VICTORIAN WOMEN WRITERS AND THE Other Germany

Shedding new light on the alternative, emancipatory Germany discovered and written about by progressive women writers during the long nineteenth century, this illuminating study uncovers a country that offered a degree of freedom and intellectual agency unheard of in England. Opening with the striking account of Anna Jameson and her friendship with Ottilie von Goethe, Linda K. Hughes shows how cultural differences spurred ten writers' advocacy of progressive ideas and provided fresh materials for publishing careers. Alongside wellknown writers - Elizabeth Gaskell, George Eliot, Michael Field, Elizabeth von Arnim, and Vernon Lee - this study sheds light on the lesser-known writers Mary and Anna Mary Howitt, Jessie Fothergill, and the important Anglo-Jewish lesbian writer Amy Levy. Armed with their knowledge of the German language, each of these women championed an extraordinarily productive openness to cultural exchange and, by approaching Germany through a female lens, imported an alternative, 'other' Germany into English letters.

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VICTORIAN WOMEN Writers and the other Germany

Cross-Cultural Freedoms and Female Opportunity

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Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

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www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009069328

DOI: 10.1017/9781009072243

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First published 2022 First paperback edition 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data NAMES: Hughes, Linda K., author. TITLE: Victorian women writers and the other Germany : cross-cultural freedoms and female opportunity / Linda Hughes. OTHER TITLES: Cambridge studies in nineteenth-century literature and culture. DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom : Cambridge University Press, 2022. | Series: Cambridge studies in nineteenth-century literature and culture | Includes bibliographical references and index. IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2022008810 (print) | LCCN 2022008811 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781316512845 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009069328 (paperback) |

ISBN 9781009072243 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Women authors, English–19th century. | Women authors, English–Travel– Germany. | Women authors, English–Attitudes. | English literature–Women authors–History and criticism. | English literature–19th century–History and criticism. | English literature–19th century–German influences. | Germany–Foreign public opinion. | BISAC: LITERARY CRITICISM / European / English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh

CRITICISM / European / English, Itish, Scottish, weish

CLASSIFICATION: LCC PRII5 .H84 2022 (print) | LCC PRII5 (ebook) | DDC 820.9/9287-dc23/eng/20220406

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/20220400

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022008811

ISBN 978-1-316-51284-5 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-06932-8 Paperback

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> For Carroll, life partner and fellow traveller

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)

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Klassik Stiftung, Weimar, Germany, for permission to quote from unpublished letters between Anna Jameson and Ottilie von Goethe (Signatur 40); to Dr Silke Henke, Department Head, Media Processing and Usage; and to the librarians and staff who assisted me during my four visits to this archive. I thank University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections for permission to quote from Mary Howitt's letters to her sister Anna Harrison (Ht/1/1/54, Ht/1/1/125); Camellia PLC for permission to transcribe Amy Levy's autograph copy of 'Neue Liebe, Neues Leben'; and Leonie Sturge-Moore and Charmian O'Neil, as well as the British Library, for permission to quote from the Michael Field Diaries (British Library Additional MSS 46778, 46779, 46785, 46786). Additionally, I thank Lindsay Stainton for her assistance with the Amy Levy archive in 2010; Ana Parejo Vadillo for help with Michael Field materials; Kimberly L. Johnson, Director, Special Collections and University Archivist, Woman's Collections, Texas Woman's University, for providing a scan of Wilhelm Kaulbach's initial month design for Howitt's Journal; and the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin, for providing a scan of the illustrated dedication to Anna Jameson's Social Life in Germany.

At Texas Christian University (TCU) I am indebted to the generous support of the TCU library and librarians, including Julie Christenson and Kerri Menchaca in Special Collections; Ammie Harrison, Humanities librarian; and Kay Edmondson, Jill Kendle, and Kristen Barnes in the Interlibrary Loan office. A 2010 TCU-Research and Creative Activity Fund grant enabled my visits to the Howitt and Amy Levy archives in the United Kingdom; to the British Library, where I consulted the Michael Field Diaries; and to the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, Germany, for my initial examination of Anna Jameson's holograph letters to Ottilie von Goethe. The Addie Levy Research Fund supported

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Acknowledgements

subsequent trips to Weimar and to the Colby College Library in Waterville, Maine, to examine its Vernon Lee collection. Successive English department chairs, including Brad Lucas, Karen Steele, and Theresa Gaul, happily signed off on my reimbursement forms from travel and conferences related to this project and supported my year-long sabbatical in 2016. Office Manager Merry Roberts has helped in more ways than I can name, aided by Executive Assistants Lynn Irving and Regina Lewis. English department work-study students over the years also provided assistance with scans and retrieval of library materials.

I am the grateful beneficiary of a series of superb Addie Levy Research Associates, who each worked with me one academic year. Heidi Hakimi-Hood, Claire Landes, Sofia Prado Huggins, Kaylee Henderson, Dana Shaaban, and Abigayle Farrier, all gifted Ph.D. students, provided research assistance directly related to this book project or on collateral projects that enabled me to sustain ongoing work on this study. My warmest thanks to each of them – and, as this project comes to a close, to another gifted Ph.D. student, Sanjana Chowdhury, creator of this work's index.

I am also indebted to my German teachers, beginning with my first in high school, Helmut Schmeller, who in addition to introducing me to German language study opened a new intellectual world previously unknown to me in my small Kansas town. When I completed an undergraduate German minor, Frau Ellen Mayer did most to advance my speaking and comprehension skills. Decades later, I realised that if I wanted to research Victorian women writers' cultural exchanges with Germany I needed more than my by-now rusty German minor. I was fortunate to be welcomed 'back to school' by my TCU colleagues when I enrolled in undergraduate German classes for two years while continuing to teach in the English Department. Naively, I hoped at the outset of my renewed student life to become fluent in German. That did not happen: I could not make time for immersion experiences amidst my other research, teaching, and family obligations. However, thanks to outstanding teaching by my colleagues Drs Cynthia Chapa (now retired but thankfully still 'meine Freundin'), Scott Williams, and Jeffrey Todd, I sufficiently strengthened my language skills to enable me to read literary and scholarly Germanlanguage texts and to speak with German librarians and personnel when I travelled to Weimar. Besides language instruction itself I am grateful to my teacher-colleagues for letting me revive the joys of being a student again (eagerly awaiting marks on my quizzes and assignments like the other students) and learn more about contemporary German politics and culture. I am also grateful to the German undergraduate students, including Rebecca

Acknowledgements

Stewart, now a Teaching Fellow in Harvard's Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, and Evan Voorn, most recently a German and Social Studies teacher in Texas and Colorado, with whom I worked in class and on occasional projects; they did me the kindness of forgetting that I was a professor and accepting me as a fellow student.

I owe very special thanks to my Germanist colleague Scott Williams, who went above and beyond mere collegiality. An expert in translation studies, he checked all my German translations in this book, offering advice and, when needed (more than once, I own), corrections. Any remaining errors are of course my own. Scott read not only carefully and attentively but also supportively, and I thank him too for believing in the value of what I was doing.

Bethany Thomas, Literature Commissioning Editor at Cambridge University Press, encouraged this project from the time I first talked to her about it at the North American Victorian Studies Association (NAVSA) conference in 2019. I thank her for her support and for making the submission and review process so congenial. My thanks go also to the Series Editors of Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture, Kate Flint and Claire Pettitt, for their own warm support and enthusiasm for the project; to my two anonymous readers for their encouragement, insights, and suggestions; to George Paul Laver, Editorial Assistant at Cambridge University Press; to Humanities Content Manager Nicola Maclean; to Straive Production Manager Siddharthan Indra Priyadarshini; and, with special thanks for her discerning eye and attentive care, to copy editor Suzanne Arnold.

Two scholars offered help at the early stages of this project but are no longer living as I finish it; I hope I sufficiently thanked them when I still could. Dr William Boos, philosopher and gifted linguist, provided the earliest help with German translation when I worked on a precursor project that drew upon German classical scholarship ('Discoursing of Xantippe: Amy Levy, Classical Scholarship, and Print Culture', *Philological Quarterly*, 2009). As she expertly drove us from the 2009 NAVSA conference in Cambridge, England, to the Tennyson Bicentenary conference in Lincoln, Dr Linda H. Peterson, so important a scholar in studies of Victorian women writers, autobiography, and poetry, briefed me on the Howitt archives in Nottingham and counselled me on how best to access them – a fond memory that mingles with sadness at her too-early death.

From start to finish during my long process of research and writing this book, I have benefited from three scholars and friends who listened,

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Acknowledgements

responded, and offered unfailing encouragement. For years I have learned from Victorianist Dr Florence S. Boos, whose ethically committed scholarship and wealth of knowledge continually inspire me. Our friendship predates my arrival at TCU and has enriched my professional and personal life; thank you for this gift, Florence. My TCU colleague, art historian Dr Babette Bohn, whose groundbreaking book Women Artists, Their Patrons, and Their Publics in Early Modern Bologna appeared in 2021, has exemplified excellence in humanities research since she joined TCU's faculty - lucky for me, arriving the same year I did. I thank her for our many talks over lunch as we discussed our research, our teaching, and our ongoing lives; I also thank her for an excellent suggestion about my title. As department chair Dr Fred Erisman hired me at TCU, but we have become friends who meet over lunch at intervals to talk about our research and our reading. Fred 'retired' two decades ago but has since published three scholarly monographs, his latest (In Their Own Words, 2021) on pioneering women aviator-journalists.

I close by thanking the person who has been with me and offered support the longest, Dr Carroll W. Hughes, a board-certified clinical psychologist and prolific researcher in dual diagnosis and childhood depression before he retired from the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School. I knew him by another first name when we were both teenagers in high school, when I admired him for his independence, obvious intelligence, willingness to question authority, and irreverent sense of humour. Since we were more or less children ourselves when we became a pair, I rightly claim him as 'life partner', my 'fellow traveller' through our shared lives. He also became my literal fellow traveller as I worked on this book, visiting Weimar with me twice, on one occasion driving us through dangerous fog as we made our way to Weimar from Vienna one November day. He has also travelled with me through this book's manuscript, reading every word – twice – and shoring up my confidence as he did so. I dedicate this book to him as both my life partner and my driver, my patient listener, my reader, whose support all my adult life, as well as during a pandemic, has meant so much.

Preface/Vorwort

Why did so many British women travel to Germany and live there for months or years? This is the question I asked myself when I realised that three writers I had recently written about, Elizabeth Gaskell, George Eliot, and Amy Levy, had done so. Wondering how common such experiences were for women writers, I ventured on a tag search of Germany and 1800–1900 in the *Orlando* database of British women writers edited by Susan Brown, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy, having no idea what to expect. I was startled when some 625 hits suddenly appeared on the computer screen. Why had I never heard of women writers' interest in things German when it was so widespread? I was familiar with the attractions of France and Italy for Victorian women, but their attraction to Germany was a blank.¹ And thus was this project born.

The many reasons for Victorian women's travels and temporary residence in Germany cannot be reduced to a single purpose or goal, which ranged from tourism to boarding school or family arrangements and professional pursuits.² What stood out repeatedly for me among these women, however, were the progressive women writers drawn to Germany, to the German language, and to German social and cultural practices. In turn, their interchanges with Germany generated compelling works as a legacy for their Anglophone readers (and, sometimes through German translations, Germans as well). The ten women on whom I focus in this study – Anna Jameson, Mary Howitt, Anna Mary Howitt, Elizabeth Gaskell, George Eliot, Jessie Fothergill, Michael Field (Katharine Bradley and Edith Cooper), Amy Levy, Elizabeth von Arnim, and Vernon Lee disclosed a new nineteenth-century Germany to me, not the one imported to England by Thomas Carlyle, musicians in British concert halls, biblical scholars affected by German Higher Criticism, or late-century intellectuals immersed in aesthetic theory. The other Germany that drew progressive women to it was a land where middle-class British women could enjoy greater personal and intellectual freedoms in the 1830s and 1840s than

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they could back home; where throughout the years 1833–1908 German stimuli excited women's imaginations and opened new opportunities for women as professional writers. By the late 1870s, college-educated women like Levy and Michael Field were travelling as femes sole, discovering new German authors or cultural resources and extending the translation work of earlier women writers. From the late nineteenth century into the prewar years of the twentieth, von Arnim and Lee, living as British expatriates, began to develop the complex identities of twentieth-century and contemporary global citizens characterised by financially independent mobility and daily awareness of more than one culture and language.

Unquestionably cosmopolitanism is part of this story, and Anna Jameson's 1834 theorisation of female cosmopolitanism outlined in the Introduction would hold good for most if not all of her successor women writers my narrative examines. But rather than primarily a study of female cosmopolitanism, this book is a history of nineteenth-century progressive British women and how their experiences in Germany expanded their outlooks, mental tableaux, freedoms, and mobility. One of my overriding interests is seeking to understand how deep-seated cultural exchange occurs when it is impelled by German language facility (however great or minimal), openness to difference (hence the inevitable focus on progressive women), and onsite presence in German lands from northern Germany to Austria and the Swiss Bernese Alps - a concatenation of conditions that intensified these writers' awareness of being a woman, often alone, in a foreign land.³ Expatriates (like their unprivileged compatriots driven to become immigrants or refugees) have no choice but to enter into a foreign culture if they would not remain socially isolated. This entry, however, can also be a chosen path into greater learning – so that elements of this study anticipate women's participation in academic study abroad as well as global mobility. And in modelling open, deliberate cultural exchange with a culture different from their own, these women are potential teachers of readers and scholars today faced with the imperative of negotiating the inseparable elements of citizenship, multiple differences within nations, and global networks and awareness.