

Introduction

The Germany I am speaking of is not the one which colonises or makes
cheap goods, or frightens the rest of the world in various ways . . .

Vernon Lee, *Genius Loci* (1899)

Interest in transnationalism has intensified in recent decades among literary scholars and historians, in part due to postcolonial studies, which overturn earlier concepts of centre and periphery, but also in response to world events, mass tourism, and media technologies that bring global dimensions into daily life. Transnational studies proceed under a number of critical terms, from cosmopolitanism, internationalism, mobility studies, and cultural transfer to travel writing. A transnational focus brings with it a question of where to place borders in knowledge as well as spaces when, as ecological studies tell us in a time of increasing crisis, everything is connected to everything else. In this study I draw on scholarship from a number of these scholarly approaches, always aiming to keep in focus how engaging with cultural difference and specifically a foreign culture is at once a challenge, often daunting, and a key to inventing ways to connect and engage in innovative sociability and experiential learning. The writings I examine vary widely, from fiction and poetry to memoirs, travelogues, translations, and children's literature. But all turn upon the processes and results of cultural exchange. US-educated Brazilian anthropologist Mercio Pereira Gomes most aptly theorises my object of study. Gomes denies that deep participation in another culture is exclusive to anthropologists. Rather, he contends that all cultures, while inherently ethnocentric, also contain within them the possibilities for what he calls ethnoexocentrism: 'ethnoexocentrism is a necessary cultural drive that favours a genuine acceptance of other cultures where individuals can relate and intermingle with one another'. Usually dormant, 'it comes to light when called for, particularly when inescapable intercultural relations require it. Ethnoexocentrism is a more

complex feeling than ethnocentrism, for it necessitates a self-conscious appraisal of one's own sentiment and the sentiment of the other culture.¹

The specific cultural exchange in this study involves Victorian women writers' encounters with what I term, with the help of Vernon Lee, 'the other Germany'. All the women whose writings I examine were privileged in access to income and to learning that enabled their transnational mobility; and with one exception they were also privileged in race. They were also systematically disadvantaged by their gender and sexualities and often rendered vulnerable corporeally, socially, and culturally when they spent periods ranging from months to years in Germany. Focusing on a small group from a given time and nation who experienced both privilege and disadvantage generates a fine-grained representation of cultural engagement with difference that can be approached through the writings these women left behind, whether in letters and diaries or published texts, that, more than describing German scenes and individuals, convey what it was like for British women to interact with those who did not share some or most British middle-class assumptions. Even the fiction I discuss obliquely illuminates these encounters, suggesting how personal transnational experience enabled authors to imagine their way into culturally different German personae.

Today the Victorian woman writer most often linked to Germany is George Eliot.² Eliot's influence on other women was profound, whether as a translator, intellectual writer, agnostic, or sexual dissident. Both her books and her scandal in daring to elope to Germany in 1854 with the married George Henry Lewes acted upon other women writers' sense of the possible. But Eliot was not the initial groundbreaking figure who opened the door to Germany for progressive Victorian women writers. That was Anna Jameson two decades earlier – even though on her 1833 trip to Germany, her second, she had little to no German language at her command and relied on Germans' shared knowledge of French or English to interact socially, as well as a letter of introduction from Robert Noel, cousin to Lady Byron and an acquaintance of Otilie von Goethe.³

As progressive women, the writers in this study were all intellectually curious, articulate individuals who welcomed exploration as participant observers of human experiences in a tongue and land not their own. All were also ambitious for writing careers, finding their German experiences a spur to thought, creativity, and profit as they simultaneously enlarged the breadth of the kind of life a nineteenth-century Englishwoman could live. They came to Germany across the long nineteenth century, each finding new modes of entering and encountering German culture as they built

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upon precursors' experiences.⁴ The first group consisted of Anna Jameson (1794–1860), Mary Howitt (1799–1888), Elizabeth Gaskell (1810–65), and Anna Mary Howitt (1824–84). Eliot (1819–80) began as a member of this first set, then pivoted away with her elopement. There followed Jessie Fothergill (1851–91), Michael Field (Katharine Bradley, 1846–1914 and Edith Cooper, 1862–1913), and Amy Levy (1861–89), all of whom benefited from Eliot's own breaks with tradition. The final pair, the expatriates Elizabeth von Arnim (1866–1941) and Vernon Lee (Violet Paget, 1856–1935), registered in their family connections and fluid movements across borders the transnational mobility that increasingly defined modernity from the late nineteenth century into the present.

Their cumulative story thus unfolds the emerging phases of a new modernity for women, from greater mobility and independence (in travel, in finances, in logistics) to analogues of modern study abroad and the expatriate lives so familiar to intellectuals, artists, and global professionals in the following two centuries. What remains specific to them is the interest of their particular stories, their particular framing of what it meant, as middle-class women who were intent (Eliot excepted) on retaining their social standing to travel to a foreign land – not to gawk or to find employment but to live and be interactively with Germans, whether through social and personal connections, ability to read German, or viewing German visual arts in cities and museums. Their enabling disposition was a love precisely of cultural difference, of seeing what was native to themselves (their British middle-class society and its conventions and their individual experiences) through the lens of another society and language.

Once on the Continent, the first generation of women experienced and – especially in the case of Jameson – helped build a social network that functioned as a circle of intellectual and social interchange. In addition to Ottilie von Goethe, the woman at the foundation of Jameson's twenty-seven-year relationship with Germany, Jameson became friends with Goethe's German circle of women and in turn introduced English friends such as Adelaide Kemble Sartoris to the German circle.⁵ Hence this particular network spanned both sides of the North Sea and at times also migrated southward to Vienna and Rome. Several women followed Jameson's lead, including Mary Howitt, to whom Jameson furnished letters of introduction for Germany; Gaskell, Howitt's longtime friend; and Howitt's daughter Anna Mary.

Eliot attended one of Jameson's 'literary gatherings' in 1852, and Eliot, along with Jameson, was invited to a dinner at Robert Noel's residence in

February 1854.⁶ But after Eliot eloped with George Henry Lewes to Germany that July, the two never saw each other again. That stark dividing line in Eliot's own life also marks a chronological division from the older set, for the younger women followed Eliot's rather than Jameson's lead to Germany. Jessie Fothergill, Michael Field, and Amy Levy all travelled as single women, in contrast to the married Jameson, Howitt, and Gaskell; all were, like Eliot, also freethinkers. Writers in this second group may often have travelled with another woman – Fothergill with her sister, Levy with Blanche Smith (both alumnae of Newnham), or the couple Michael Field – but at crucial moments they found themselves alone, a rather more radical experience than Eliot's in the mid-1850s (as I discuss in more detail in Chapter 4). German texts, which these younger women read in the original language, also acted to draw them to Germany and remained important spurs to their experiences of cultural exchange. Fothergill identified Johann von Goethe as her favourite poet after Robert Browning and William Morris, and Paul Heyse was even more important to her. *The First Violin* (1878), Fothergill's best-selling novel set in Germany, explicitly references Heyse's *Kinder der Welt* (*Children of the World*, 1873), which helped inspire Fothergill's male protagonist. Today Heyse, a 1910 Nobel Prize winner for literature, has been eclipsed, much like Fothergill herself, but his 1873 novel also inspired Levy, who identified her favourite fictional hero in her 'Confessions' book as Heyse's atheist hero Edwin. Heine and Johann von Goethe were two of Levy's favourite poets, and her poetry collections additionally include translations from Emanuel von Geibel and Nikolaus Lenau. Katharine Bradley's first volume of poetry, *The New Minnesinger and Other Poems* (1875), likewise included translations of Johann von Goethe and Heine as well as Schiller. For these younger writers, German texts mingled promiscuously with English works as a given part of their cosmopolitan literary tableaux. In all, this generation's freedom from marriage, spurning of religious belief, university education (excepting Fothergill), mobility, unconventional living arrangements, and assumption of intellectual agency meant that they functioned as New Women, anticipating later developments such as university women's study abroad in Europe.

Neither of the last two writers this study takes up was born in England: Elizabeth von Arnim was born in Australia, Vernon Lee in France. Both writers, known today only through their noms de plume, differed markedly in sexuality, the twice-married serial adulterer von Arnim contrasting the presumed-chaste and woman-loving Lee. If both were defined by their transnational mobility, they also bring my account of Victorian women

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writers and Germany full circle. For like Mary Howitt, Anna Mary Howitt, and Gaskell, von Arnim and Lee initially experienced Anglo-German cultural exchange through their families – in the later women's case, families that were themselves cosmopolitan. The heavily autobiographical *Elizabeth and Her German Garden* (1898), von Arnim's first book, can be read as a family memoir even though it turns the conventions of domesticity and motherhood inside out. It appeared seven years after the author's marriage to the German Count Henning von Arnim-Schlagenthin. This marriage linked von Arnim to Goethe and hence implicitly to Jameson, since one of the forebears of von Arnim's husband was Bettina von Arnim, whose 1835 epistolary novel *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child* (*Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*), published three years after Johann von Goethe's death, established her as a major literary figure. Ottilie von Goethe, moreover, knew Bettina personally. In June 1836, shortly after another of Jameson's visits to Weimar, Goethe wrote a brief essay on contemporary German women who had emancipated and validated German women intellectually.⁷ A copy survives in Goethe's papers addressed to Jameson, headed 'Für Anna – Über Rahel, Bettine und Charlotte'.⁸

Vernon Lee is identified with Italy, where she moved permanently in 1873 and for which she had a passion. Prior to that, her itinerant family shuffled back and forth across Germany, Italy, France, and Switzerland. Still, as a 1904 essay by Lee indicates, her German-speaking Bernese governess Marie Schulpach exerted a notable impact on Lee's personal and imaginative development (as I discuss in Chapter 8). German language and culture also surface in others of Lee's works, including a biography of the German wife of Bonnie Prince Charles, known as the Countess of Albany; and some of her best-known stories, including the *Yellow Book* tale 'Prince Alberic and the Snake Lady', are indebted to the legacy of German romanticism channelled through Lee's governess and the precursor tales of E. T. A. Hoffmann. This study finds its fitting conclusion in the earliest novel Lee wrote for adults, *Ottilie, An Eighteenth Century Idyl* (1883), set in Germany. If that title resonates, it should, for while this novel has been linked to Lee's own family history, it also draws upon elements of Johann von Goethe's character Ottilie in *Elective Affinities* (*Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, 1809) and, I further suggest, can be fruitfully read as a reimagining of the life of Ottilie von Goethe, the woman who opened a female-centred Germany to Jameson that had the impact of a revelation.

Over and above the specific reasons that brought middle-class women to Germany, Protestant Germany and Prussia in particular offered Victorian

women writers the ‘cross-cultural freedoms’ my subtitle emphasises.⁹ There they could enjoy local mobilities almost unimaginable back in Britain, where appearing in public required an escort, preferably male, for women to be judged respectable. The earliest eye-witness account of German women’s superior freedoms and social standing arrived in Britain through Madame de Staël (1766–1817). Though de Staël is best known today for her novel *Corinne* (1807), her travel book *De L’Allemagne* (*Germany*) appeared in 1813 and was translated and published in London the same year. De Staël’s third chapter, ‘Of the Women’, underscored the limitations imposed on German men by oppressive political rule in contrast to German women:

The German women have a charm, exclusively their own ... they are modest but less timid than Englishwomen; one sees that they have been less accustomed to meet with their superiors among men, and that they have besides less to apprehend from the severe censures of the public. They endeavour to please by their sensibility, to interest by their imagination; the language of poetry and the fine arts are familiar to them; they coquet with enthusiasm, as they do in France with wit and pleasantry. That perfect loyalty which distinguishes the German character, renders love less dangerous to the happiness of women; and perhaps they admit the advances of this sentiment with the more confidence, as it is invested with romantic colours.¹⁰

If fidelity was the norm, de Staël also noted the ease with which Protestant German women obtained divorces and changed husbands. And rather than French women’s *esprit*, German women cultivated idealism:

[t]heir careful education, and the purity of soul which is natural to them, render the dominion which they exercise soft and equal; they inspire you from day to day with a stronger interest for all that is great and generous, with more of confidence in all noble hopes, and they know how to repel that bitter irony which breathes a death-chill over all the enjoyments of the heart.¹¹

Jameson would recirculate several of these themes in *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad* (1834) and *Social Life in Germany* (1840), discussed in my opening chapters. A decade later Florence Nightingale was still startled by the stark difference between German and English female freedoms, as her 1850 letter home from Berlin (just prior to her first visit to Kaiserswerth, the famous centre of nursing training) indicates:

And it is more particularly of the Prussian women that I was struck with how much freer and fuller their life is than that of Englishwomen ... England ... is inferior to America in political freedom and practical life,

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to France in mental organization, to Germany in popular education, and oh! two centuries behind northern Germany in social freedom. In Berlin a girl of any rank walks about quite alone (i.e., by daylight, and not out of the city); a lady wears any dress, goes into any society, or into the market with her basket on the arm, and nobody laughs at her or talks about her. There is absolute freedom to move yourself socially as you please.¹²

For British women writers to interact with educated German women, then, especially in northern Germany in the middle decades of the century, was to experience a more expansive life as a woman that allowed greater physical movement, social interaction, and intellectual equality free from the social policing that in England often labelled such women ‘unfeminine’.

Professional opportunities also drew progressive women writers to Germany. Jameson had made an inconsequential trip to Germany with her father in 1829, after which she wrote the early parts of *Visits and Sketches*.¹³ Needing to gather further materials for her book, Jameson undertook the trip of 1833 that changed her life and generated part or all of her books for the next seven years.¹⁴

Mary and William Howitt’s determination to live in Germany from June 1840 to April 1843 was both a family and a career decision propelled by reports of inexpensive education and living costs, their earlier exposure in 1830 to the Felicia Hemans–H. F. Chorley circle that pursued study of contemporary German literature, and Queen Victoria’s marriage to the German Prince Albert, which the Howitts thought would create interest in publications about German culture.¹⁵ Jameson’s letter of introduction for the Howitts to Professor Friedrich Christoph Schlosser (a historian at Heidelberg University) and his wife, whom Jameson had come to know through Goethe, gave the Howitts immediate access to the Schlossers’ intellectual circle in that city. Their teenaged daughter Anna Mary became fluent in German as a result of the family’s German residence and met many of her parents’ literary and artistic acquaintances, including artist Wilhelm Kaulbach, whose illustrations the Howitts featured in *Howitt’s Journal* in the late 1840s. Thus when Anna Mary wished to pursue formal art education to prepare for a career in art, she headed to Munich; denied entrance to the Munich academy on the grounds of sex, she received lessons from Kaulbach in his studio for almost two years. This in turn led to her two-volume publication *An Art-Student in Munich* (1853), a fusion of travel writing and professional memoir.

Elizabeth Gaskell first visited Heidelberg in 1841 with her husband William, where they visited the Howitts. In 1858 and 1860, however, Gaskell’s visits to Germany involved only herself and her daughters. The

1858 trip was a form of therapy for Gaskell's daughter Meta after a traumatic broken engagement, while the next was a holiday for Gaskell and two other daughters. These residences helped inspire two late stories by Gaskell, her powerful sensation tale 'The Grey Woman' (1861) and the lesser-known but poignant 'Six Weeks at Heppenheim' (1862).

Eliot's reasons for travelling to Germany need no rehearsal here. They had little to do with her own professional opportunities and everything to do with those of George Henry Lewes, who needed to gather materials for his biography of Johann von Goethe (1855) including the personal recollections of the famous writer's connections. Among the younger writers Jessie Fothergill, Michael Field, and Amy Levy, only the Fields travelled to Germany for explicitly professional reasons. In the mid-1870s, Jessie Fothergill lived in Düsseldorf with her sisters for fifteen months, possibly for educational or economic reasons (like the Howitts before them in the 1840s). In the 1880s Amy Levy completed tutorials in classical languages with a German classics instructor in Dresden, and she also did some teaching. But her visits to Germany, Switzerland, and the German-speaking areas of the Vosges Mountains in present-day Alsace-Lorraine suggested no definite end-goal. In contrast, from 1890 to 1891 the Fields were preparing for their 1892 volume *Sight and Song*, consisting of lyrics written in response to paintings, and so visited museums across Europe, gazing at length upon paintings and recording their responses in their collaborative journal. When Edith Cooper fell ill with scarlet fever, their stay in Dresden was necessarily extended, and both inside and outside the hospital where Cooper recovered the women had particularly intense interchanges with German people and culture. The most important results of all these writers' German residences were the works their extended stays inspired, from Fothergill's best-selling novel or Levy's numerous poems and cluster of short stories in the 1880s to Michael Field's *Sight and Sound*, in which lyrics inspired by Dresden paintings – such as 'The Sleeping Venus' – were among the most notable.

Von Arnim's career is quite literally unimaginable without her eighteen-year residence as a citizen of Germany, and while Lee's earliest books were propelled by her fascination with Italian art and music, she never forgot the importance of Germany. As she declared in *The Sentimental Traveller* (1908), 'of all the countries, the first to be good to me was Germany, coming, in the shape of my nurses and of my dear Bernese governess, fairy-like to my christening or thereabouts'.¹⁶

If this study principally frames these ten writers in relation to ethnoexocentrism and cultural exchange, a gendered cosmopolitanism was

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unquestionably another feature of their interchanges with Germany; for their German language skills, social networks, and/or professional pursuits enabled them to enter into German culture in ways that casual travellers or tourists could not.¹⁷ Cosmopolitanism is today theorised in various terms, but for my purposes the most useful articulations are by Kwame Anthony Appiah and Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, since their conceptualisations share elements with the ‘ethnoexocentrism’ of Mercio Gomes.¹⁸ Appiah argues that cosmopolitanism demands simultaneously validating cultures not our own (a form of universalism) and attending to the specificities of individuals and the places they inhabit. His identification of ‘conversation’, ‘living together’, and ‘association’ as key facets of cosmopolitanism is particularly relevant to the writers I discuss. Appiah is especially known for endorsing rooted cosmopolitanism, the premise that partiality to our own ‘families, our friends, our nations’ is not only to be expected but is to be honoured, even as cosmopolitans must also maintain openness to places and persons who are very different.¹⁹ None of the women featured here ever forgot that they were British or sought to exchange German culture for their own. But opening themselves to German culture and friends enriched their emotional and social as well as intellectual and authorial experiences, sometimes in ways they could never have anticipated.

These writers also, in Vertovec and Cohen’s words, necessarily evinced ‘socio-cultural processes or individual behaviours, values or dispositions manifesting a capacity to engage cultural multiplicity’, which demanded that they set aside impulses to judge or exploit a foreign culture and instead engage with it.²⁰ To transform these cross-cultural personal experiences into writing, additionally, they had to sustain the mobile intellectual and personal orientations that transcended national and family ties and that could generate the imaginative space in which to create highly individual aesthetic expression.

Such orientations were doubly important for women. Denied voting or property rights (the former won partially in 1918 and fully in 1930, the latter in 1882), they were not full-fledged citizens of their own country, much less the citizens of the world that Immanuel Kant envisioned in ‘Perpetual Peace’ in 1795.²¹ Recent scholars have increasingly revised Kantian cosmopolitanism to include women, who often entered alien realms obliquely or unconventionally.²² These theoretical interventions are far less new than might be supposed, however, for they were anticipated by Anna Jameson and Vernon Lee in 1834 and 1904 respectively. The earliest book that Jameson completed after meeting Goethe opened,

as had Jameson's *Characteristics of Women* (1832), with an introductory dialogue between the male interlocutor Medon and Alda, a stand-in for the female author.²³ As Medon observes,

If nations begin at last to understand each other's true interests – morally and politically, it will be through the agency of gifted men; but if ever they learn to love and sympathise with each other, it will be through the medium of you women . . . our [male] prejudices are stronger and bitterer than yours, because they are those which perverted reason builds up on a foundation of pride; but yours, which are generally those of fancy and association, soon melt away before your own kindly affections. More mobile, more impressible, more easily yielding to external circumstances, more easily lending yourselves to different manners and habits, more quick to perceive, more gentle to judge; – yes, it is to you we must look, to break down the outworks of prejudice – you, the advanced guard of humanity and civilization!

‘The gentle race and dear,

By whom alone the world is glorified!’²⁴

Every feeling, well educated, generous, and truly refined woman, who travels, is as a dove sent out on a mission of peace . . . It is her part to soften the intercourse between rougher and stronger natures; to aid in the interfusion of the gentler sympathies; to speed the interchange of art and literature from pole to pole . . .²⁵

Jameson may strategically reserve politics, government, and moral philosophy to men and invoke women's stereotypical bent towards emotion and ‘fancy’, but Jameson more forcefully emphasises (like Appiah) ‘conversation’, ‘living together’, ‘association’, and openness to difference as she claims women's capacity for cultural leadership on a world stage. As Alda replies to Medon, ‘Thank you! I need not say how entirely I agree with you.’²⁶ Elsewhere Jameson would make clear that women's disposition to ‘yield’ ‘more easily . . . to external circumstances’ and take the impress of their surroundings resulted from male social and political dominance. In the dialogue above, she immediately repositions such ‘yielding’ as a form of diplomatic empowerment that enables women to effect intercultural understanding and dismantle long-standing prejudices.

Nor is Jameson really ceding intellectual qualities to men: the educated middle-class woman acquainted with ‘art and literature’ can directly engage in cultural ‘interchange’ so that ostensible domestic sequestration ‘melts away’ like the international prejudices women glide past. She thus clearly signals through the convenient masculine pronouncement of Medon (her fabricated spokesman) that women are in the end the superior diplomats, peace-makers, travellers, and intellectuals of the world. Her