

**Pure Diffusion? The great English hotel charges debate in The Times,
1853**

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This article explores the role of nineteenth century national newspapers and their readers in disseminating management innovations to the English hotel industry. In September 1853, many well-travelled, knowledgeable customers spontaneously wrote letters to *The Times* complaining about over-priced, uncomfortable English hotels compared to lower-priced, more comfortable European and North American hotels. The letters and editorials from *The Times* and other national newspapers campaigned for English hotels to adopt international hotel management innovations. The article suggests that this is an early example of pure diffusion in communicating innovations.

Key words: the American Plan; diffusion of services innovation, hospitality industry

Introduction

The Times published a letter from A Young Man on 3 September 1853 which complained about the high cost of staying in English hotels¹ compared to travelling on the Continent. This letter generated a remarkable reaction as 85 readers responded, criticising English hotels for being old-fashioned, uncomfortable and over-priced compared to Continental European and North American hotels. Many of the readers suggested that English hotels should adopt the innovative management practices of American and European hotels. In four editorials *The Times* endorsed the criticisms of English hotels and, along with other national newspapers, campaigned for the adoption of international innovations to improve English hotel service.

This article explores in depth the rare phenomenon of customers acting as producers of knowledge in the diffusion of innovation. Customers are normally considered as either lead users in a marketing research context² or as end users; but in the great hotel charges debate customers are - unusually - the primary source of innovatory product knowledge. Whilst unhappy customers complained about the cost and quality of staying in English hotels, many of them also suggested that hotelkeepers should adopt Continental European and American hotel management processes and systems. The role of newspapers in the diffusion of innovation is generally overlooked in the literature.³ However, in the mid-nineteenth century national newspapers led the technological revolution in mass media communication and their role in disseminating business knowledge, especially before the arrival of more specialist industry publications, was critical. The communication of innovations literature tends to focus on the formal, planned process of disseminating new products and management systems, but the spontaneous demand from *The Times* letter-writers for the adoption of foreign

innovations is arguably an example of an informal, unplanned ‘pure diffusion’.⁴ This accidental combination of customers as producers of knowledge, using a national newspaper as a channel of pure diffusion in the mid-nineteenth century, provides a different perspective on the communication of innovations literature. The article, with its focus on mid-nineteenth century hotel management, also contributes to the growing field of business history literature in the hotel and tourism industry.⁵

This article starts by providing a background to hotel development in nineteenth century Continental Europe, North America and England. Then there is a detailed discussion of knowledgeable English travellers’ vociferous complaints in *The Times* (1853) about the comfort, service and value in English hotels and their call for the adoption of innovations from abroad. The discussion analyses the debate using the traditional Source, Message, Channel, Receiver, and Effects⁶ model as a framework and suggests that the great English hotel charges debate is an example of pure diffusion.

Nineteenth Century hotel development

In the 18th century, although the number of coaching inns increased significantly, accommodation and food service remained relatively basic with most travellers eating in a communal kitchen and sleeping in shared dormitories – only the wealthy could afford private rooms with greater comfort.⁷ The most significant development creating demand for hospitality accommodation in the nineteenth century was steam power, which stimulated both the growth in railways and steam powered ocean liners.⁸ However, nineteenth century hotel development evolved in different ways in Continental Europe, North America and England.

Continental Europe

In France, the combination of natural climatic conditions which provided high quality food and wine produce⁹ and an absolutist, monarchical, societal system encouraged a ‘huge and wealthy elite’ to imitate the royal court by demanding ‘good cooking, thus creating a basis for establishing cooking as an occupation’.¹⁰ Pre-revolutionary Paris saw the initial development of restaurants which were innovative in two ways: firstly restaurants allowed diners to sit at separate tables, meaning that a restaurant meal was private, and secondly the introduction of ‘printed menus with prices meant that in theory anybody with money’ could eat in a restaurant.¹¹ The French Revolution created the conditions for the democratisation of high culinary arts. The demise of the aristocrats encouraged former cooks of the nobility to adopt entrepreneurial activities which consequently created a ‘new relationship’ with customers so that ‘restaurants of the modern kind emerged’.¹² These innovations in early restaurant management, including the publication of tariffs and the more equal treatment of women, also influenced the way how French hotels treated their customers. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars carried French cultural norms throughout Europe and embedded the primacy of French cuisine. Despite or because of its geographical location and physical characteristics, nineteenth century Switzerland became an early leader in hotel management practice, initially by providing luxury hotels for European elites.¹³ The emergence of Continental railway travel in the mid-nineteenth century stimulated the demand for more leisure travel, and therefore the development of more hotels throughout Europe.

North America

After the American War of Independence, the evolution of hotels in North America was

different to Europe because of the political and social freedom from “old European” customs and laws. The scale of immigration created the need for a significantly larger hospitality provision;¹⁴ therefore technological advances were more readily adopted, whilst socially the ‘public and democratic nature’ of hotels became accepted.¹⁵ Denby suggests that due to the new ‘conception of housing large numbers of people away from their home ... the old idea of the inn needed transformation’.¹⁶ Hotels were often built with ‘hundreds of guest rooms and large public spaces such as a formal ballroom and/or meeting hall.’¹⁷ The earliest significant hotel building was the eight-storey Boston Exchange Hotel which opened in 1807 with ‘300 rooms ... immense assembly rooms, ballrooms, lounges, card and billiard rooms, banquet halls, private and public dining rooms, numbered bedrooms.’¹⁸

Another significant development in the United States was the emergence of a different operations management system which ‘by 1830 (was) known as the American Plan’.¹⁹ This comprised fixed daily tariffs for rooms and meals, the requirement for customers to register and pay for the lodging and food upon arrival, and pre-determined times for dining.²⁰ In 1830 Tremont House, Boston, was the first hotel to provide a dedicated reception for guest check-in; private locked bedrooms with washbasins, water pitcher and free soap; eight indoor bathrooms and eight indoor lavatories for the 170 bedrooms; and in-room call bells answered by bellboys.²¹ American hotels pioneered new building technology by adopting ‘commercial architecture’ similar to banks and public buildings²² and incorporating features such as fire-resistant steel and concrete construction; devices and systems to improve comfort and convenience for guests by providing elevators, hot and cold running water, chandeliers lit by gas, ‘indoor plumbing, steam heat, call bell systems, patent locks’;²³ and complex equipment to mechanise kitchen and laundry processes.²⁴ In tandem with innovations in the physical

building, American hospitality operations included separating ownership from management and engaging in mass production service systems to deliver mass luxury consumption experiences.²⁵ Large luxury American hotels were frequently described as ‘caravanserai’²⁶ to emphasise their size and luxury, the word is derived from Turkish for a group of travellers (caravan) and serai (palace), and some actually used ‘palace’ in the name of the hotel to emphasise their lavishness. Throughout the nineteenth century, American hotel development continued to grow in terms of geographic expansion with the opening of Western States. The size and scale of American hotel buildings, the use of building and service operations technology, and hotel management systems continuously improved throughout the century.

English hotels to 1850

At the beginning of the nineteenth century coaching inns were still the primary lodging facility available for travellers in England. An editorial in the *Era* looking back to this period suggested the concept of old inns was derived from an ‘amiable farmer or tradesman’²⁷ taking in paying guests as if they were friends of the family. The editorial added that although charming, ‘the good old fashioned inn suggests bugs, ancient feather-beds, fly-blown furniture, a general hatred to fresh air and soap ... (and) ... stodginess (in food)’.²⁸ Payment for board and lodging used a barter system with no fixed or agreed pricing. Gradually a nascent hotel industry emerged: ‘most of the (luxury) hotels of Regency London were opened by French chefs ... and retired butlers of noble households who understood the tastes and ways of the wealthy’.²⁹ In the English towns new three-story Nash style hotels were built like the Bold Hotel, Southport and the Adelphi in Liverpool.³⁰ Establishments describing themselves as hotels implied a higher level of comfort and service compared to inns. However

‘women of the middle classes did not travel a great deal, generally speaking, in the early part of the 19th c. They had no part in business and holidays were rare. ... this meant that inns and hotels catered almost exclusively for men’.³¹

From 1837, the key driver for the large scale development of English hotels was passenger demand arising from railway travel.³² The first railway hotel, built by the London and Birmingham Railway, opened at Euston in 1839³³ and was from the outset financially successful.³⁴ As the railway network expanded, so did railway hotels to serve their growing passenger numbers. Although the railway companies built ‘splendid hotels’ they were let out to the highest bidder and the high rents resulted in high prices.³⁵ In the 1840’s another driver for hotel expansion was the development of excursions, especially by Thomas Cook who created and developed the concept of group leisure excursions incorporating railway travel and overnight accommodation.³⁶ Tours and individual travel to London, many parts of England, Wales and Scotland and even the Continent became possible - all facilitated by the rapidly expanding domestic and international rail network.

The English hotel charges debate (1853)

By the early 1850’s, many English hotel customers began to unfavourably compare the hotel charges, facilities and service between English hotels and their Continental and American counterparts. A Biffin³⁷ was one of the first to publicly complain about hotel charges at the Pavilion Hotel, Folkestone in a letter to *The Times* in March 1853.³⁸ Six months later, when *The Times* printed A Young Man’s letter, which contained an itemised bill for staying at the Albion Hotel, Hastings, contrasted with the costs of staying in French, German or Swiss hotels, the observation that ‘I cannot afford to travel in England ... (but) ... Englishmen of very moderate means can travel on the

continent',³⁹ stimulated an extraordinary public debate. More than 400 hotel customers sent letters to the Times and approximately 85 were published in the month of September 1853 alone. Although a number of letters identified 'honourable exceptions'⁴⁰ and some mentioned that their hosts were courteous and polite,⁴¹ more than 80% of the correspondence was highly critical, and dozens of letters provided detailed examples of English, American and Continental hotel bills.

Figure 1. A Young Man, 1853, "English Hotels" *The Times*, published September, 3.

ENGLISH HOTELS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Last Tuesday night I arrived at the Albion Hotel, Hastings, and, after drinking a pint bottle of Bass, I proceeded to bed. The following morning I breakfasted, and early in the afternoon dined, having for breakfast coffee, bread and butter, with a slice of broiled ham, and for dinner, a sole, with mutton cutlets, and some mild ale. After dinner I smoked a very poor cigar. The following was my bill:—

1853.						s.	d.
August 30.	Ale	...	...	...	...	0	8
"	Bed	...	...	...	...	2	6
" 31.	Breakfast	...	...	...	...	2	6
"	Dinner	...	...	...	...	4	0
"	Ale	...	...	...	...	1	0
"	Cigar	...	...	...	...	0	4
"	Attendance	...	...	...	...	2	0
						13	0

These, I suppose, represent pretty accurately the hotel charges at any of our watering-places, and therefore I must say nothing against them in particular, nor can I complain of the general management of this hotel, which is very good.

Taking this bill, then, as a standard, let me contrast it with that of a continental hotel. For my dinner, with beer, but no wine, I paid 5s. In France, Switzerland, and Germany I have constantly dined elaborately for 3*fr.*, including wine. From 1½*fr.* to 2*fr.* procured me a bed, and for breakfast I paid about the same amount. Attendance was almost uniformly 1*fr.* per diem.

Every year sees the number of English tourists on the continent rapidly increasing, and it is a matter of no surprise that so many now say, "I cannot afford to travel in England." It is not too much to surmise that, if our hotel-keepers remain blind to their own interests, at no very distant time they will be forced to shut up their houses. An Englishman of very moderate means can travel on the continent, but very few foreigners, when they visit England, can afford to stir out of London.

If you should think these remarks at all likely to benefit our hotelkeepers, their insertion will oblige

Your obedient servant,

A YOUNG MAN.

St. John's-wood, Sept. 1.

The complaints included higher hotel charges, unpublished tariffs, old fashioned décor, poor cleanliness, and the unfair treatment of lady travellers. A. Retired Tradesman compared the costs of a two-month holiday for his wife, himself and daughter staying in hotels in Belgium, France and Switzerland with a similar holiday in England and Scotland. He wrote on his ‘word of honour that I was not only better lodged and fed during my continental tour for £100, than during my home tour for £350, but was moreover treated with very much greater consideration and respect’.⁴²

Over 40 respondents enclosed their original hotel receipts and *The Times* published details of the charges for accommodation, food and drinks. Readers penned responses often in support of other outraged guests. Q. E D. provided details of his modest bill at Hotel Reichmann, Milan for 7 days compared to the 12 hour charges which Cosmopolite had to pay at the Euston Hotel, London, and suggested that hotel charges were ‘84 times dearer in London than Milan’.⁴³ A guest describing himself as Fleeced was outraged that the Queen’s Hotel, Birmingham charged him 2 shillings for lighted wax candles, which they did not require.⁴⁴ Indeed the additional charges for ‘wax’ at a time when there was no electric lighting⁴⁵ and ‘attendance’⁴⁶ – a euphemism for service charges - combined with the cost of meals (see figure 2)⁴⁷ were generally condemned. Perhaps the most serious challenge for travellers in England at this time was the fact that hotel and meal tariffs were not published, so that the unwitting guest was ‘in ignorance of whether it is to be 18p or 18 shillings’⁴⁸ for accommodation or a meal.

In addition to the high charges, respondents’ complained about ‘small rooms, cumbrously furnished’;⁴⁹ the ‘wretched, ill-furnished, comfortless’ bedroom;⁵⁰ bedrooms ‘well-peopled with vermin’;⁵¹ and especially the treatment of lady

travellers.⁵² A Country Clergyman wrote a long letter detailing the problems he and his sister had at Radley's Hotel, Southampton in finding an appropriate room to eat breakfast. The 'coffee room' was 'laid for breakfast' but the 'lady could not breakfast there' because 'it was the gentlemen's room, (and) the gentlemen would object'.⁵³ Respectable ladies were expected to eat meals in private rooms (at additional charges) or in their bedrooms; and of course their overall travel costs were significantly higher – 'the fact of having a lady as a fellow-traveller seems in England a pretext of trebling usual charges'.⁵⁴

Figure 2. A Commoner, 1853, "Hotel Charges" The Times, published September, 15.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Allow me to enclose you an example of hotel charges; they will speak for themselves, and need no comment.

I left London by the 8 o'clock express on Saturday evening last, and returned by the 11 o'clock train on Monday morning. I had, as you will see, one pint bottle of ale on the Saturday evening, the attendance connected with which cost me 1s. 6d.

I will only add that I had everything very plain, used the coffee-room, and had a bed at the top of the house. So you will see what it costs to get a mouthful of fresh air by

A COMMONER.

Gresham Club, Sept. 9.

				Bedford Hotel, Brighton.		
1853.				s.	d.	£ s. d.
Sept. 3.	Ale	...	...	0	6	
"	Attendance	...	...	1	6	
						0 2 0
" 4.	Breakfast	...	...	2	0	
"	Meat	...	...	0	9	
"	Sandwich	...	...	1	0	
"	Dinner...	...	...	6	6	
"	Ale	...	...	1	6	
"	Sherry	...	...	3	0	
"	Dessert...	...	...	2	0	
"	Attendance	...	...	2	0	
						0 18 9
" 5.	Breakfast	...	...	2	0	
"	Beds	...	...	6	0	
						0 8 0
						£1 8 9
"	Eggs and ham	...	...	0	1 3	
"	Ale	...	...	0	0 6	
"	Soda and brandy	...	...	0	0 6	
"	Ale	...	...	0	0 6	
"	Soda and brandy	...	...	0	1 0	
						£1 11 6

More than a dozen letters agreed that hotels generally provided poor quality service and charged high prices, but argued that specific hotels like the Black Swan Hotel, Stokesley⁵⁵ and the Corbet Arms, Aberdovey were the exception giving good value and ‘board and lodging of the best description’,⁵⁶ and signed the letters as Content and Well-content.⁵⁷ A very small number of hotelkeepers responded. William Smythe of the City Arms Hotel, Hereford named the customer who complained – the Rev. Mr. Knox – and tried to justify his charges.⁵⁸ An Hotelkeeper strived to suggest that comparisons should be based on comparing ‘like against like, whereas your correspondents are apt to unwittingly to compare like against unlike’,⁵⁹ but these attempts to mollify public opinion were not successful. Interestingly James and Son, writing in *The Times* and quoted in the *Observer*, provided details of their capital investment and the high taxes at Morley’s Hotel, Trafalgar Square, London to justify their charges. Their letter stated that refurbishment costs included £1,000 to re-carpet the house throughout and that excises paid on employing the male servants ‘are taxed as high as noblemen’s servants’.⁶⁰

Indeed, some respondents started to scrutinise hotel costs in more detail – the example of a 500% profit on candles charged as waxlights was highlighted.⁶¹ Many letters suggested to hotel owners that more reasonable charges would make their businesses more profitable: ‘hotels instead of being the losing concerns they generally are would be ... lucrative’.⁶² There was only one country-wide accommodation sector, ‘the inns resorted to by commercial travellers’⁶³ which seemed to satisfy guests. These busy, unpretentious ‘travellers’ houses charged more modest prices and were profitable compared to ‘the so-called stylish hotel ... (with) ... perhaps one solitary lodger’.⁶⁴

Several letters provided service management recommendations based upon their observations whilst staying in hotels in Continental Europe and North America.

Traveller discusses at length his two month residence in the US and Canada. He wrote the ‘hotels ... are far superior’ and the ‘fixed charge of two dollars and a-half (10 shillings)’ for elegant, comfortable accommodation and all meals; but the main purpose of his letter was ‘to point out the cause of the evil and suggest a remedy’.⁶⁵ Traveller’s solution started with the need to build larger hotels for ‘economizing labour and capable of accommodation 500 to 800 guests’ and continues with the need for experienced and agile management. He then suggested that the law of partnership (limited liability) needed to be modified in England to enable a number of capitalists to join together to build larger hotels without risking all their other assets; and finally he confidently asserted that ‘such an enterprise would be most profitable ... in London’.⁶⁶ Victim No 1 endorsed the idea of forming an ‘association for the purpose of establishing a few model hotels on the American fashion’⁶⁷ and stated he would invest in such a scheme. One Who Loves To Travel, But Is Deterred By The Expense In England went further and put forward the idea that the solution needed to be industry wide. Instead of investing in unprofitable railways, capital should be invested in ‘the establishment of hotels on a large scale in various parts of the kingdom ... under one general management’⁶⁸ and with as far as possible one uniform charging scale. Indeed this respondent argued that the railway companies should take over the management of the hotels they build, which would be more profitable for the railway investors, and implied that hotel customers would also benefit.

Letters to The Times re: Hotel Charges, 3 September to October 1853

Number of letters	96
Customer complaints against English hotels	70
Customer complaints about English hotels in general but complimentary about one or more named English hotels	15
Customers satisfied with English hotels in general	0
Hotel-keepers' response	11
Complaint details:	
High charges in English hotels	50
Itemised bill, reflecting high English hotel charges	43
High charges in English hotels compared to the Continent	17
Higher charges for lady travellers in English hotels	14
High cost of meals & beer/wine at English hotels	14
Uncomfortable bedroom/s with poor décor and furniture at English hotel/s	8
High 'wax' charges in English hotels	7
High attendance charge in English hotels	6
Continental public rooms (salle a manager; reading rooms) open to ladies and families – similar facilities not available in English hotels	5
High charges in English hotels compared to USA/North America	4
Fixed hotel charges should be published in advance	2
Continental hotel restaurant menus cheaper	2

The Times and several other newspapers including the *Observer*, the *Era*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* joined in the debate and added mostly scathing editorials to support the dissatisfied travellers. An early, lengthy *Times* editorial started with the observation 'how is it that Englishmen – with the exception of commercial travellers – see but little of their own country?'⁶⁹ The piece then extolls 'the beautiful scenery' and attractions of the 'English soil' which should encourage travelling, but laments the fact that English hotels are 'entirely mismanaged from beginning to end' and condemns the 'execrable character of our hotels and the extortionate charges for insufficient accommodation'.⁷⁰ In four editorials *The Times* quoted many examples of poor facilities

and high charges from readers' letters, to emphasise the disparity between inferior English hospitality and superior Continental and American hotels charging modest prices.⁷¹ In another lengthy editorial, the *Observer* supported the demand for building larger hotels combining 'the English, American and Continental systems, prices in every case being fixed and ascertained beforehand'.⁷² But the *Era*, who identified 'the effect of railways' which increased travel for pleasure from a wider range of social classes, was more cautious about the 'publication of a mass of letters, nearly all on one side of the question'.⁷³ The *Observer*, who also published four editorials on the topic, continued the debate describing 'the storm of public indignation still rages against the extortions of our hotelkeepers'⁷⁴ and claimed that many moderate hotels have adopted their suggestion to follow the American system of publishing charges.⁷⁵

By the end of September 1853, *The Times* started to reduce the number of letters published about hotel charges and the last editorial was a tongue-in-cheek review of Charles Selby's farce entitled *Hotel Charges*, performed at the Adelphi Theatre on 9 October 1853. *The Times* was confident that 'we shall very soon have a new system of hotel keeping'⁷⁶ but was cautious about adopting the American or Continental plan entirely because 'an Englishman is neither an American or a Frenchman' and 'what we want in England is good English hotels, not good French ones'.⁷⁷

Discussion

From a theoretical perspective, the great English hotel charges debate provides an interesting example of the dissemination of services management innovations in the mid-19th century. However, the communication and diffusion of innovation literature is voluminous, complex and contested.⁷⁸ Although much-criticised, the linear 'traditional

approach' of SMCRE provides a core framework to explain the diffusion process. In this classical model, the Source refers to inventors, scientists, change agents and opinion leaders; the Message promulgates the benefits of the innovation; the Channel is either a mass media or interpersonal communication tool, or a combination of both; the Receiver/s are members of a social system; and the Effects are the consequences of the innovation diffusion over time.⁷⁹

One criticism of the SMCRE and many subsequent models is the 'dominant role for the producers of knowledge'.⁸⁰ The conventional starting point in the diffusion process is the knowledge producer or source, originally an inventor or organisation, and more recently business academics and consulting companies.⁸¹ But, since there is no single identifiable inventor, innovating company, producer of knowledge or source for the American, French and Continental hotels management innovations described in *The Times* letters, the starting point of the traditional approach in this case is problematic. A more recent model of diffusion in service organisations provides an alternative approach, which suggests that the communication of innovations can be viewed as a continuum from active dissemination to pure diffusion.⁸² Whilst active dissemination is a scientific, systematic 'planned, formal, often-centralised' process which implies a more dominant role for the producer of knowledge, pure diffusion is an 'unplanned, informal, de-centralised' process which is 'unpredictable, unprogrammed, uncertain'.⁸³ In the pure diffusion model, 'the metaphor for the spread'⁸⁴ of innovations is facilitated by an emergent, self-organising process which implies a less significant role for the producers of original knowledge – or no role whatsoever.

In the great English hotel charges debate the source which is publicising the foreign innovations in hotel management are the letter-writers themselves. Although the background of the letter writers is quite diverse, it is clear that they were a well-

travelled and knowledgeable group of travellers. Many had travelled in France, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, and some had toured the United States and Canada. They travelled mostly for leisure reasons but a number had visited these countries on business; and they stayed in a mix of accommodation including more luxurious as well as mid-market hotels and modest inns. The volume of letters suggests that a significant number of English tourists travelled abroad in the 1840's and early 1850's. Data from the Dover-Calais and Folkestone-Boulogne passenger ferries show that 79,000 people travelled to the Continent using these ports in 1845; 136,000 in 1850; and 215,000 in 1855⁸⁵ – the year of the Paris Exhibition.

A smaller number of English tourists visited North America but the duration of their stay would have been longer. For example An American Traveller provided an itemised schedule of his 61 day visit to the USA starting in Boston and finishing in New York via Niagara, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and Philadelphia.⁸⁶ Clearly these travellers would have had to stay in accommodation while travelling from home within England and of course abroad. This enabled many of the respondents to compare the experience of staying in several English and foreign hotels - the comparison is uniformly unfavourable - and start to advocate the adoption of American, French and Continental hotel management practices. The source is therefore many knowledgeable individuals who spontaneously responded to A Young Man's letter. This is not a planned, organised, systematic process of innovation diffusion; it is an unplanned, informal, emergent, even chaotic approach to disseminating innovations by encouraging hotelkeepers to change their management practices via writing complaint letters in the mass media. Arguably, this process of raising hotelkeepers' awareness of international management innovations is an early example of pure diffusion.

The message component comprises the observations criticising English hotel management compared to the superior service provided overseas, and crucially the suggestion that English hotels should adopt Continental European and American management practices to improve hotels at home. Specific recommendations were discussed, starting with the need to change the law of limited liability in England to enable investors to inject capital into new hotel building projects.⁸⁷ The need to build larger American-style hotels capable of accommodating more than 500 guests was identified as an important factor in providing an economical accommodation business with enhanced service and facilities.⁸⁸ One writer suggested that ‘no individual by starting an inn on different principles would have much chance of success’,⁸⁹ and proposed a putative chain of standardised hotels under one management charging the same prices - a generation before the multiple hotel ownership business concept started to emerge, and several generations before hotel brands became the dominant mode of operation. Letters called for the adoption of the American Plan, or the adoption of the Continental European Plan or both. A key recommendation was the adoption of fixed charges, the publication of tariffs for accommodation and menus so that customers knew what they were going to pay before patronising the establishment, and removing or reducing charges for items like wax and attendance. One of the more controversial issues concerned the treatment of lady travellers, where complaints about the higher charges of travelling with ladies and especially the requirement for ladies to eat in private rooms challenged the social mores of the period. The contrast with the greater freedom which ladies had in dining in public areas in Continental Europe and the USA was ‘felt painfully’.⁹⁰ These observations not only describe tangible differences in the quality of comfort, décor, furnishings, food quality, service and prices, but also

demonstrate an acute awareness of business acumen in prescribing solutions for improving English hotel service and profitability.

Since the 1940's, the influence of mass media like newspapers in shaping public opinion has been challenged,⁹¹ but in the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, national newspapers played a predominant role in social, political and business life. There was no other mass media channel and national newspapers performed multiple roles linked to national identity, a common language and stimulating conversations.⁹² A contemporary view of the role of newspapers in voicing public opinion was articulated in 1888/9 by the British academic and diplomat Lord James Bryce,⁹³ whose primary focus was the political process. Bryce suggested that individuals spontaneously responded to interesting events or situations which they read in the newspapers. Then individuals discussed these events with acquaintances and colleagues who may have confirmed the individual's point of view or challenged it. If the situation generated considerable interest, the newspaper/s continued to publish articles and leaders to stimulate a controversial debate. Individual perceptions are further influenced by the media's intervention and, with other like-minded individuals, is shaped into a collective, powerful force which we recognise as public opinion.⁹⁴ Tarde, a French sociologist writing a decade later, was also interested in politics and the relationship between newspapers, conversation and public opinion. He recognised the crucial role of newspapers in setting a national conversation which was discussed at a local level in the coffee houses and salons by everybody. Tarde based his essay '*Opinion and Conversation*' on observation and suggested that national newspapers 'triggered conversations which in turn percolated opinions on issues of the day';⁹⁵ eventually all these micro-level discussions aggregated into public opinion or a debate, with newspapers engaged in an iterative process whilst representing the citizens' opinion.⁹⁶

Both Bryce and Tarde writing at the end of the nineteenth century identified the critical role of national newspapers as platforms where individuals read, discussed and responded to topical social, political and business issues of the day and which helped to shape public opinion. More recently, the role of newspapers as a principal actor in publicising and legitimising management innovations at the turn of the 20th/21st century has been explored by Mazza and Alvarez.⁹⁷ Whilst this discussion includes several actors and processes which are not relevant to mid-nineteenth century discourse (universities, particularly business schools, and consulting firms involved in a circular process with mass media of producing, diffusing and legitimating management knowledge), their core argument that ‘the popular press ... merits separate attention to explain the diffusion and legitimation of management theories and practices’⁹⁸ is pertinent to the English hotel charges debate. The endorsement of new management ideas by newspapers helps to legitimise innovations primarily through a combination of conformity and social support.⁹⁹

In the early 1850’s *The Times* was the preeminent newspaper both in the country and the British Empire. Under the recently appointed editor, John Thadeus Delaney, *The Times*’ influence on business, political and social issues was significant and its circulation of between 40,000¹⁰⁰ and 60,000¹⁰¹ daily copies gave the newspaper a national and international reach. It was known as The Thunderer because *The Times* championed political and social reform. Delaney was a very sociable, highly connected, well-informed personality who was consulted by Liberal and Tory statesmen – to such a degree that one commentator stated that ‘this country is ruled by *THE TIMES*’.¹⁰² He was involved in reporting and stimulating political debates, recognised the importance of leading articles and, although he rarely wrote them, ‘he put the finishing touches to nearly all of them’.¹⁰³ By championing the cause of ‘hotel charges’ in 1853, *The Times*

provided the unhappy customers with the most effective vehicle to publicise their complaints; and when *The Times* took up a cause, law makers, business people, society and other newspapers took notice. Indeed, A Commercial Traveller wrote that '*The Times* is to be found at almost every hotel in the country ... the publicity will reduce prices ... or bring into existence a new class of family hotels conducted upon a similar scale to the Continental and American houses'.¹⁰⁴ Although the *Observer* and *Era* claimed that over 1,000 letters had been addressed to *The Times*, this is probably an exaggeration and the figure was more like 400. The Times actually published approximately 95 letters in the month of September and four editorials; and rightly claimed a 'remarkable interest excited by the discussion of hotel charges ... (and) ... reform will be attempted'.¹⁰⁵

This influential mass media channel was supported by other national newspapers. The *Observer* published four editorials supporting the customer complaints and actually quoted several of the letters published in *The Times* verbatim. These editorials were indignant about the English hotel-keepers indifferent response and one ended suggesting that 'the movement is already beginning to take a direction which will probably help to bring hotel-keepers' to their senses'.¹⁰⁶ The *Era* joined the debate; discussed the increasing accessibility of Continental travel for tourism from 'Calais to Constantinople' because of the effect of the railways; discussed the different hotel requirements for each of the different classes; and whilst recognising the need for some English hotel reforms suggested that the evidence in *The Times* was 'nearly all on one side of the question'.¹⁰⁷ The *Era* followed up this editorial with another in late October which challenged the anonymity of *The Times* letter writers, but endorsed the idea of 'public rooms at hotels in which both ladies and gentlemen could assemble as in a coffee room'.¹⁰⁸

Clearly, *The Times* championed a popular and vigorous debate about hotel charges which captured the public's imagination and was taken up by other national newspapers and even playwrights. Selby's farce entitled *Hotel Charges* used *The Times* letters as material to satirise hotels. A wonderfully, absurd plot is based upon the fictitious Brighton Inn hotel staff treating a diner fairly, because they think he is *The Times* correspondent Biffin. This clearly appealed to the audience 'who roared at the farce throughout'.¹⁰⁹ Although the farce only ran for one or two nights, the fact that the play was written and performed demonstrates the depth of popular feeling about hotel charges. *The Times* letter writers' negative comments about English hotel management practices compared with their much better experiences in Continental and American hotels, supported by the editorials of prestigious, influential national newspapers must have chimed with the vast majority of customers staying in English hotels. Indeed, one can imagine the local conversations in the Victorian coffee and tea shops, the gentlemen's clubs, hotels, inns and even the bars in Westminster stimulated by the national newspapers' debate about hotel charges. What the hotel owners, managers and employees thought of this debate is less well documented.

The receivers, the members of a social system, are those hotelkeepers and their employees. The nineteenth century English hotel industry was fragmented. Few hotels were in multiple ownership; there were no industry organisations to represent hotel proprietors and managers; there was no hotel and catering specialist media until the mid-1860's; and there was no dedicated hospitality education or training provision. There was no organisation or individual who could act as a spokesman for the industry. This lack of an industry-wide infrastructure meant that any response to customer complaints, and any response to negative publicity, was an individual hotel-keeper's choice. Although dozens and dozens of hotels were identified as providing poor

facilities and service, whilst charging high prices, few hotel-keepers actually responded to the complaints published by *The Times*. ‘An Hotelkeeper’ attempted to defend hotel charges by suggesting that there was a wide range of different types of accommodation, both on the Continent and in England, and that ‘each class of hotel is characterised by its own scale of prices’.¹¹⁰ On 21 September two letters were printed, one from William Smythe and another from Charles Cox Hughes who both indignantly defended their hotel, their charges and the quality of their service.¹¹¹ However, these responses were the exception and most hotelkeepers did not publicly respond to the complaints.

The consequences of the letter-writers’ complaints on the hotel industry in terms of stimulating hotelkeepers to adopt foreign innovations is difficult to evaluate. There is evidence to suggest that a small number of hotels responded by adopting some American and Continental European management practices, however the diffusion of services innovation in such a fragmented industry was inevitably gradual and not dependent upon one factor. One of the rare, positive, and immediate hotel management responses in October 1853 was noted by the *Era*: ‘the recent agitation has induced the proprietor of a first class hotel (the Ship at Dover) to issue a tariff of his charges ... (and made new) ... arrangements for ladies’, see Figure 3.¹¹²

Three years later legislative changes to the laws on limited liability, as suggested by Traveller, provided the requisite stimulus for investment in new hotel buildings. The first venture to take advantage of the new legislation was the ‘Westminster Palace Hotel Company (Limited); incorporated with Limited Liability under the Joint Stock Companies Act, 1856,’¹¹³ with Viscount Chelsea as Chairman, and Major General George Brooke, CB and at least one MP amongst the Directors. The Bill was read and passed for the third time in the House of Commons on July 9, 1858.¹¹⁴ Newspaper adverts targeting investors for the Westminster Palace Hotel, located in central London,

stated ‘the want of a first class hotel has long been felt, not only by the public generally but by Members of the Legislature ... this want which has grown into a grievance’.¹¹⁵ This reference to the grievance suggests that the great English hotels debate in *The Times* five years earlier *did* influence the Directors when planning the Westminster Palace Hotel. The building work started in November 1858 and an *Observer* editorial discussing the project again referred to ‘the grievances of travellers at hotels have formed the subject of many an indignant complaint and every person returning from a short tour on the Continent or travellers crossing from the other side of the Atlantic, has been struck with the great inferiority which, in the matter of hotel accommodation, exists in this country compared with other parts of the world’.¹¹⁶ The editorial then endorsed the Directors’ commitment to providing a first-class, moderately priced hotel in London which incorporated Continental and American management practices.

* Apartments (ground floor)—Sitting room (large) per day, 4s.; sitting room (small), 3s.; first and second floors, commanding views of the Castle, channel, and coast of France—Sitting room (large) per day, 5s.; sitting room (small), 4s.; suite of large apartments—Drawing room, three large beds, and two servants’ beds, per day, 18s.; Beds, first and second floors—for two persons, per day, 3s.; for one person, 2s. 6d.; (small) for one person, 2s. Dinners for three or more persons (when ordered for two only, 6d. additional)—Soup, fish, joint or poultry, entrée, sweet, and vegetables, 5s.; fish or soup, joint or poultry, entrée, sweet, and vegetables, 4s.; fish or soup, off joint or cutlets, and vegetables, 3s.; off joints or cutlets, and vegetables, 2s. 6d.; visitors’ servants’ board, per day, 4s. Ladies, or ladies and gentlemen, not wishing to incur the expense of a private sitting room, are provided with a spacious saloon free of charge. A fixed charge is made for attendance.

Figure 3. Hotel Charges. 1853. *The Era*, October 2, newly-published tariff The Ship, Dover.

The Westminster Palace Hotel borrowed many innovations from overseas including the name 'Palace' to denote first class quality; the scale - 'the hotel will contain about 200 sleeping and dressing rooms, suites or apartments for families, meeting rooms and a library ... reading room ... a ladies coffee room;' and a published room tariff ranging from 5s to 2s 6d, 'which ... is a very moderate one ... and in the attic the servants' apartments one shilling per day'.¹¹⁷ The Directors even commissioned primary market research, 'some gentlemen commissioned by the company are now visiting principal establishments in Europe and American for the purpose of ... (learning)',¹¹⁸ to ensure the new Hotel was conversant with the latest improvements in hotel design and management. Indeed, the Westminster Palace installed Otis lifts in the property, shortly after Otis had installed the first lift in a New York Store in 1857.¹¹⁹ The venture was expected to be profitable based upon 'the large annual profits ... estimated by the returns made by hotels on the continent and in the United States ... it is estimated that the annual profits will exceed 23%'.¹²⁰ Smaller hotels also adopted continental and American innovations. By 1858, a London hotel called The New York Hotel, 1 and 2 Leicester Street, near Leicester Square, had adopted American hotel management innovations. The New York Hotel placed adverts in *The Times* at least six times between July 1859 and September 1860. As its name implied, the New York Hotel adopted the American Plan which 'affords every convenience on the most reasonable terms. Apartments, board and attendance, 6s per day; bed and breakfast, 3s. No extras.'¹²¹ The New York Hotel also served a Table d'Hote at half-past five for 1s 6d.

These examples provide evidence that a number of first-class and mid-market English hotels did respond to the controversy over English hotel charges and started to

adopt continental and American practices. The success of the Westminster Palace Hotel provided a prototype for later grand hotel projects, incorporating the latest innovations from America and Europe. In 1863, the *Era* specially commissioned a Sunday editorial entitled *The Modern Gigantic Hotel System* to reveal its concerns about the extent of the new ‘modern palatial caravanserais’ being built in a joint-stock hotel mania; its misgivings about the American concept of ‘palace hotels’ preferring the idealised ‘old-fashioned ... quiet inns ... with pleasant barmaids ... and an obliging landlord’; and questioned whether the ‘travelling public ... will take to the American and Continental’ hotels.¹²² Several newspaper editorials from 1865 onwards, whilst still criticising some aspects of hotel and restaurant service, suggest that overall the hotel industry had listened to the customer complaints in the newspapers and the critical editorials. In 1865 at the opening of the Langham Hotel by HRH the Prince of Wales, *The Times* wrote that ‘it is scarcely more than four years since the hotel accommodation of London was an unpleasant byword, a something which inferred little more than the comforts of a public house, and little less than the expenses of a palace’.¹²³ The article noted the building of the Great Western, the Westminster Palace, the Grosvenor, the Charing Cross and the Langham had provided London with hotels that compare to any in the world. Fifteen years later, the *Era* seemed to have changed its perspective and now suggested that hotels had significantly improved: ‘a traveller who saw London for the first time after twenty years ... the old fashioned inns, situated in back streets, gloomy, dark and difficult of access had given place to really splendid homes for the traveller ... one might call them palaces as hotels’.¹²⁴ By 1899, *The Times* was able to claim that ‘certainly no change in the social life of London which the last thirty or forty years have witnessed is more conspicuous than the evolution of the modern hotel ... the best of them are hard to beat. In most respects their charges are not unreasonable.’¹²⁵

Conclusion

The great English hotel charges debate is significant for a number of reasons.

September 1853 was the only month in the nineteenth century when popular opinion reflected in national newspapers focused in depth on the hotel industry. Individual luxury hotel openings, such as The Great Westminster Palace Hotel (1858), The Langham Hotel (1865), and The Savoy Hotel (1889), generated extensive publicity for a few days;¹²⁶ there were occasional letters of complaint about hotel prices - for example in 1868;¹²⁷ and late-nineteenth century national newspaper editorials discussed the positive changes engendered in the industry compared with earlier in the century, but at no other time in the century was the entire English hotel industry subject to such intense, public, negative scrutiny. The breadth and depth of customers' feelings about the failings of the sector must have had a considerable impact on individual hotel-keepers, owners and employees, but that impact is not quantifiable.

Another important perspective of the debate is that *The Times* letter-writers not only criticised the negative aspects of English hotel-keeping, but also recommended business solutions by publicising hotel management innovations from Continental Europe and North America. In the absence of hotel social networks, industry organisations and specialist hospitality media, perhaps many hotel-keepers were less aware of potential foreign innovations. The publicity generated in *The Times* and other national newspapers clearly ensured that the hotel industry was made well-aware of these innovations – and that customers and the media supported the introduction of them. Perhaps hotelkeepers' initial defensive response may have, after reflective conversations amongst the owners and staff, given way to a grudging acceptance of the need to change. However regardless of the rate of adoption, the complaints listed in *The*

Times were gradually addressed. Hotel charges were moderated, tariffs began to be published, cleanliness and the quality of food improved, and the treatment of lady travellers was very, very slowly enhanced.

Another interesting facet of the 1853 great ‘hotel charges’ debate is that customer letters of complaint demonstrated there was a latent demand for tourism in England, which was inhibited by excessive hotel charges and poor quality facilities in English hotels. A Young Man’s letter which initially triggered the debate stated ‘every year sees the number of English tourists on the continent rapidly increasing ... and so many now say “I cannot afford to travel in England”’.¹²⁸ Numerous letters provided evidence to support this claim. Two letters from another letter-writer suggested that by bringing hotel prices ‘within the reach of ... (the) ... diffusive wealth of the country’¹²⁹ and enhancing service, then thousands more travellers would stay in English hotels. It seems that whilst the railways were providing the vehicle for the development of a significant tourism industry in mid nineteenth century England, the high charges and poor service quality of the vast majority of hotels was hindering the exploitation of the country’s tourism potential.

The great English hotel charges debate provides a possibly unique example of the pure diffusion construct operating in the nineteenth century. In the communication of innovation literature, the role of the customer is often discussed from a user or lead user perspective and frequently in marketing research terms. Typically customers, including lead users, do not play a role in the production of knowledge. The spontaneous outburst of the letter-writers’ complaints, almost akin to an episode of mass hysteria, and especially the publicising of foreign innovations in the mass media in an age when other channels of dissemination were not available, is a novel example of pure diffusion.

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¹ Newspapers in the mid-nineteenth century used the expression ‘English hotels’ throughout the hotel charges debate to include hotels in England, Scotland and Wales.

² Von Hippel, ‘Lead Users’.

³ Mazza, ‘Haute Couture and Pret-a-Porter’.

⁴ Greenhalgh, ‘Diffusion of Innovations in Service Organizations’, 601.

⁵ Ganter, ‘Changes in Work Organisation in French Top-Quality Restaurants’; Quek, ‘Globalising the hotel industry’; Walton, ‘Seaside tourism in Europe’.

⁶ Source, Message, Channel, Receiver, Effect – see Rogers, 20.

⁷ Taylor, ‘Ritzy’ 20/21.

⁸ Ross, ‘The History of Steam-Powered Ships’.

⁹ Brock, History of Lodging, 12.

¹⁰ Ganter.

¹¹ Rich, Bourgeois Consumption, 137.

¹² Ganter, 440.

¹³ Denby, Grand Hotels, 111.

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- 14 Ibid, 33.
- 15 Brock, 15.
- 16 Denby, 33.
- 17 Brock, 17.
- 18 King, *The First Class Hotel*, 179.
- 19 Ibid. 176.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Brock, 16-17.
- 22 Ibid, 26.
- 23 Ibid, 27.
- 24 Berger, *Hotel Dreams*, 190.
- 25 Ibid, 7.
- 26 *The Caterer, Hotel Proprietor and Refreshment Contractors' Gazette*, 15 October 1888, Running a Big American Hotel, 390.
- 27 "The Grand Hotel." 1880. *The Era*, June 6.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Borer, *The British Hotel*, 184.
- 30 Taylor, 24.
- 31 Borer, 164.
- 32 Ibid, 35.
- 33 Taylor, 37.
- 34 Simmons, *The Victorian Hotel*, 5.
- 35 "English and Foreign Hotels". 1853. *The Observer*, September, 25.
- 36 Taylor, 39.

37 Several letter writers to *The Times*, like A Biffin, used a nom de plume. The nom de plumes adopted by respondents provides an indication of their education/occupation – or for some their extreme anger as a result of their stay in English hotels. Examples, such as M. A. Cambridge, Peregrinus - The Greek Cynic Philosopher, Viator, Economist, an MP, an Ex MP, A Country Clergyman, A Solicitor, A Lancashire Magistrate, A Commercial Traveller, An English Corn Merchant, A Soldier, A Tradesman, a Retired Tradesman, and A Commoner, suggest that the travellers included the well-educated; members of the clerical, political and legal establishment; the military; a variety of business travellers; retired business people and ordinary folk. Most respondents did not state their home address, but those that did showed that people from all over Britain, including London, Aberdovey, Brighton, Edinburgh, Jersey, Limerick, Liverpool, Manchester, Portsmouth, Tenby and Weymouth, provided examples of poor hotel standards which they had experienced in all parts of the country.

38 A. Biffin, letter to the editor, *The Times*, March 23, 1853.

39 A. Young Man, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 3, 1853.

40 A Home Traveller, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 10, 1853.

41 Viator, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 9, 1853; and M. A., letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 21, 1853.

42 A. Retired Tradesman, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 8, 1853.

43 Q.E.D., letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 17, 1853.

44 Fleeced, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 16, 1853.

45 Sitiens, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 15, 1853.

46 A Commercial Traveller, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 19, 1853.

47 A Commoner, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 15, 1853.

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- 48 “The remarkable interest excited by the discussion.” 1853. *The Times*, September, 24.
- 49 Sitiens. 1853. “The Licensing System, As Connected With Hotel Charges.” *The Times*, September, 20.
- 50 Viator, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 9, 1853.
- 51 Economist, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 13, 1853.
- 52 M.A., letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 7, 1853; and A.Victim letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 9, 1853.
- 53 A Country Clergyman, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 23, 1853.
- 54 An English Corn Merchant, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 20, 1853.
- 55 T. K. Staveley. 1853. “Hotel Charges”. *The Times*, September, 21.
- 56 A Tradesman, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 22, 1853.
- 57 Content, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 9, 1853; and Well-content, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 26, 1853.
- 58 William Smythe, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 21, 1853.
- 59 An Hotelkeeper, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 14, 1853.
- 60 James and Son, “English and Foreign Hotels”. *The Observer*, October, 6, 1853.
- 61 One Who Loves To Travel, But Is Deterred By The Expense In England, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 16, 1853; and Fleeced, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 16, 1853.
- 62 Victim No 1, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 16, 1853.
- 63 The Editor of the ‘Handbook for Travellers’, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 23, 1853.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Traveller, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 16, 1853.

66 Ibid.

67 Victim No 1, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 16, 1853.

68 One Who Loves To Travel, But Is Deterred By The Expense In England, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 16, 1853.

69 “How is it that Englishmen”, *The Times*, September, 9, 1853.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid; and “In our impression of yesterday”, *The Times*, September, 15, 1853; “The hotelkeepers of England have furnished us”, *The Times*, September, 21, 1853; “The remarkable interest excited by the discussion”, *The Times*, September, 24, 1853.

72 “English and Foreign Hotels”, *The Observer*, October, 6, 1853.

73 “Hotel Charges”, *The Era*, October, 2, 1853.

74 “English and Foreign Hotels”, *The Observer*, October, 3, 1853.

75 “English and Foreign Hotels”, *The Observer*, October, 9, 1853.

76 “The remarkable interest excited by the discussion”, *The Times*, September, 24, 1853.

77 Ibid.

78 Katz, *Theorizing Diffusion*; Neuman, *Evolution of Media Effects*; Wejnert, *Models of Diffusion*.

79 Rogers, *Communication of Innovation*, 20.

80 Mazza, 569.

81 Nohria, *The Take-Charge Manager*.

82 Greenhalgh, 601.

83 Ibid, 593.

84 Ibid, 593.

85 Bishop, *Folkestone: The Story of a Town*.

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- 86 An American Traveller, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 10, 1853.
- 87 Traveller, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 16, 1853; and Sitiens, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 15, 1853.
- 88 Traveller, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 16, 1853.
- 89 One Who Loves To Travel, But Is Deterred By The Expense In England, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 19, 1853.
- 90 A Victim, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 9, 1853.
- 91 Rogers, 205.
- 92 Katz, 152.
- 93 DeFleur, James Bryce.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Katz, 152
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Mazza.
- 98 Ibid, 581.
- 99 Ibid, 573.
- 100 "40,000 copies of *The Times* in 1850". (1911). Encyclopaedia Britannica. Eleventh Edition. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1911. Vol. XIX, MUN to ODDFELLOWS. [Article on] Newspapers, p.557.
- 101 *The Times*, Past, Present Future, 19.
- 102 Ibid pg 18
- 103 Ibid pg 22 and 24
- 104 A Commercial Traveller, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 19, 1853.

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- 105 “The remarkable interest excited by the discussion.” 1853. *The Times*, September, 24.
- 106 “English and Foreign Hotels”. 1853. *The Observer*, September, 25.
- 107 “Hotel Charges.” 1853. *The Era*, October, 2.
- 108 “Hotel Charges.” 1853. *The Era*, October, 14.
- 109 “Adelphi Theatre.” 1853. *The Times*. October, 14.
- 110 An Hotelkeeper, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 14, 1853.
- 111 William Smythe, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 21, 1853; and Charles Cox Hughes, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 21, 1853.
- 112 “Hotel Charges,” *The Era*, October, 2, 1853.
- 113 “Westminster Palace Hotel” advert, *The Times*, July, 30, 1857.
- 114 *The Times*, July 10, 1858.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 *The Observer* editorial, November, 14, 1858.
- 117 Ibid.
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Simmons, 10
- 120 Westminster Palace Hotel” advert, *The Times*, February, 24, 1858.
- 121 *The Times*, July 30, 1859; September 24, 1859; September 26, 1860; September 28, 1860; November 6, 1860; and November 8, 1860.
- 122 ‘The Modern Gigantic Hotel System’, *The Era*, November, 1, 1863.
- 123 ‘The Langham Hotel’, *The Times*, June, 12, 1865.
- 124 “The Grand Hotel”, *The Era*, June, 6, 1880.
- 125 “We printed on Friday an interesting letter.” *The Times*, September, 25, 1899.

126 “The Great Westminster Palace Hotel”, *The Observer*, 1858; “The Langham Hotel,”

The Times, November, 14, 1865; ‘The Savoy Hotel,’ *The Caterer and Hotel*

Proprietors’ Gazette, September 16, 1889, 396 – 397.

127 ‘Highland Hotel Charges,’ *The Times*, 10, 12, 14, September 1868.

128 A. Young Man, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September 3, 1853.

129 One Who Loves To Travel, But Is Deterred By The Expense In England, letter to the editor, *The Times*, September, 19, 1853.

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