing on the scientific milieu, library collections, and the views of leading scholars.

It is shown that extended stays in England facilitated the formation of new, enduring social networks – including European elites, scientists, and émigré compatriots – which promoted deeper integration into the broader European cultural context. The study concludes that exposure to this environment gradually undermined ideological stereotypes imposed by the Russian Empire. Consequently, these firsthand accounts became a catalyst for personal transformation and the development of national consciousness among travelers from the Dnieper region.

KEYWORDS
England, London, travel, Dnieper Ukraine, travelogues, correspondence, nineteenth century, national consciousness, cultural integration, everyday life

Introduction

Over the centuries, the motives that prompted indi-viduals to travel beyond their usual place of residence or to foreign countries have been diverse, ranging from the pursuit of new experiences and self-discovery to the search for employment, the fulfillment of official duties, education, leisure, and entertainment.

From the second half of the eighteenth century, an important motivation for crossing state borders was the pursuit of health. Owing to the work of the English physi-cian Richard Russell, who studied the therapeutic properties of seawater, sea bathing became fashionable. In 1753, he established a resort in Brighton (East Sussex, on England's south coast), which quickly gained popu-larity among the local aristocracy.

The scientific approach to the study of travel writing as a form of "literature of fact" was first articulated by D. Nalyvaiko in his work Through the Eyes of the West: The Reception of Ukraine in Western Europe in the 11th–18th Centuries. According to Nalyvaiko, "travel books, memoirs, letters, and diaries of those who visited and lived in distant or little-known countries introduced their compatriots to the lives, customs, social structures, and cultures of other peoples. Depicted with varying degrees of literary talent, these accounts vividly familiarized readers with foreign societies, allowing them not only to encounter exotic wonders but also to recognize ele-ments of similarity and affinity with their own lives" (*Nalyvaiko, 1998*). It was precisely this "literature of fact" that fostered critical reflection and the questioning of established norms and dogmas. Moreover, as Koliastruk (2008) observes, such works often achieved this effect through their factual, conscientious descriptions of reali-ty, irrespective of the authors' individual worldviews.

The ***aim of this article*** is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the image of England as reflected in the travel diaries and letters of Ukrainian travelers in the nineteenth century. It also seeks to examine how these journeys shaped processes of self-identification and the development of national consciousness.

Research methods

The methodological foundation of the study combines historical-chronological and historical-systemic approaches, which make it possible to trace the dynamics of changing perceptions of England throughout the nineteenth century. The primary sources are the travelogues and epistolary legacy of Ukrainian travelers, interpreted here as a form of literature of fact. Such sources are particularly valuable, as they foster critical analysis and the questioning of established dogmas through their conscientious depictions of lived reality.

Working with this type of material, however, poses methodological challenges that require addressing two key

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issues: the reconstruction of primary sources and the verification of facts. To this end, the principle of veri-fication is applied, based on the so-called reverse method (*Boiko, 2000: 298*). Rather than proceeding from source to fact, the researcher begins with the historical fact and moves back to the source. In practice, this means that the information presented in travelogues is corroborated by comparison with other, independent bodies of evidence. This diachronic approach makes it possible to establish the reliability of both individual details and the sources as a whole.

In addition, the biographical method is employed to examine the personalities of the travelers themselves, thereby providing insight into their motives, worldviews, and perceptions.

Results and Discussion

Reasons and Conditions for Travel to England. From the late eighteenth century, the right of the nobility to travel abroad was legally enshrined. This privilege was also extended to the Ukrainian Cossack elite, who had been granted parity with the Russian aristocracy by Empress Catherine II. At this time, travel was determined primarily by wealth and therefore remained the preserve of a limited social stratum.

In the nineteenth century, following the example of the royal family and government officials, landowners and aristocrats – including those from Naddnipranshchyna (sub-Russian Ukraine – increasingly visited European countries. Travel was perceived not only as an opportunity to encounter the achievements of European culture and acquire new experiences, but also as a form of leisure and adventure. Journeys abroad often served as occasions to visit friends and relatives or as the next stage of education and self-development. In this context, the term “Grand Tour” became widespread among the upper classes, referring to a multi-year stay in various European countries intended to complete the education and upbringing of young noblemen (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 8*).

Travel abroad, however, required careful planning due to numerous bureaucratic restrictions. In 1831, for example, the decree “On the Education of Russian Youth Mainly in Domestic Educational Institutions” mandated that individuals aged 10 to 18 be educated exclusively within the empire, prohibiting foreign travel for this age group under threat of losing the right to civil service. Exceptions were granted only by imperial permission, which required both time and connections in high society (*Matvienko, 2011: 58–62*). A few years later, on 17 April 1834, Tsar Nicholas I, concerned that subjects were settling permanently in Europe, limited the duration of foreign stays to five years for nobles and three for other classes, with confiscation of property as punishment for disobedience. Further restrictions followed during the revolutionary upheavals of 1848–1855, when the tsar sought to minimize contact between his subjects and European societies (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 12*).

The passport procedure itself was complex and costly. Travelers were required to obtain a certificate of loyalty from the police, secure permission from the governor or mayor, and publicly announce their intent to leave the country three times in a local newspaper. Only after fulfilling these requirements could a passport be issued, which included both exit and entry tickets (*Panaeva, 1956: 115*). In addition, letters of recommendation from respected members of the English community were often sought to facilitate settlement and stay abroad.

A shift occurred in the late 1850s. Following the Crimean War, censorship was relaxed and educational policy reformed. In 1857, the practice of sending graduates of higher educational institutions for internships at leading European universities was resumed. After the adoption of the university statute in 1863, young scholars increasingly traveled abroad to prepare master’s theses or qualify for professorships. Large-scale scientific congresses, art exhibitions, and industrial fairs held across Europe attracted thousands of visitors. By this point, financial means and personal interests, rather than state restrictions, became the principal determinants of travel. Russian subjects, including Ukrainians, sought opportunities in Europe for recreation, cultural enrichment, and experiences unavailable at home.

Health-related travel also played an important role. Since the mid-eighteenth century, spa and water treatments had spread throughout the Russian Empire. Initially, travelers sought German resorts; later, with physicians prescribing “salt waters,” resorts in the British Isles became increasingly popular. Torquay, located on England’s south coast, attracted visitors with its mild climate and picturesque landscapes, earning the nickname “English Italy” (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 395*). Another center of medical tourism was St Leonards, which from the mid-nineteenth century became a fashionable destination for both Ukrainians and the European elite, including the Duke of Leuchtenberg and the Rebinder family. These resorts offered not only physical and spiritual recovery but also new social connections and a broader worldview (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 10*).

Numerous Ukrainian intellectuals and professionals visited England during this period. In 1840, K. Paulović, a Serbian-born professor at Kharkiv University, spent five months in the country, later publishing his *Remarks on London* (*Paulovich, 1846*). Around the same time, the economist and statistician A. Zablotsky-Desiatowski made several visits and recorded his impressions in *Memoirs…*, published in 1849 in *Otechestvennye zapiski* (*Zablotsky, 1849*). M. Zarudnyi traveled to England to study its judicial system in preparation for reform in the Russian Empire, describing not only legal institutions but also cities such as London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Bangor, and Dublin. His writings served both as personal reflections and as a practical guide for future travelers (*Zarudny, 1860*). Similarly, the Odesa-based engineer K. Skalkovskyi visited England multiple times, producing detailed accounts of social change, urban development, prices, food, and cultural life in London during the 1820s (*Skalkovsky, 1889*).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of Ukrainians resided in England either permanently or for extended stays. Among them were the Galagan family of landowners, the priest and politician A. Honcharenko, the economists I. Yanzhul[1] and M. Tugan-Baranovsky, sociologist M. Kovalevsky[2] , literary historian M. Storozhenko, and others.

[1] Ivan Ivanovich Yanzhul is an economist, statistician, and member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. He was born in Starodub, Chernihiv province. He came from a Ukrainian noble family.

[2] Maksym Kovalevsky was born in 1851 in Kharkiv into a Cossack family of officers (nobility). In 1872, as part of his preparation for the master's exam in international law, he was sent abroad to

These travelers documented their experiences in diaries and letters, later publishing memoirs that constitute an important source for studying perceptions of nineteenth-century England and its society. Their accounts shed light on how the image of England gradually took shape in the minds of foreigners and how existing stereotypes – widely circulated within the Russian Empire – were either reinforced or transformed. In particular, they emphasized England's role as an industrial, financial, and commercial leader of the world ("the workshop of the world") and as the country with the most advanced political and legal system.

Travelers who were already in Europe could reach England by several routes: by steamer from Antwerp or Calais, or by river from Mainz along the Rhine to Rotterdam, followed by transfer to London or Dover. Zablotsky, for example, described leaving Paris by rail to Lille, traveling onward by stagecoach to Calais, and then crossing the Channel by French mail steamer, reaching Dover in two and a half hours (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*). The majority of travelers preferred to arrive directly in London in order to avoid switching from sea to rail transport. Zarudny emphasized the convenience and comfort of private steamers, noting with satisfaction that the journey lasted only 18 hours (*Zarudny, 1860: 481-482*).

For those departing from the Russian Empire, the route typically led through St Petersburg and on to Kronstadt, from which it was possible to embark for England. K. Paulovich followed this path, recalling: "I left St Petersburg with other companions on a transport steamer to Kronstadt. There, we transferred our belongings to the English steamer Sirius, where we were accommodated in numbered cabins" (*Paulovich, 1846: IV*). This journey demanded considerable endurance, as seasickness was common. Reaching Copenhagen alone could take four days, after which passengers often had to remain for several days depending on the cargo being transported. From Copenhagen, the sea voyage continued along the Thames, requiring an additional four days before reaching London.

Most travelers did not initially speak English. They either acquired it while in the country, through communication with locals or private tutors, or relied on German guidebooks such as the widely used "*Bedekers*"[3]. These reference works provided maps, information about monuments, and phrasebooks, enabling travelers to plan itineraries and navigate foreign cities. Ivan Yanzhul, for instance, purchased such a guide before traveling to England. He wrote: "The most valuable points and stops were studied in detail and selected according to the guide" (*Yanzhul, 1910: 91*). Upon arriving in London in 1873, he and his companions followed the instructions in the guidebook, ensuring that they were taken directly to the Dickens Hotel, whose name alone inspired trust (*Yanzhul, 1910: 94*).

Guidebooks also shaped travelers' expectations and attitudes before and during their journeys. They not only introduced the country but also offered practical advice on conduct in unfamiliar situations. Yanzhul recalled:

> Two days were spent walking around the city by two Russian couples, to the surprise of all onlookers, sometimes being subjected to unexpected questions and harassment from street boys or suspicious people. Following Baedeker's advice, we would immediately say 'Police!' and seek out an officer, at which point these people quickly withdrew (*Yanzhul, 1910: 94*).

Those who, for various reasons, did not possess a guidebook could easily hire a local guide in London. Their services typically cost between half a pound and one thaler and could be arranged through hotel staff or landlords. K. Paulovich described his experience:

> An hour later, two guides were at my service: one was a German who had long been engaged in this trade, showing the curiosities of London to foreign visitors without providing historical information; the other was an Englishman, a learned lawyer named Le...rt, who, according to my host, knew almost the entire city well and was regarded by many prominent families as an intelligent, shrewd, and businesslike man. Moreover, he spoke five languages... (*Paulovich, 1846: 11*).

Unlike in other European countries, England's appeal lay less in its attractions and leisure opportunities than in the conditions it offered for education and intellectual development. Those who had already visited London often recommended the experience to their compatriots. Ivan Yanzhul recalled his own decision:

> Two of our Muscovites … had already been to London before and praised it very much. The famous Rosher[4] repeatedly advised Chuprov[5] that Russians should go to England to study political economy there, where it was more beneficial than in Germany (*Yanzhul, 1910: 88*).

Travelers who initially planned to remain in London for only a few weeks often extended their stays. Yanzhul himself noted: "My wife and I, having thought about it maturely, decided to stay for a few more weeks." The reasons, as he explained, were both personal and professional:

> We liked London very much, and the further we went, the more I liked it, the more I began to realise that England was the country most suitable for my further development and improvement, as well as for my career in finance (*Yanzhul, 1910: 95*).

His time in London proved formative, shaping the direction of his scholarly interests:

> I have always been interested, especially here, in scientific issues related in one way or another to industry and trade. While abroad on a so-called professorial trip, I searched for a topic in financial law, in which I was to obtain a degree (*Yanzhul, 1910: 96*).

A visit to the British Museum ultimately determined his research trajectory. He remained in London for almost a year and later returned several times to continue his studies.

study. This was M. Kovalevsky's first acquaintance with European countries. First, he visited Germany, then France, and finally England. Later, he was invited to Oxford, where he taught issues related to the Russian Empire. In the 80s and early 90s of the nineteenth century, he also participated in various scientific forums held in England, including the congress of the British Historical Association in Oxford and the Orientalist congress in London. Since 1895, he held the position of vice-chairman of the British Association of Sciences.

[3] Verlag Karl Baedeker is a German publisher. In 1827, in Koblenz, he founded a publishing house of travel guides to various cities and countries. During his lifetime, he became known for his high-quality, thorough, detailed guidebooks, which were named after him – "Baedekers".

[4] Wilhelm Georg Friedrich Roscher is a German economist. He was born in Hanover. He studied at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen. In 1848, he became a professor of political economy at the University of Leipzig. His course was recommended by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Empire for those who were studying abroad.

[5] Alexander Ivanovich Chuprov was a Russian economist, statistician, public figure, corresponding member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, and one of the founders of the Moscow Society for the Dissemination of Technical Knowledge.

The British Museum provided access to rare books and new knowledge that profoundly influenced both Yanzhul and his wife Kateryna. She wrote in a letter home:

> … dear to our hearts, London, where we both lived our intellectual lives so deeply, and where my husband in particular worked so seriously and did so much for his development … the British Museum is an old teacher for us, to whom we feel indebted for our serious and fruitful studies and to whom we turn again and again for further education with faith in success (*Yanzhul, 1910: 143*).

Ivan Yanzhul likewise emphasized its impact:

> Every day I discover, I can say without exaggeration, new reserves for intellectual activity – whether a book, some observation, or simply a newspaper. The newspapers here are wonderful. It can be said without paradox that those who have not lived in England do not know and cannot understand newspapers (*Yanzhul, 1910: 97*).

Image of London. For travelers approaching London by sea, the first impression was shaped by the River Thames. K. Paulovich described the scene in vivid detail:

> The banks of the River Thames on both sides, from its source to its confluence with the ocean, are furnished with various buildings, beautiful orchards, pleasant green lawns and meadows covered with grass; also hills, trees and bushes. The Thames itself, from the mouth or ocean to London, was lined on both sides with ships anchored, large and small (*Paulovich, 1846: 3*).

Similarly, Andrii Zablotsky-Desiatovsky noted:

> Your attention is focused first of all on the river itself, majestic and full, crowded with ships; … Between the huge ships which are at anchor, or slowly moving forward with the tide, you see a few chequered pipes (a distinctive feature of Scottish steamers) and many narrow steamers, filled with passengers, flying back and forth, with all the power of steam, carrying the inhabitants of London, for two pence, from one end of the city to the other (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*).

Such a view could scarcely have been imagined at the time on the Dnipro in Kyiv.

Those who traveled inland from the ports perceived England as a land of “meadows and fields, marvellously cultivated and kept in marvellous order” (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*). Zablotsky further observed:

> Here the trees, forming a living wall, grow freely, and often alternate with light iron gratings guarding the fields, and do not hide them from the traveller, nor the meadows, nor the individual groups of trees scattered among them; in short, you have a vast park cut through by winding lanes and lively flocks of sheep and cows that are not afraid of the noisy train of the railway… (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*).

Arriving in London at dusk or night produced an even more striking impression. The setting sun and the city’s extensive illumination created the illusion of a massive fire. In reality, what travelers witnessed was the glow of countless gas lamps that lit up the metropolis. Zablotsky recalled:

> Ahead of us, the sunset appeared, covering the skyline wider and wider. Then gas lamps began to flash past us, and at last whole rows of lights; we were flying in the midst of a lit city, we were in London near Dover railway terminus (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*).

Contemporary observers even remarked that the brightness of London at night was comparable to daylight (*Paulovich, 1846: 40*). For travelers from Ukraine, this spectacle was particularly impressive, as even St Petersburg offered nothing of comparable scale.

Garden and park complexes – soon recognized as an independent art form – were another hallmark of Britain. The English developed their own style of landscape gardening, characterized by winding paths, labyrinthine designs, integration with the surrounding countryside, and the inclusion of bridges and artificial ponds. Hryhoriy Galagan became fascinated with English parks in his youth, admiring their simplicity and elegance. Later, he pursued this interest more systematically: he read professional literature on landscape design, studied London’s parks firsthand, and drew inspiration for developing his own park at the family estate in Sokyryntsi.

Tourist Infrastructure. One of the primary concerns for travelers arriving in England was securing accommodation that was both affordable and conveniently located near the city center or major attractions. For short stays, hotels were the most common choice, though they were often expensive. For longer visits, private lodgings were preferred. Travelers who had previously been to England, or who carried letters of recommendation, usually faced little difficulty in finding suitable housing. First-time visitors without knowledge of the language could turn to customs officers or postal officials for assistance.

London in particular offered a wide range of options, from coffee houses, inns, and bed-and-breakfasts to luxury hotels. According to Konstantin Paulovich, the city boasted around two hundred hotels. However, accommodation was costly for most tourists from the Russian Empire, with rates ranging from three to five pounds sterling per day, not including service charges (*Paulovich, 1846: 15*). Exceptions did exist. Andrii Zablotsky-Desiatovsky recalled staying in a reasonably priced hotel, recommended by a fellow Ukrainian traveler, located in Leicester Square, close to Piccadilly and Regent Street, in the heart of London’s West End. The establishment offered carpets, clean bedding, and comfortable rooms (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*).

The majority of visitors, however, opted for private lodgings. Paulovich, for instance, rented an apartment with a servant in the Covent Garden district, on King Street, near the theater (*Paulovich, 1846: 10–11*). The Yanzhul family stayed in rooms on Keppel Street near the British Museum, recommended to them by compatriots. They were given “two rooms side by side, with huge beds that took up most of the space, on which the whole family could be laid if necessary” (*Yanzhul, 1910: 95*).

Ukrainian travelers were consistently impressed by the cleanliness and service in English accommodations, especially in comparison with Italy or Ukraine. The Halahan family, who stayed at the Coburg Hotel near Grosvenor Square, noted the efficiency of the staff. Kateryna Halahan observed with amazement that “one janitor, the concierge, has time not only to clean the rooms of all the tenants, but also to wash the courtyard, all the windows and steps, or a female concierge does it all.” She even remarked that such practices should be introduced on her own estate (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 390*).

In her reflections, Halahan further emphasized the meticulous attention to hygiene:

> The houses are maintained … so clean and tidy that you won’t find a single insect. One girl, and if the house is very big, then a janitor, cleans the rooms every day, washes the windows, wipes all the furniture, wipes the carvings clean; they do not beat the carpets with sticks, as we do, but clean them very carefully. They wash the stone yards, the walls around the yard, even the sidewalk from the wall … Here they don’t chase fashionable furniture, they don’t destroy old furniture, like we do (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 402*).

During their stay at the resort in Torquay, the Halahan family rented a house, which Kateryna described in detail:

> We have rooms with fireplaces: the dining room is downstairs, with a room next to it; the living room and my bedroom are on the second floor; Mashenka and Paul's bedroom is on the third floor; Katenka's is small and the girl's is large; and the fourth floor is Evdokia's." The rent was £6 per week, which included lodging and lighting. Heating and the cook's services were paid separately. Halahan remarked that, compared to prices in St Petersburg or Moscow, this was not expensive (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 399*).

Urban Space. In the nineteenth century, Ukrainian travelers did not become deeply acquainted with England as a whole; their attention focused mainly on the capital and resort towns. The vast majority settled in London, which, according to K. Paulovich, extended some twenty versts in length and thirty in width[6].

Impressions of the city varied depending on education, social background, prior travel experience, and familiarity with other European capitals. Yet Paulovich noted that no visitor could remain indifferent to the vistas unfolding from the Thames:

> English commerce, incalculable wealth and naval power strike the traveller's eye at first sight … The enormity of the city is also very remarkable, and its special face, which distinguishes London from all other cities in Europe. The huge bridges on the River Thames are worthy of wonder; and the Thames Tunnel, as a wonderful and unique work of human mind and hands on the whole globe, is beyond all human wonder (*Paulovich, 1846: 65*).

For Ukrainians accustomed to Moscow and St Petersburg – their usual points of comparison – London presented striking contrasts. Unlike the gray and heavy impression of St Petersburg, London impressed with its abundance of greenery, squares, and parks. One traveler observed:

> How beautiful are the squares or grounds in London with trees and bushes, what a lawn and what trees, although without leaves, but you can see from the branches that they are very densely leafy … How good and healthy this is for a city, and a city as big as London, it cleans the air. We need to take care of this in Russia, too, instead of building up the streets with inseparable houses (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 393*).

Zablotsky-Desiatovsky described the squares as

> a common area surrounded by houses, mostly of the same architecture; the middle is planted with trees, surrounded by trellises, and covered with green turf, where the eye rests … However, the doors of the square are locked – only residents of neighbouring houses have the right to walk there (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305; Zarudny, 1860: 483–484*).

Public parks such as Green Park, Hyde Park, Regent's Park, St James's Park, Kensington Gardens, and Victoria Park were freely accessible.

Architecture also drew attention. Paulovich wrote:

> The old buildings in London are unplastered on the outside, but these brick walls, so smooth and shiny, are as polished and brick-like as they are masonry. I have to admit that the sight of these unplastered, dark and smooth buildings … made me feel a little sad at first, but after a few days my eyes got used to this look. The newly built streets, the finest houses, palaces and lords' houses, [are] almost plastered, but so skilfully and well that I long believed they were built of white unplastered wild stone (*Paulovich, 1846: 25–26*).

Travelers also remarked on the uniformity of London houses, built to the same dimensions and including a basement floor – features unfamiliar in Kyiv, Kharkiv, or Odesa.

The city's streets and pavements stood out in comparison with those of the Russian Empire. Paulovich recalled:

> From the first time I entered London, I admired the cobblestones and sidewalks … In the streets of Oxford Street, Regent Street, Piccadilly, and other newer streets, the pavement and sidewalks are reaching the point of luxury. They are so smoothly and evenly paved, with selected stone, that it seems possible to waltz along them … (*Paulovich, 1846: 38*).

What struck Ukrainian travelers as extraordinary, however, was often taken for granted or even criticized by London residents themselves.

Once accommodation was secured, attention turned to the city's rhythms and social life. The pace of London seemed overwhelming at first. From a Ukrainian perspective, the day began late: workers rose around eight, shops and markets opened at ten, and by early afternoon the city was already bustling (*Paulovich, 1846: 42*). Oxford and Regent Streets were regarded as the most vibrant centers, not for the status of their residents but for the splendour of their shops. Paulovich wrote:

> Here any inquisitive foreigner must be surprised at the unprecedented lustre, interior and exterior of the charming shops, and the many charming-looking Englishwomen. They assemble here every day in great numbers, in their best dresses, and move from one shop to another (*Paulovich, 1846: 43*).

The sheer movement of the city made a lasting impression. Zarudny remarked:

> London strikes the newcomer with its unusual movement. Carriages, buggies, omnibuses, all change each other with unusual speed and noise, which makes a new and rather heavy impression (*Zarudny, 1865: 9–10*).

Zablotsky likewise emphasized the orderliness of the flow:

> There is an extraordinary movement of people here … The movement of London is the movement of a stream subordinated to a stricter mechanical order … A multitude of carriages, people, animals – moving in different directions, silently, without noise, without quarrels. One wave of people rolls in after another, you get dizzy and you cannot help but want to be carried away by these waves (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*).

The underground city also fascinated observers. Kateryna Yanzhul described it as

> a new underground world, where the movement of the so-called underground road is likened to movement during a thunderstorm. Like the sound of thunder, you can hear the shouts of the conductors at the underground railway stations. A train will pass by, only to be replaced a second later by another train … (*Yanzhul, 1910: 94*).

Nighttime London left yet another set of impressions. Travelers emphasized the safety of the city, with only a few exceptions. Paulovich observed that London's nocturnal beauty could only be appreciated on a late-night walk:

> During a night walk and well after midnight one could make a fascinating comparison of the noisy daytime London with its dead silence. You don't have to look for this night-time silence until two or three in the morning (*Paulovich, 1846: 41*).

Skalkovsky added that by midnight restaurants, theatres, and other establishments closed by law, though small clubs continued to operate clandestinely for those seeking alcohol (*Skalkovsky, 1889: 139*).

[6] Verst is a measure of distance used in Ukraine before the introduction of the metric system. 1 verst = 1.0668 kilometres.

Objects of Inspection. A. Zablotsky-Desiatovsky aptly characterized the experience of sightseeing in England: "If you are a connoisseur of ruins, then go to Greece, Italy, the banks of the Rhine; you do not need to go to England, especially to London, where there are no ruins" (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*). Nevertheless, several landmarks captured the attention of Ukrainian travelers. Among them was the Tower of London, situated on the north bank of the Thames in the eastern part of the City. Admission required a ticket (six pence), purchased in the Refreshment Room coffee house, where visitors awaited one of the Warders in ceremonial clothes[7], who both granted entry and acted as guides. Tourists were fascinated not only by the building's history but also by its surviving traditions, such as the ceremonies of opening and closing the gates, which evoked memories of the monarchs once lodged there (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*).

Particularly impressive was the Hall of Arms, which displayed 21 equestrian figures in full armor, representing the period from Edward I to Charles I. Above each stood the name and date of the ruler or knight. The walls and ceilings were lined with a dazzling array of weaponry. The most striking was Queen Elizabeth's armory, where visitors encountered an equestrian figure of the queen, accompanied by a page and squire, commemorating her procession to St Paul's Cathedral to pray for victory over the Spanish. Also on display was the iron mask with ram's horns worn by Henry VIII's jester. Zablotsky-Desiatovsky recalled:

> When we walked through these halls, the centuries that had passed came to life before us and seemed to breathe their grandeur on us. The only thing missing was the movement of the figures standing in front of us (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*).

The Tower's collection of royal jewelry also drew much admiration.

Beyond the Tower, visitors routinely included St Paul's Cathedral, often described as the architectural symbol of London, as well as the Palace of Westminster, the Houses of Parliament, and Westminster Abbey. The greatest difficulty was gaining admission to a parliamentary session, which required either an invitation from a member of Parliament or the purchase of a ticket from the overseer of spectators – a supply that was strictly limited (*Paulovich, 1846: 250*).

Scientific and educational institutions also occupied a prominent place in travelers' notes. The University of London on Gower Street was remarkable not only for its architecture but also for its openness: any appropriately dressed visitor could enter freely and even attend lectures. Equally surprising was that professors were not salaried by the state or by society but worked solely on student fees (*Paulovich, 1846: 252*). The British Museum on Russell Street offered an even more profound impression. Its collections ranged from fossils and archaeological artifacts to sculptures, coins, paintings, and more. Visitors remarked that one could spend weeks exploring its halls, which even contained two libraries. The sheer number of exhibits gave the impression of overcrowded space (*Paulovich, 1846: 261*).

Artistic institutions satisfied another constant interest of Ukrainian travelers. London's National Gallery, founded by George IV, was praised by Paulovich as "filled with all the works of art that should adorn it and distinguish it from others" (*Paulovich, 1846: 279*). He noted that its collection included, among other masterpieces, Leonardo da Vinci's Christ Disputing with the Pharisees (*Paulovich, 1846: 280*). In addition to public museums, private galleries such as the Bridgewater Gallery (belonging to the Duke of Sutherland) and the Westminster Gallery (of the Marquis of Westminster) could be visited. Their exhibitions, however, were open only during May and June, and admission required either personal acquaintance with the owners or a letter of recommendation from a member of the Royal Academy (*Paulovich, 1846: 283*).

Thus, London offered as many attractions as any of Europe's great capitals. As Kateryna Yanzhul summarized: "Two weeks flew by in London, seeing the many museums, art galleries, the Crystal Palace and other attractions that are endless" (*Yanzhul, 1910: 95*).

Economic Life through the Eyes of Travelers. A particular focus of observation for Ukrainian nobles traveling abroad was agricultural practice, which held practical relevance for Ukrainian landowners seeking to adopt and adapt European methods on their own estates. Their observations were meticulously recorded in travelogues and letters to friends and relatives who remained at home.

For instance, on her journey to London, Kateryna Halahan noted:

> The land has been cultivated beautifully, now ploughed with three horses: one after the other harnessed to the plough, ploughed like fluff. The meadows are green, grass is sown. A lot of hops are planted all around on pikes, which have already been removed (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019, p. 390*).

Similarly, on the route from London to Torquay, she observed:

> All the fields are very well cultivated; there are many trees in the meadows, and every field is planted with bushes and small trees, mostly fruit trees, which bring moisture to the fields. The trees are all planted in small grooves so that each owner allows his own livestock – sheep, cattle, and horses – and they cannot go onto another owner's field. Everyone grazes without supervision and without fear. All the land is rented for several years from the owner (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 392*).

Ukrainian travelers were also attentive to scientific and technological advances in agriculture. Halahan remarked:

> Yesterday morning, Cowdell came to us and took us to an exhibition of animals and farming tools and machines. It's all very well, but the bulls and cows are of unseen sizes, the sheep of various breeds are huge, the pigs are incredibly large... However, you have to treat the cattle as you do not only in England, but everywhere abroad: they are kept warm in good sheds, fed well, and cleaned like horses. Here it would seem difficult, and you would need three people for ten or fifteen cattle, but here one man can manage five (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 390–391*).

Overall, the English approach to work was characterized by seriousness and professionalism:

> A carpenter does not make furniture or anything else in a casual way, nor does a blacksmith, and everything is done with integrity to the last craft; it is not a pity to pay a lot if it is done well (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 396*).

Customs and Traditions of English Society. A prolonged stay in England allowed travelers to gradually immerse themselves in the life of English society, to understand its social processes, and to become acquainted with

[7] The guards' clothing has always attracted the attention of travellers from Ukraine. It consisted of a black velvet beret with bows of red, blue and yellow silk ribbons; a red karmazin redengot with golden garnet embroidered on the front and back along the entire length of the royal ciphers, topped with crowns.

its administrative structures, daily life, and customs. This exposure often evoked admiration among travelers, who were struck by a naturalness and simplicity that the elite of the Russian Empire – accustomed to excess – lacked. Wealthy Britons raised their children with an emphasis on unpretentiousness and restraint, focusing on the preservation of inherited property and family heritage.

Travelers also noted the high degree of politeness that characterized English society.

> Throughout England, as an educated nation in general, the people, including the nobility, are extremely polite: they touch their hats at every word of a gentleman as a sign of respect, and the people on the other side reciprocate. They have great respect for the nobility, both domestic and foreign. Unfortunately, this is not the case with us now. The English nobility has upheld its rights, while ours is losing them arbitrarily, for no reason (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019: 396*).

The customs of aristocratic households also drew attention. Halahan described:

> The lady is old, but she greets everyone and is polite to all, just like the old lord. Simplicity in communication, politeness, decency – they don't put their feet on the table (a habit ours have adopted from foolish societies). Young people are polite and cheerful. Tobacco smoking is banned here… Children are brought up extremely simply: their fourteen-year-old daughter wears the plainest dress. The children's table is simple, with two or three dishes and no sweets. They receive an excellent education, but without luxury. Every object inherited from ancestors is valued, preserved, and passed down (*Budzar, Kovalev, 2019, p. 402*).

The concern for preserving one's roots and cultural traditions was highly relevant for Ukrainian society, particularly urban areas, which in the second half of the nineteenth century experienced intense Russification. Another issue was the Ukrainian elite's pursuit of fashion and trends dictated by the high society of St. Petersburg and Moscow, which often led to a gradual erosion of local culture and the emergence of an inferiority complex. Consequently, English society gradually became a model for the Ukrainian elite of the nineteenth century.

Travelers who journeyed beyond London noted contrasts between the capital and the provinces. Konstantin Paulovich observed:

> Londoners have much worse inner qualities, inclinations, habits, and customs than those of villages, towns, small cities, and provinces. The latter are of a purely English character: more hospitable, honest, kind, and just than the inhabitants of London and other large factory towns (*Paulovich, 1846: 70*).

> In the cities, people live and act under circumstances not without deceit, thievery, prejudice, and other human vices, which are found everywhere (*Paulovich, 1846: 87*).

At the same time, K. Skalkowski noted that the local population's attitude toward travelers from the Russian Empire was often ambivalent, even hostile, as reflected in the English press. He observed that only the Pall Mall Gazette was consistently favorable. Travelers who expressed support for Russian imperial policies were regarded as eccentric, to put it mildly (*Skalkovsky, 1889: 149*). This was particularly surprising for Ukrainian travelers, who were accustomed to the tsarist ideological narrative portraying the empire as a liberating force respected by European peoples.

Another striking observation for Ukrainian travelers in the late nineteenth century was the absence of beggars on London streets, contrary to accounts in European countries. Begging was also common in Ukraine. Paulovich remarked:

> I have been living in London for many days, and so far I have not seen a single beggar asking for alms in the street (*Paulovich, 1846: 48*).

Upon inquiry, he learned that, except for those with disabilities who were incapable of work, begging had been eliminated by law and strict police regulation. Citizens reporting street begging were even rewarded. Paulovich recalled seeing a young, well-dressed woman cleaning the street with a broom and brush. When asked why she was compelled to work, he was told that she was not forced by the police – she simply lacked the means to live and chose to earn money through work. Passers-by would give her one or two pence (*Paulovich, 1846: 51*). In many places, travelers also observed street performers, musicians, gymnasts, and puppet shows. Unlike in Ukraine and other European countries, no one in poverty was seen wearing tattered or dirty clothes.

However, this situation was not uniform. Skalkowski noted that by 1867, London was reportedly crowded with beggars: "Crowds of women with children begging for alms rushed at travelers from all sides" (*Skalkovsky, 1889: 138*).

The Social Circle of the Dnieper Residents. Many travelers to England were primarily interested not in architectural monuments, parks, or recreational facilities, but in education – which often constituted the main purpose of their visit – as well as libraries and, most importantly, interactions with leading figures in science and scholarship. For example, during his stay in London, M. Kovalevsky cultivated a broad circle of acquaintances, engaging with philosophers J. G. Lewis, G. Spencer, F. Engels, and T.H.Green; political economist W. Baggott; lawyer and legal historian G. S. Man; law professor J. Bryce; historians E. O. Freeman and W. Stubbs; and writer-lawyer F. Harrison, among others. He also developed connections with fellow émigrés from the Russian Empire, including economist I. Yanzhul and philosopher V. Solovyov (*Kovalevsky, 2005: 8–9*). Conversations with Karl Marx were particularly significant for the young scholar, although, as Kovalevsky noted, he did not subscribe to the socio-historical theories discussed. At this stage of his life, he was largely focused on matters directly related to his own scientific interests (Kovalevsky, 2005, p. 9).

In London, Kovalevsky devoted himself to his master's thesis, History of Police Administration and Police Court in the English Counties from the Earliest Times to the Death of Edward III: To the Question of the Emergence of Local Self-Government in England, which was later published in Prague in 1877. Influenced by his new acquaintances, he also developed a research interest in ethnology and the study of primitive cultures, attending meetings of the Positivist circle.

Kovalevsky's first acquaintance in London was the philosopher George Lewis and his companion, the renowned English writer Mary Ann Evans, better known by her pen name, George Eliot. Recalling his impressions, Kovalevsky wrote: "She was the most amazing woman I have ever met in my life..." (*Kovalevsky, 2005: 153*).

He had approached them with a letter of recommendation from Russia, seeking guidance and support. Kovalevsky further described the Lewises' residence:

> The Lewises lived in a remote neighbourhood of St John's Wood, London, renting a whole house with a garden. Their estate was called 'the Prior's House.' The name was not accidental: before the reign of Henry VIII, the monastery of St John

the Apostle had been located here, and the abbot's house occupied the site of the Lewis' home (*Kovalevsky, 2005: 154*).

Kovalevsky's work in the archives and libraries typically began at ten in the morning and continued until four or five in the afternoon. If none of his London acquaintances invited him to dinner, he spent the evening at home, reading extensively or working on his thesis (*Kovalevsky, 2005: 168*). His leisure time was also devoted to engaging with fellow scholars from the Russian Empire, including Professor I. Yanzhul of Moscow University and philosopher V. Solovyov, who were similarly studying in London.

Recreation and Entertainment. Travelers often observed that English locals were generally not eager to communicate with strangers. Those who did not speak the language or understand local customs often found little "satisfaction for their hearts and souls" (*Paulovich, 1846: 296*). This reticence was partly due to the social habits of the society: "The Englishman lives mostly in seclusion; he confines himself to the pleasant pastime of his family or a few acquaintances" (*Paulovich, 1846: 295*).

Nevertheless, large cities offered a range of entertainment options for travelers. With letters of recommendation or the right acquaintances, a foreigner could gain access to private clubs such as Routs and Almacks, which hosted parties and balls for the upper classes. These gatherings attracted "a select, fashionable, and excessively dressed audience of good taste, male and female, not for dancing, but for dating, dining, and other pleasant pastimes" (*Paulovich, 1846: 297–298*). During the "Season," from January to August, dances were held at the Willis Rooms in King Street, St. James's Square, though entry for foreigners was highly restricted (*Paulovich, 1846: 299*).

In addition to clubs, London offered numerous venues for theatre enthusiasts, including St. James Hall, the King's Theatres, and the Italian Opera House. Altogether, the city hosted twelve main theatres. Kostiantyn Skalkowski noted their well-planned arrangements: comfortable seating and aisles, good lighting, high-quality repertoires, performances by renowned artists, and a general appreciation for music and theatre among both English society and foreigners (*Skalkovsky, 1889: 486*). Performances, however, were typically held only during the theatrical season, from mid-February to early June.

Travelers could also visit the famous Colosseum in Regent's Park, a Doric-columned building featuring a panoramic view of London (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*). Other popular entertainments included horse racing (hippodrome), fist fighting (boxing), cockfighting, swimming competitions, and pigeon shooting.

The Zoological Gardens were particularly popular among both tourists and local residents. A. Zablotskyi-Desiatowski described them in detail:

> You have to see for yourself these pavilions surrounded by many trees, bushes, and flowers… where animals live with all possible comfort, suited to their nature and habits. Look at the elephant, enter his enclosure as he walks on the turf, taking dainties with his trunk from the hands of beautiful misses and ladies, or from the hands of the most beautiful children in the world… (*Zablotsky, 1849: 305*).

Spiritualism also gained considerable popularity in England in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Travelers approached séances with varying levels of seriousness: some viewed them as genuine experiences, others as entertainment. Attendance at séances influenced the later fascination of the Russian elite with the movement and contributed to its spread in the Russian Empire. M. Kovalevsky, for example, attended sessions at the "London Metaphysical Society" on Great Russell Street, opposite the British Museum, often accompanied by V. Solovyov. While the philosopher treated the séances seriously, Kovalevsky regarded them as amusement. He recalled:

> We were put in a circle, forced not to break the chain with our hands, and advised not to be nervous about what we would see and hear. The gas was extinguished; a few minutes later we heard the sound of a harp above our heads. However, the apparition honored us with only a part of its appearance, namely a beard, and all our pleas to appear in full growth were met with the naive response that there was too much scepticism in the assembly and that the spirit therefore did not want to appear. I laughed with all my heart (*Kovalevsky, 2005: 171*).

Later, Kovalevsky and Karl Marx visited the Egyptian Palace on Piccadilly Street, which hosted séances featuring the materialization of spirits. Organizers warned the audience that the performances were deceptive. According to Kovalevsky, these demonstrations were more impressive than those of the London Metaphysical Society, though he ultimately lost all interest in spiritualism (*Kovalevsky, 2005: 171*).

For travelers wishing to experience the life of the lower classes, taverns offered insight into popular entertainment. M. Zarudny observed that entertainment was tailored to local interests. For instance, at the Coal Tavern and the Hole-Tavern in London, court hearings addressed topics often of a sexual nature, such as marital infidelity or domestic dissatisfaction. Zarudny also noted venues like the Discussion Hall and the Jerusalem Tavern, where young speakers delivered public speeches, which he observed repeatedly at various rallies (*Zarudny, 1860: 485–486*).

Conclusion

In reality, much of England remained unfamiliar to travelers, whose impressions and conclusions were often shaped primarily by life in London and the country's resort towns. Some travelers focused on the scientific environment and achievements, the holdings of libraries, and the perspectives of prominent scholars. The cities that most attracted travelers were London, as well as the resorts of Torquay and St Leonards.

Extended stays in England facilitated the formation of new social networks, providing opportunities to meet members of the European elite, leading scientists and practitioners, and fellow compatriots. These connections were often long-lasting and sustained over time. Under the influence of these new social circles and broader European culture, prevailing imperial ideological stereotypes were sometimes challenged, and travelers from Naddnipri-anshchyna began to develop a sense of self-identification.

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Образ Англії в подорожніх щоденниках та листах українських мандрівників XIX ст.

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У статті досліджується образ Англії XIX ст., сформований у свідомості мандрівників з Наддніпрянської України. Спираючись на тревелоги, мемуари, щоденники та епістолярну спадщину (які розглядаються як наративні джерела), автори визначають цілі подорожей (навчання, лікування, відпочинок), основні маршрути та маркери матеріальної культури й повсякденного життя, що привертали увагу спостерігачів.

Встановлено, що реальне сприйняття Англії було географічно обмежене великими містами (Лондон) та курортними зонами (Торкі, Сент-Леонардс), що призводило до формування фрагментарного, “невідомого" образу країни. Водночас, значна частина мандрівників надавала перевагу інтелектуальному обміну, зосереджуючись на науковому середовищі, стані бібліотечних колекцій та думках провідних учених.

Доведено, що перебування в Англії відкривало можливість для формування нового, тривалого кола спілкування (європейські еліти, науковці, співвітчизники-емігранти), яке сприяло глибшій інтеграції в європейський культурний контекст. Зроблено висновок, що під впливом цього середовища відбувалося поступове руйнування нав’язаних Російською імперією ідеологічних стереотипів. У результаті, література факту стала каталізатором особистісної трансформації та національного усвідомлення мандрівників з Наддніпрянщини.

Ключові слова: Англія, Лондон, подорож, Наддніпрянська Україна, тревелоги, епістолярій, XIX століття, національне усвідомлення, культурна інтеграція, повсякденне життя.

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