Bluestocking Feminism and British-German Cultural Transfer, 1750-1837

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Notes

Introduction


3. For a helpful summary of exchange terms, see Peter Burke, Cultural Hybridity (London: Polity, 2009).


7. See, e.g., Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds., Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Steven


22. Eger, 21, 209.


26. Latour, Reassembling the Social, 12.


30. Blackbourn, 305.

Chapter 1

1. I would like to thank the Herzog August Bibliothek for a fellowship that allowed me to complete the research for this chapter, and the publisher Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht for generous access to its archive.

2. Vormärz is the period in the German states after the defeat of Napoleon and before the March revolution of 1848; decrees restricting political activity and invoking censorship were passed in order to inhibit the spread of liberal and democratic ideas, especially those of writers associated with the “Young Germany” movement. That movement involved a group of authors who sought progressive social and judicial reforms and decried the apolitical, idealist stance of Romantic writers.


7. Maurer, 39.

8. B. Q. Morgan and A. R. Hohlfeld, German Literature in British Magazines 1750–1860 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 128, 130, 131; V. Stockley,


10. Maurer, 64–66.


12. Georg Forster is often called “George” Forster because for a time he grew up in England and with his father accompanied James Cook on his second voyage. See chapter 2.


15. Fabian, 165.


17. See, e.g., Abraham Vandenhoeck, Bibliopolium Vandenhoeckianum: or, a catalogue of books in most faculties and languages. Collected in Italy, France, Germany, England and Holland, by Abram. Vandenh To be sold (the Price being mark’d [at the beginning] of each Book) Monday the 14th [of December] 1730, at his Shop, at the Sign of Virgil’s Head opposite the New Church in the Strand (London, 1730).

18. A catalog of bookseller John Wilcox from 1735 announces that his sale will be held “at Virgil’s Head, opposite the New Church in the Strand, the shop which was Mr. Abraham Vandenhoeck’s who is gone to live at Hamburg”; John Wilcox, A catalogue of books, being The Libraries of A Right Reverend Prelate. Thomas Wickham, M. D. and J. Shaw, Attorney, deceas’d. Consisting Of many thousand Valuable Books in almost all Languages and Faculties (London, 1735).


23. Quoted in Ruprecht, 55.
25. See Fabian, 163, and Maurer, 41–44.
27. Bertoloni Meli, 473.
29. Bertoloni Meli, 472.
36. Rivière and Volmer, 66, 71.
38. Droysen 83–86.
40. Droysen 30, 32.
42. “In Anschauung des Standes wird . . . kein Unterschied gemacht; die Auffüh-

43. Maurer, 56.

44. This title does not appear on Lösel’s list.


47. Jerusalem, 10.


49. Morgan and Hohlfeld, esp. 128–74. Translations published around the turn of the century in the magazines and by Joseph Johnson will be discussed in the next chapter.


51. Fabian, 147.


55. “6 Pfund Silber und 1000 Taler” for the church, and “3000 Taler” for the widows’ fund (Lösel, 41).

56. Philippine Charlotte was careful with her money, which she managed herself. Her husband died with substantial debts, but Philippine Charlotte amassed a fortune of 730,000 Reichstaler. Her will shows that she distributed her money according to personal preference for her children. Anna Amalia and the divorced Elisabeth, with whom Philippine Charlotte never reconciled, got the least and contested the will (Münch, 55).


5. See Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (London: Polity, 2009), for a discussion of cultures that are “open” versus those that are more “closed” to others’ influences.


9. Elizabeth Carter, in addition to being an acclaimed poet, was also a noted translator; she rendered into English Francesco Algarotti’s *Il Newtonianismo per le dame* (first published in Italian 1737, English 1739), as well as *All the Works of Epictetus* (1758) from the Greek.

10. Given Michaelis’s protofeminism it would seem odd to read the preface against the grain and to suggest that anxiety about the feminine lay behind Michaelis’s failure to translate Carter’s “Ode to Wisdom,” yet this is what the only critic to analyze the translation at length has done. Thomas O. Beebee argues that Michaelis undertakes a “weak” translation, attempting to remain close to the text, and he is so unassertive that when he encounters Elizabeth Carter’s “Ode”—the words of an actual woman—he is debilitating: “women’s writing can appear only as an absolute difference, as the product of another race expressed in an alien language incapable of translation” (141). As I suggest, nothing we know of Michaelis’s biography, oeuvre, intentions, or translation practice can support such a conclusion. Beebee, *Clarissa on the Continent: Translation and Seduction* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).


13. Some feminist commentators endorse such an approach on the grounds that issues of gender inequality can be highlighted by such foreignizing methods; see Luise von Flotow, *Translation and Gender* (Manchester: St Jerome, 1997), esp. 8–9.


16. He writes in the preface: “Er hat gesucht die verschiedene Schreib-Art, die die Briefe der verschiedenen Personen unterscheidet, nachzuaehmen . . . Eine wörtliche Uebersetzung ist bey Büchern unangenehm, die vergnügen sollen: er hat daher die Freyheit gebraucht, die Worte im deutschen so zu setzen, wie sie seiner Meinung nach in dieser Sprache am besten lauteten” (a4–a5).


24. Möhle, 84.

25. For debates surrounding divorce in Britain even in the nineteenth century, see Anna Jameson’s attempts at reform (chapter 4); for an overview, see Lawrence Stone, *The Road to Divorce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Roderick Phillips, *Untying the Knot: A Short History of Divorce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

26. Möhle, 149. Meta Forkel wrote to the university court because this was the juridical body authorized to handle cases involving professors.


30. Christine Haug, “Diese Arbeit unterhält mich, ohne mich zu ermüden”:


34. Sherry Simon has documented how many female translators over the centuries “combined their interest in translation with progressive social causes.” Her group does not include Forkel or Wollstonecraft, but she argues that this focus is not coincidental, since these women all “understood that the transmission of significant literary texts was an essential, not an accessory, cultural task”; Simon, *Gender in Translation*, chap. 2, quotation at 40.


37. Forster’s efforts were even noted later in the British periodical *German Museum* 2 (1800): 453: “Other nations do, indeed, translate into their own language accounts of voyages and travels; but there is not one that has produced a collection so complete and judiciously selected, as the *Magazine of Voyages*, commenced by the late celebrated Forster, and still continued with critical care.”
38. Haug (see note 30). Cf. Roche, who says that Forster received from Voß up to fifteen Taler a sheet and that Forkel received up to five (“Völlig nach Fabrikenart,” in Reichardt and Roche (see note 36), 101–36, quotation 107–8).


42. Commentators focus on one paragraph from one letter of Forster to Voß (21 November 1791) in which Forster apologizes for errors in the Paine translation, and this is expanded upon and repeatedly invoked by critics (Georg Forster, *Georg Forsters Briefe an Christian Friedrich Voß*, ed. Paul Zincke [Dortmund: Verlag Rußfus, 1915], 103–4). But Voß was evidently seeking ways of avoiding trouble with the publication of a text that had been banned abroad, and carping about the translation offered a way of hiding his lack of courage to Forster, the left-leaning star whom he needed on his publishing list. Marie-Luise Spieckerman suggests this is “ein bloßer Vorwand” on the part of Voß (see “Dorothea Margareta Liebeskind,” 150). Nonetheless scholars from the 1950s to today have read the letter straight. Hans Arnold fails to evaluate Forkel’s work but says only that she was not up to the translation of Paine though he admits that she had also translated Ramsay and Volney for Forster, without explaining why the Paine would have been commissioned had her work been unacceptable: “Mit der Übersetzung Paines wurde dann aber doch Dorothea Margarethe Forkel, die spätere Frau Liebeskind, betraut, die für Forster auch Ramsays *History of the American Revolution* und Volneys *Ruines* übersetzte, sonst aber in englischen Romanen zu Hause war. Auch sie war ‘von dem Paine ganz bezaubert,’ nur leider—wie Forster, der wegen Arbeitsüberlastung nicht zu der beabsichtigten Revision kam, erst von Voss erfahren mußte—der Übersetzungsaufgabe nicht eben gewachsen” (Hans Arnold, “Die Aufnahme von Thomas Paines Schriften in Deutschland,” *PMLA* 74.4 [1959]: 365–86, quotation at 371). Forkel is mentioned at least five times in Forster’s correspondence with Voß, and this is the only instance in which any negative evaluation is made about her work; no other translator is scrutinized by scholars in this way. Other letters to Forster about the works translated by Forkel suggest that friends and correspondents appreciated them (see *Briefe 1790 bis 1791*).

Ludwig Uhlig says that Forster only commissioned the translation of Piozzi’s *Observations* from Forkel because she was his wife’s childhood friend and she needed money, and of course he had to do a thoroughgoing revision (“Freilich mußte er diese Übersetzung gründlich revidieren”) (Ludwig Uhlig, *Georg Forster: Lebensabenteuer eines gelehrten Weltbürgers* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004], 242).


47. See also Avi Lifschitz, “Translation in Theory and Practice: The Case of Johann David Michaelis’s Prize Essay on Language and Opinions (1759),” in Stockhorst, Cultural Transfer through Translation, 29–43.

48. Women sought to combat these forces; I argue in chapter 3 that reactions to Vesuvius demonstrate how later women sought to amend a typical Romantic view of transformation by advocating process-oriented approaches instead.


50. This is the same Duke who sponsored yearly Olympic-style games at Drehberg and undertook modernizing efforts on his estate at Wörlitz, described in the afterword.

51. J. C. F. GutsMuths, Gymnastik für die Jugend: Enthaltend eine praktische Anweisung zu Leibübungen (Schnepfenthal: Verlag der Erziehungsanstalt, 1793); the second edition is available in a modern reprint (Frankfurt: Wilhelm-Limbert Verlag, 1970). This was translated into English and published by Joseph Johnson in 1800; there were other editions in 1802 and 1803.

52. Christian Carl Andrée, Bildung der Töchter in Schnepfenthal (Göttingen: J. D. Dietrich, 1786); Kleine Wandrungen auch größere Reisen der weiblichen Zöglinge zu Schnepfenthal, um Natur, Kunst und den Menschen immer besser kennen zu lernen (Leipzig: Crusius, 1788). The first book was written in 1786, but published after the second.


55. Janet Todd, Mary Wollstonecraft: A Revolutionary Life (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000), 135–36; Taylor, Mary Wollstonecraft, 304. According to Thomas Laqueur, Salzmann may not only have convinced Wollstonecraft of the need to be candid with children about sexuality; his book Über die heimlichen Sünden der Jugend (On the Secret Sins of Youth, Frankfurt 1786) may have convinced her also that masturbation would induce physical and moral weakness; see Thomas W. Laqueur, Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation (New York: Zone Books, 2003), 54.

56. Ralph Wardle, Mary Wollstonecraft (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1951), 124–25. Since Wollstonecraft maintains Salzmann’s vivid story with the moral “Wie gut ist es, daß es reiche Leute in der Welt gibt!” (How happy it is that there are rich people in the world!), I would argue that Wollstonecraft’s attack on class distinctions in this work is weak at best. The alterations involving the mother figure are more substantial and revealing. Gary Kelly briefly discusses Wollstonecraft’s translation as “hack-work,” but he bases his treatment on Wardle’s comparison; Revolutionary Feminism: The Mind and Career of Mary Wollstonecraft (London: Macmillan, 1992), 77–78.
57. Ingrid-Charlotte Wolter, *Mary Wollstonecraft und Erziehung: Eine Erziehungskonzeption zur Entkulturation* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2008), 170. Wolter argues that in the *Elements of Morality*, as opposed to Wollstonecraft’s earlier writings, the family as a whole becomes the main character; by contrast I argue that Wollstonecraft’s emphasis on the mother-instructor figure suggests a continuity with her earlier educational stories and their sometimes severe female mentor figures.


59. Wollstonecraft, trans., *Elements of Morality* I. iii.

60. This process happened in the other direction as well; see Wilhelm Graeber and Geneviève Roche, *Englische Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in französischer Übersetzung und deutscher Weiterübersetzung: Eine kommentierte Bibliographie* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1988).

61. See Todd, 135.

62. *Livre Élémentaire de Morale. Avec une introduction pour s’en servir utilement; ouvrage traduit de l’allemand de M. Salzmann, Professeur & Prédicateur à l’Institut de Dessau* (Leipzig: chez Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1785), xi: “The characters in this book are for the most part German, because the author wrote principally for her nation. I have left them this way, not changing any of their customs, their way of thinking, or of their style. This will give pleasure to those readers who, free of national prejudices, like to acquaint themselves with people and habits different from those of their own country.”


64. For Wollstonecraft, gluttony ranks among the worst sins. In the *Original Stories*, Mrs. Mason, the mother figure, lectures young Caroline on it (IV:399–401), and in the *Vindication of the Rights of Men*, Wollstonecraft decries “drunken riot and beastly gluttony” (V:36).

65. The crime’s manifesting itself in the face of the servant suggests Wollstonecraft’s continued interest in reading physiognomy; see, for example, her translation of Johann Kasper Lavater, the Swiss pastor, poet, and physiognomist, and the *Cave of Fancy*. Moira Ferguson and Janet Todd discuss the connection in *Mary Wollstonecraft* (Boston: Twayne, 1984), 39. English interest in Lavater’s theories was long-standing; translations were consistently excerpted in British periodicals from 1775 to 1857; see Morgan and Hohlfeld, 139–323.

66. Thomas Holcroft, for example, in his translation of Madame de Genlis’s *Tales of the Castle* (1785), says in the “Advertisement” that to avoid offending British sensibilities “the incident of Doralice sucking the eyes of Eglantine . . . is omitted” since it would have “offended, even violently, the delicacy of an English reader.” Madame La Comtesse de Genlis, *Tales of the Castle: or, Stories of Instruction and Delight*, trans. Thomas Holcroft (London: G. Robinson, 1785), A4.

67. Salzmann’s version simply reads “greift die Arbeit frisch an, so werdet ihr immer vergnügt seyn, und gute Arndten werden euren Fleiß belohnen!” (135) (go to your work with vigor; in this way you will always be happy, and good harvests will repay your industry).


70. Wollstonecraft, Vindication of the Rights of Woman, 154.

71. Mary Wollstonecraft, Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, ed. Carol Poston (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 161.

72. In Salzmann’s version the father similarly points out that Luise has brought the punishment on herself, but he expresses compassion and emphasizes how much he wished to make his daughter happy: “Armes unglückliches Mädchen! sagte der Vater, bringst du dich nicht selbst um die grosse Freude, die ich dir itzo machen wollte?” (Poor unhappy girl! said the father, are you not denying yourself the great pleasure that I wanted to grant you?) So Wollstonecraft increases the pressure on the girl: the mother manipulates Mary emotionally, proffers a less substantial reason for doing so, and gives little indication of compassion for the girl—no sense that it is difficult for her to deny her daughter a pleasure to which the girl had so looked forward.


74. The Collected Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft, ed. Janet Todd (London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2003), 164. Janet Todd suggests in a footnote that the “German book” must be Salzmann’s, “which Wollstonecraft was translating and which took many months to appear in instalments” (n. 380, p. 164).


77. For a description of their three-month incarceration, see Johann Heinrich Liebeskind’s Rückkehrerinnerungen von einer Reise durch einen Teil von Deutschland, Preußen, Kurland und Livland—während des Aufenthaltes der Franzosen in Mainz und der Unruhen in Polen (Strasburg and Königsberg, 1795); also Klessmann, Universitätssamsellen.

78. The Monthly Register and Encyclopedian Magazine came out in three volumes during the years 1802–03; Crabb Robinson contributed three famous “Letters on the Philosophy of Kant from an undergraduate at the University of Jena.”


80. J. C. F. GutsMuths, *Gymnastik für die Jugend. Enthaltend eine praktische Anweisung zu Leibübungen. Ein Beitrag zur nötigsten Verbesserung der körperlichen Erziehung. Von GutsMuths, Erzieher zu Schneipenthal.* (Schneipenthal: Im Verlage der Buchhandlung der Erziehunganstalt, 1793); *Gymnastics for youth: or a practical guide to healthful and amusing exercises for the use of schools. An essay toward the necessary improvement of Education, Chiefly as it relates to the Body; freely translated from the German of C. G. Salzmann, Master of the Academy at Schneipenthal, and Author of Elements of Morality. Illustrated with copper plates* (London: J. Johnson, 1800); note that in the English edition the work is misattributed to Salzmann—in a footnote the translator admits that the name GutsMuths appears on the title page, but he assumes that this is a pseudonym (89).


82. Tyson, 140; Braithwaite, 162.


91. Lempa, 84.


94. For an overview, see Leonard, on whom I have drawn in the outline below.


96. GutsMuths’s predecessor at the Schneipenthal school, Christian Carl André,
published in the 1780s Education of Daughters in Schnepfenthal (Bildung der Töchter in Schnepfenthal [Göttingen: J. D. Dieterich, 1789]); and Small Hikes as well as longer trips of the female pupils at Schnepfenthal, for the purpose of increasing their knowledge of Nature, Art, and Human Beings (Kleine Wandringen auch größere Reisen der weiblichen Zöglinge zu Schnepfenthal, um Natur, Kunst und den Menschen immer besser kennen zu lernen [Leipzig: Crusius, 1788]).


99. Christiane Eisenberg, for one, has argued that German gymnastics failed to enter British physical culture because of a British Sonderweg—an earlier industrialization and emphasis on the privatized individual—which, she suggests, forestalled the absorption of German influence. Oddly enough she comes to this conclusion after detailing the various inroads into British physical culture made by Clas, Carl Voelcker, and others, as well as the substantial impact of the German Gymnastics Club in London. Although I take issue with Eisenberg’s claim about a British Sonderweg in this context, there is no reason to contest her larger claim that Germany absorbed British-style sport to a greater extent than Britain absorbed German gymnastics; Christiane Eisenberg, “‘German Gymnastics’ in Britain, or the Failure of Cultural Transfer,” in Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660–1914, ed. Stefan Manz, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, and John R. Davis (Munich: Saur, 2007, 131–46). See also Eisenberg, ‘English Sports’ und deutsche Bürger: Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte 1800–1939 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999). On the Sonderweg Eisenberg cites, see Bernd Weisbrod, “Der englische ‘Sonderweg’ in der neueren Geschichte,” GG 16 (1990): 233–52; Hermann Wellenreuther, “England und Europa: Überlegungen zum Problem des englischen Sonderwegs in der europäischen Geschichte,” in Liberalitas, ed. Norbert Finzsch and Hermann Wellenreuther (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 89–123; Perry Anderson, “Components of the National Culture,” New Left Review 50 (1968): 3–20.

100. This book, in tune with GutsMuths’s increasingly politicized commitment to liberty, is dedicated to the free cities of “Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, und ihren weisen, väterlich gesinnten Senaten aus Gefühl patriotischer Hochschätzung.”

101. Tyson, 182–83; Braithwaite, 148, 152.

Chapter 3


2. One antecedent of such a view was a liberal Enlightenment notion of historical progress, which posited that conflict or rebellion was required for new growth. Thomas Jefferson, writing from Paris to William Smith in 1787, mused: “what signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time


7. An interesting and perhaps unique antecedent is Martin Opitz, who had used Vesuvius to comment upon the Thirty Years’ War following the eruption of 1632 in his didactic poem “Vesuvius” (1633); see Barbara Becker-Cantarino, *Martin Opitz: Studien zu Werk und Person* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1982), esp. 65–82.


10. Sontag’s representation has its basis in fact, as many travelers to Naples described their invitations to the Hamiltons’ in such terms. Duchess Anna Amalia equated the vases and Emma, calling Hamilton’s wife and his Etruscan cabinet “zwey seltene Gegenstände” that made his abode the more appealing. Emma does the “Attitudes” as if by magic: “sie bewirck dieses Zauber Werck durch das einfache Mittel ihres Shawls u ihres schönen Haares”; Anna Amalia, *Brieve über Italien* (St. Ingbert: Röhricht Universitätsverlag, 1999), 50. The Comtesse de Boigne emphasized that no one could possibly imitate Emma: “pour égaler son succès, il faut commencer par être parfaitement belle de la tête aux pieds”; *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne*, ed. M. Charles Nicoulaud, 14th ed., 3 vols. (Paris: Plon, 1907), 1:115. Elisabeth Vigée Lebrun, who painted Emma, wrote: “Nothing, indeed, was more remarkable than the ease Lady Hamilton acquired in spontaneously giving her features an expression of sorrow or of joy, and of posing marvelously to represent different people. Her eyes a-kindle, her hair flying, she showed you a bewitching bacchante; then, all of a sudden, her face expressed grief, and you saw a magnificent repentant Magdalen”;

11. Germaine de Staël, Corinne, or Italy, trans. Sylvia Raphael, intro. John Isbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). Bad omens accompany their “perilous” approach through the “pestilential” Pontine Marshes to the city, where the aloe plant inspires “fear” and the ocean “terror,” where Oswald is “on fire” even before he climbs Vesuvius, and a cloud covers the moon, a “fatal” portent that returns as Corinne dies at the end of the story (187–91, 404). The environment around Vesuvius “reminds one of hell,” and the mountain holds “an independent force” that threatens or protects human beings “according to unfathomable laws” (193–94).


15. Bell, 49, 25; see also 30, 48–49.


17. Barbara Korte, English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations, trans. from the German by Catherine Matthias (London: Macmillan; and New York: St. Martin’s, 2000), 126. Already in 1724 Mary Astell had commended Mary Wortley Montagu’s Turkish Letters for demonstrating “to how much better purpose the Lady’s Travel than their Lords”; see Ruth Perry, The Celebrated Mary Astell: An Early English Feminist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 275–77.


24. Grant F. Scott, “The Fragile Image: Felicia Hemans and Romantic Ekphrasis,” in Sweet and Melnyk, Felicia Hemans, 96–54, quotation at 50. That hint of skepticism, as well as the role of the artist, serve to distinguish this poem from Percy Shelley’s “Ozymandias,” which also emphasizes the return of a monument to dust and questions the potency of the despot. Shelley depends on the role of the artist in creating the image that gives the face and gives the poem its meaning—the irony would be lost without the sneering visage fallen to the sands—whereas in Hemans the implication is that the woman, anonymous and representative of all mothers, transformed into a monument by chance, creates meaning that would exist even unobserved, not monumentalized by the power of the volcano or the poet. See Isobel Armstrong, “Natural and National Monuments—Felicia Hemans’s ‘The Image in Lava’: A Note,” in Sweet and Melnyk, Felicia Hemans, 212–30.
25. The ending of the novel is ambiguous and scholars disagree on the extent to which Shelley intends to convey human annihilation.
36. Goethe, vol. 15/pt. I:209–10. Men who were not able to experience the crater and eruptions deeply regretted it. Robert Gray pined, “What a sublime sight must they afford!”; Robert Gray, Letters During the Course of a Tour through Germany, Switzerland and Italy, in the Years 1791 and 1792 with Reflections on the Manners, Literature, and Religion of those Countries (London: F. and C. Rivington, 1794), 419. Lady Anne Miller’s husband managed “with great fatigue and difficulty, [to gain] the mouth of the crater; but the wind setting in his face, he was obliged to descend without being able to look down into it”; Lady Anne “prevailed with him not to attempt it a second time, though he alleged he had not seen it to his liking”; Lady Anne Riggs Miller, Letters from Italy, Describing the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Paintings, &c. of that Country, In the Years 1770 and 1771 to a Friend residing in France. By an English Woman, 2nd ed., rev. and corrected, 2 vols. (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1777), 1/2:2145.
40. I thank John Brewer for alerting me to the account of Sir William Drummond.
See Richard Hamblyn, “Private Cabinets and Popular Geology: The British Audiences for Volcanoes in the Eighteenth Century,” in Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830, ed. Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 179–205. Hamblyn helpfully explains the shifting notions of scientific professionalism in this period of gentlemen virtuosi, geology buffs, and eventually specialized naturalists. He also elucidates the debate between Neptunists and Vulcanists, a significant discussion I unfortunately do not have the space to treat here.


42. Cf. Noah Heringman, “The Style of Natural Catastrophes,” Huntington Library Quarterly 66 (2003): 97–133, who argues that English scientists (Hamilton and Humphry Davy), like Piozzi, recognized their incapacity to fathom nature, a claim of which I am unconvinced. Their realization, according to Heringman, can be read in their recourse to aesthetic discourses to describe disasters: “The style of natural catastrophes derives its aesthetic character from the recognition that these phenomena mark a limit to the domestication of nature.” Though Heringman notes that the poet he finds most influential on these scientists uses feminine metaphors—womb and birth—to describe the earth and disaster, Heringman does not analyze gender, nor does he take account of travel literature.


44. Mariana Starke, Letters from Italy, between the years 1792 and 1798, Containing a View of the Revolutions in that Country, 2 vols. (London: R. Phillips, 1800), 2:131. Starke’s complete account reads: “At Resina we got upon mules, who carried us to the Cross, from whence we walked to the Crater, aided by our Guides. (A stout stick and a pair of boots are likewise necessary appendages to this excursion.) After having examined the Crater, and then refreshed ourselves at the Hermitage upon Vesuvius, we descended to Resina.”

45. Lady Morgan, Italy. A New Edition, 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1821), 3:167. Lady Morgan was a writer well versed in the language of landscape aesthetics and its gendered character, especially evident in her biography of the artist Salvator Rosa, whose destructive sublime landscapes she contrasts with the representations of Claude and Poussin. See Mellor, Romanticism and Gender, 98.

46. Friederike Brun, Prosaische Schriften (Zurich: Orell, Fuessli und Compagnie, 1800), 4:350–51: “edle Gedanken der Unsterblichkeit,” “der Unzerrnbarkeit moralischer Wesen,” “Rührend ist das schüchtern aufkeimende, junge Leben der Vegetazion in den alten Lava massen.” Only one woman’s account I have seen could be said to convey true enthusiasm about viewing the crater. See Catherine Wilmot, who nonetheless nearly “fainted with fright” and is at pains to underscore how extraordinary her ascent is for a woman; An Irish Peer on the Continent (1801–1803), ed. Thomas U. Sadleir (London: Willimans and Norgate, 1920), 150–52. Mary Berry demonstrates some interest by measuring the crater, but focuses on the picnic she enjoyed at the edge of it; Mary Berry, Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the Year 1783 to 1852, ed. Lady Theresa Lewis, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1865), 1:91.

47. Staël, Corinne, or Italy, 226–227.

48. Staël, Corinne, or Italy, 225.

49. Chard, 184.


52. Moore, A View of Society and Manners in Italy, 2:210–11.


55. This had occurred in 1785; see Dupaty’s Mémoire justificatif pour trois hommes condamnés à la roue (Paris: Philippe-Denys Pierrres, 1786).


57. Thomas P. Saine, Georg Forster (New York: Twayne Publishers 1972), 102. Forster died before the last volume, concerning the trip to England and France, was composed and published.

58. Georg Forster, Ansichten vom Niederrhein (Berlin: Voss, 1791), 121–22: “und meines Erachtens erreicht man besser seinen Endzweck, indem man wieder erzählt, was man bei einem Kunstwerke empfand und dachte, also, wie und was es bewirkte, als wenn man es ausführlich beschreibt. . . Durch diese Fortpflanzung der Empfindungen ahnden wir dann,—nicht wie das Kunstwerk wirklich gestaltet war,—aber gleichwohl, wie reich oder arm es seyn musste, um diese oder jene Kräfte zu äussern” (emphasis in original).


60. For Forster’s pictorial approach to discourses of revolution, see Rolf Reichardt, “Die visualisierte Revolution: Die Geburt des Revolutionärs Georg Forster aus der politischen Bildlichkeit,” Forster-Studien 5 (2000): 163–227; also Ludwig Uhlig, who argues that the volcano was more than a metaphor to Forster the scientist, for whom the natural-historical analogy indicated how contending powers play themselves out; Georg Forster: Lebensabenteuer eines gelehrten Weltbürgers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 296.


62. Shelley’s Frankenstein is itself a travel account composed of Walton’s letters to his sister.
63. Anna Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826), in *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad with Tales and Miscellanies* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1834), IV:149. Further citations will appear parenthetically in the text. Jameson’s text, her first work, is like Stael’s *Corinne* a combination of fiction and nonfiction, of which, Judith Johnston writes, “the strongest, most vital elements . . . are the predominating non-fictional passages”; *Anna Jameson: Victorian, Feminist, Woman of Letters* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 1, see also 23, 101–3. Jameson herself said that “the intention was not to create an illusion, by giving to fiction the appearance of truth, but, in fact, to give to truth the air of fiction” (from *Loves of the Poets*, xi, quoted in Johnston. 57, 102). Whether Jameson might have fictionalized some of the account of the ascent—which may be true of Dupaty and many other writers of the period—interests me less than how she finally represented the experience.


66. Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, Volume One 1500–1800* (London: Fontana Press, 1997), 19: “a deep chasm opened up between the culture of the rich and comfortable (mannered society) and the rest, between the informed and the ignorant, between high and popular culture, and these differences were as conspicuous as the disparities in their material lives.” See also Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), esp. 112–17. Cf. Robert B. Shoemaker, who does not even see in class a foolproof distinction; for England “class is . . . not the best principle along which to organise a study of gender” since “gender roles also cross social divides”; Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650–1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Longman, 1998), 12.


68. Laura Strumingher, “The Vésuviennes: Images of Women Warriors in 1848 and Their Significance for French History,” *History of European Ideas* 8 (1987): 451–88, quotation at 485; the best-known cartoons were produced by Edouard de Beaumont in *Le Charivari*. A few working-class women sought to rehabilitate the image
for feminist ends; they even wrote a manifesto and feminized the volcano: “The lava contained for so long a period of time, and which must eventually spread out round us, is not at all incendiary; it is completely regenerative” (454). Also Claire Goldberg Moses, French Feminism in the 19th Century (Albany: SUNY Press, 1984), chap. 6; Karen Offen, European Feminisms 1700–1950: A Political History (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), chap. 5.


70. Margaret Kelleher, “Woman as Famine Victim: The Figure of Woman in Irish Famine Narratives,” in Lentin, Gender and Catastrophe, 241–54, quotation at 251.


76. Anne Mellor argues that for women writers the masculine sublime is brought indoors in the form of male predatoriness and tyranny. Women writers who grew up in the sublime landscapes of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland felt at home there and represented the landscape as a “female friend, a sister, with whom they share their most intimate experiences and with whom they cooperate in the daily business of life, to the mutual advantage of each” (Romanticism and Gender, 85–106). See also Barbara Freeman, The Feminine Sublime: Gender and Excess in Women’s Fiction (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Vesuvius, however, is not a friend or a nurturing feminine presence, but rather an obstruction that unequivocally presents sublime horror. While, as Elizabeth Bohls has argued, women writers cherished the sublime as an aesthetic category (15) and the Vesuvius accounts affirm this, female travel-narrators nonetheless posited an alternative to the masculine sublime, rejecting the solitary confrontation with the obstacle and embracing a social and rational response.

77. For an account of Bluestocking interest in the sublime, see Samuel Monk, The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in 18th-Century England (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1935), 212–21. Monk speculates that women’s different approach, which he actually sees as more thoroughly “romantic” and especially to be discerned in the gothic, can be traced to their lack of classical education: “They were therefore, by virtue of their sex, somewhat outside the tradition” (216).

78. As far as I have been able to determine, female artists chose not to represent Vesuvius erupting. To be sure, there are standard views of Naples with Vesuvius in the background, as, for example, in typical souvenir vistas of the city, or portraits that locate the sitter by offering a view of the volcano through a window. But I have as yet found no formal works by women that concentrate on the volcano alone erupting. There is one informal exception: a student’s attempt to copy the work of Hackert. I am referring to a watercolor of Eliza Gore, Eruption of Vesuvius (1775). She and her sister Emily, both talented artists, accompanied their father to Italy; it is not clear
whether they joined him on his trip with Philipp Hackert and Richard Payne Knight to Sicily. Charles Gore was so interested in the German artist that, when invited to move to Weimar in 1791, he did so. Eliza’s work was displayed and admired there. The Gores were active members in the cultural community and lived in the Jägerhaus. Eliza Gore died in Weimar in 1802; Charles Gore died there in 1807, and the family’s estate came to the Weimar library in 1811. (Rolf Bothe and Ulrich Haussmann, Goethes “Bildergalerie”: Die Anfänge der Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar [Berlin: G + H Verlag, 2002], 108–9, 265–67. Eliza Gore’s picture of Vesuvius is reproduced but mislabeled on page 265; it apparently should have appeared under number 44 on page 266.)

Otherwise I have sought in vain for women’s representations of Vesuvius erupting, even though many female artists from northern Europe lived and studied in Italy. As in the portraits of Vigée Lebrun, to which I have alluded, the smoking volcano generally forms part of a backdrop for a different subject. Duchess Wilhelmine of Bayreuth may have made a sketch in 1755, but this is contested and in any case it served as an amateur’s journal entry, not a work of art to be sold and displayed. See Helke Kammerer-Grothaus, “‘Voyage d’Italie’ (1755): Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth im Königreich Neapel,” in Wilhelmine und Friedrich II. und die Antiken, by Helke Kammerer-Grothaus and Detlev Kreikenbom (Stendal: Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, 1998), 7–41, see 14–15. Cornelia Knight undertook landscape drawings and watercolors when she lived in Naples, but the only pictures she published were of the Roman countryside in Latium. Though it feels premature to conclude definitively, my sense is that women did not draw the erupting mountain because they felt no interest in staying at the edge of the crater long enough to do so.

79. Barbara Maria Stafford notes that these representations should be distinguished from the “studies produced by professional or amateur volcanologists” because “their purpose is ostentatious display of artistic effects rather than probing scrutiny”; Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1840 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), 249.

80. It has been suggested that J. M. W. Turner’s revolutionary use of lighting effects was itself prompted by volcanic ash: the eruption of the Indonesian volcano Tambora in 1815 threw ash into the atmosphere, and the resulting hazy sunsets inspired Turner’s atmospheric representations. I thank my colleague Ken Verosub for alerting me to this theory; see Clive Oppenheimer, “Climatic, Environmental and Human Consequences of the Largest Known Historic Eruption: Tambora Volcano (Indonesia) 1815,” Progress in Physical Geography 27.2 (2003): 230–59, 244.


82. Victoria C. Gardner Coates, “Making History: Pliny’s Letters to Tacitus and Angelica Kauffmann’s Pliny the Younger and His Mother at Misenum,” in Pompeii in the Public Imagination, ed. Shelley Hales and Joanna Paul (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 48–61. Gardner Coates suggests that Kauffmann “was not particularly accomplished at landscape painting” and would therefore not have depicted an erupting volcano (58, n23), but since Kauffmann has chosen to depict it in the background I think it more likely that she consciously wishes to demote the eruption in favor of a focus on human ties and the ways historiography, written or painted, facilitates human connections through time.

83. Kauffmann’s art has sometimes been explained as woman-centered because
she often painted for female patrons, but in this instance the picture was done for George Bowles, so the patron’s sex is unlikely to have followed that pattern. Another picture from the group of three to which this painting belongs represents Cornelia as an ideal mother.


86. Lalande, 7:210: “cette lave du Vésuve a été un préservatif heureux contre l’injure des temps & le pillage des Barbares.” I thank John Brewer for informing me that the Vesuvius account in Lalande’s volumes was actually written by the geologist Dolomieu.

87. Piozzi, 2:34–35. Göran Blix associates this type of view with a Romantic French archeological understanding of history and a new perception of lost worlds, but since the writings of an earlier English woman anticipate such an outlook, it seems desirable to probe this perspective in a broader European context with attention to gender; see Blix, *From Paris to Pompeii: French Romanticism and the Cultural Politics of Archaeology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), esp. 158–74.

88. See also Thomas Watkins, who, standing on the same spot as Piozzi, could only imagine future tourists viewing, not his demise, but that of other nearby cities; *Travels through Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, the Greek Island, to Constantinople. in the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell, 1792), 1:419.

Chapter 4

1. I would like to thank Barbara Schaff for the opportunity to present an early version of this chapter at the University of Göttingen, and Frank Kelleter for discussions that inspired my undertaking the topic in the first place.


9. Editions appeared in 1838 (England), 1839 (North America), 1839 (Germany), 1852 (popular abridgment titled *Sketches in Canada and Rambles Among the Redmen*), then reissued at least a dozen times in the twentieth century and twice in the twenty-first (2002, 2008).


11. In a letter to Ottilie von Goethe of 20 April 1839, written from Dresden, Jameson talks about “the Irish rebels—or louses which is a better & a truer word”; quoted by permission of the Goethe and Schiller Archive, Weimar, Germany, GSA 40/VIII, 5. This is an unpublished part of the letter Needler excerpts as #70 in his edition: G. H. Needler, ed., *Letters of Anna Jameson to Ottilie von Goethe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939). Suggesting Denis Brownell Murphy’s participation among the United Irishmen is Adele Ernststrom: “They made the first of several moves when they left Ireland for Whitehaven in 1798, fleeing suppression of the United Irishmen to which Denis Murphy had belonged. Murphy’s Irish Jacobinism, and his nationalism, very likely influenced the outlook of his eldest daughter whose precocious gifts he encouraged”; “The Afterlife of Mary Wollstonecraft and Anna Jameson’s *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, Women’s Writing* 4.2 (1997): 277–96, 284. An unsubstantiated claim is also made in the introduction of G. H. Needler’s edition of the *Letters*.


15. See Karen O’Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), who shows how, in terms of women’s “political and civil rights, the period from the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century was one of no progress; indeed, there is evidence that the property rights of widows and married women actually declined during this period” (9). See also O’Brien’s explanation of women’s place in “conjectural history” (68–109), which, as I argue, Jameson seeks to refute.

16. Christa Zeller Thomas, “‘I shall take to translating’: Transformation, Translation and Transgression in Anna Jameson’s *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Cana-


18. Jameson, Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, 3 vols. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), 30–36, quotation at 33. Further citations will appear parenthetically in the text, with the page number preceded by WS.


20. Letter to Ottilie von Goethe, 1 June 1837, in Letters, ed. Needler, 93; also Letter to Dennis Brownell Murphy, 21 June 1837, quoted in Letters and Friendships, ed. Erskine, 154. Both letters were written from Niagara Falls.


22. For an extended discussion of Jameson’s shifting tone toward the First Nations people, from being uninformed and stereotypical to being more nuanced and informed by her own experience, see Wendy Roy, Maps of Difference: Canada, Women, and Travel (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005), 39–46. Jennifer Henderson has a less positive reading, relying on a Foucauldian approach, and argues that Jameson furthered “governmental strategies” (12, 15), inscribing “the subtle technologies designed to cultivate forms of selfhood and habits of conduct suitable to a liberal political order” (10). She argues that Jameson, interested in theater, does this by seeing Canada as an empty stage on which female selfhood can act itself out. Canada, the “arctic zone,” becomes a Foucaultian heterotopia, “a training-ground for the self-governing woman” (84). Although she helpfully inserts Jameson’s Canadian sojourn into the context of Canadian politics, she then limits the effects of Jameson’s work to its impact on Canada. Moreover, Henderson never defines more specifically what the “governmental strategies” she repeatedly invokes actually are. Such a concentration obscures the extent to which the “heterotopia” becomes, not just a template for Canada, but a means of critiquing British international policy, something that in turn calls into question the formidable nets of Foucauldian discipline to which Henderson clings so tenaciously.


27. Needler, Letters, 104.


32. Ferdinand Gustav Kühne, Portraits und Silhouetten (Hannover: Kius Verlag, 1843), 176–77.


34. Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung I, nr. 149 (Mittwoch, 29 Mai 1839): 602–4; “doch trägt sie kein Bedenken, die Erklärung hinzuzufügen, daß im Ganzen Englands fehlerhafte Colonialregierung an der übeln Lage Schuld sei, in welcher diese schönen Provinzen sich befinden... Mangel an echter Theilnahme, Mangel an richtiger Beurtheilung der Verhältnisse und Mangel an tieferer Einsicht in die Bedürfnisse des Landes haben bewirkt, daß es trotz seiner natürlichen Entwicklungsfähigkeit doch bis jetzt dürftig bevölkert und arm geblieben ist und seine Kräfte nicht auf eine ihnen entsprechende Weise entfaltet hat.”


37. This is a compilation of short reports that first appeared 1835–37 in the Zeitung für die elegante Welt, later reprinted in Portraits und Silhouetten (Hannover: Kius, 1843).

38. Zeitung für die elegante Welt 35, Nr. 206 (19 October 1835): 824; Portraits und Silhouetten, 174. Vol. 35 (1835) of the Elegante Welt also contains a lengthy excerpt from Jameson’s Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad, “Errinnerungen an Dresden,” translated by D. Vogel, published over several issues (numbers 61–68), which demonstrates the interest of Germans in a foreigner’s views of their country.


40. The translation of Jameson’s Shakespeare book enjoyed enthusiastic reviews
in German journals; the Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung lauded the efficient explication and substantial content of Jameson’s slim octavo volume (“es ist in diesem mäßigen Octavbande gewiß eben so viel Kern als in manchem fünfbändigen Commentar zu Shakspere” [there is certainly as much substance in this modest octavo volume as in some five-volume criticisms of Shakespeare]), applauded Jameson’s emphasis on Imogen in Cymbeline, and found Jameson’s interpretation of Lady Macbeth superior to August Wilhelm Schlegel’s (“[es] urtheilt die Verf. weit richtiger als A. W. Schlegel” [the author judges far more correctly than A. W. Schlegel]). By the mid-nineteenth century there were three different translations of Jameson’s book. Thomas Lowndes, in the Bibliographer’s Manual of English Literature, felt compelled to annotate his list with the comment “these three rival translations of Mrs. Jameson’s Characteristics of the Women of Shakespeare are evidence of the great popularity of the work in Germany” (italics in original).


42. Needler, ed., Letters, 108, 113, 118. Ottilie gave Kühne a binder, complete with lock and key, for notes about Ireland which, however, he ultimately used to collect love poems to his wife; Kühne, Lebensbild und Briefwechsel, 149–50.

43. Needler, Letters, 180; Jameson sent another account of the “State of Ireland” on 22 December 1856 (214).

44. Ottilie von Goethe to Anna Jameson, 15 November 1853, GSA XXI/1169. All citation from this source are quoted by permission of the Goethe- and Schiller Archive, Weimar.


46. Ottilie von Goethe to Anna Jameson, Venice, 18 February 1856. GSA XXI/1169.

47. Kühne, Lebensbild und Briefwechsel, 179.

48. See, e.g., Ottilie von Goethe to Anna Jameson, Vienna 9 May 1855, GSA XXI/1169. “I received your Sisters of Charity . . . what is irish in you, comes more out in this. Pereira wishes very much to read it, but I could not give it to her, as I had given it to the Duchess of Acesenza to read.” Also 29 May 1855 (Pereira has read Sisters) and 29 December 1855 (Ottilie’s son Wolf has taken the Sisters to Rome so that Jameson’s niece Gerardine can read it).

49. Jameson SCCL, x–xi.

50. See also her Commonplace Book in which she writes, “I firmly believe that as the influences of religion are extended, and as civilization advances, those qualities which are now admired as essentially feminine will be considered as essentially human” (85). In the meantime she notes her difference from Harriet Martineau: “she insists that there is no sexual distinction in mind—I think there is—is mind altogether independent of organization?” (letter of Jameson to Lady Byron, 24 September 1843; quoted in Thomas, Love and Work Enough, 157).

51. Although Jameson does not name Mary Wollstonecraft as her inspiration, there is debate whether she is the figure mentioned by Jameson as a martyr who “has not died without lifting up a voice of eloquent and solemn warning.” Johnston doubts
this (Anna Jameson, 198–99); however, Adele M. Ernstrom argues that, because Wollstonecraft’s reputation so suffered from William Godwin’s Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Woman, feminists in the first half of the nineteenth century, including Jameson, did not mention her directly but nonetheless were deeply influenced by her work; “The Afterlife of Mary Wollstonecraft and Anna Jameson’s Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada,” Women’s Writing 4.2 (1997): 277–97.

52. I trace a utopian feminist tradition beginning as early as Christine de Pizan in my article “Feminism and Utopianism,” in The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature, ed. Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 174–99. Adele Ernstrom has argued that Jameson’s utopianism may have been influenced by utopian socialism; I agree that it was likely fueled by it, but that the unmistakable echoes of earlier feminists, seen in the specific areas of concern and the manner of her arguments, links her to a longer feminist tradition; Ernstrom, “Afterlife of Mary Wollstonecraft,” 289.

53. For a discussion of the cosmopolitanism of Enlightenment women writers, see my Women’s Utopias of the Eighteenth Century, esp. 131–55.

54. Thomas Gerry sees this impulse in Jameson’s artistic representations of her Canadian travels in “I am translated’ Anna Jameson’s Sketches and Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada,” Journal of Canadian Studies 25.4 (1990–91): 34–49. Reproductions and discussions of her sketches and watercolors can also be found in Wendy Roy, Maps of Difference, 64–82.


57. 6 January 1854, GSA XXI/1:169.


59. Adele N. Ernstrom, in “The Afterlife of Mary Wollstonecraft and Anna Jameson’s Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada,” argues that in this Jameson is operating within a Roussean discourse of the noble savage and the corrupting influence of civilization, in the manner of Mary Wollstonecraft, who ascribed the “corruption within civilization as a result of courtly culture and the influence of commerce” (288). However, while I agree that Jameson reveres Mary Wollstonecraft, Jameson carefully differentiates between aspects of “savage” life she finds noble and aspects she does not, and she does not decry commerce. In fact, she praises U.S. cities (e.g., Buffalo and Detroit) for their vitality and trade as opposed to Canadian cities, which she often describes as listless and underdeveloped (II:78–80, II:313–15). Hence I have emphasized Jameson’s distinction between civilization, an ideal—informed by ethics and Christian virtues—and modernization, a reality based on exploitation and heartless system that she critiques vehemently.

60. Diary 310, quoted in Thomas, Love and Work Enough, 35.


62. For an analysis of the range of the reviews, see Thomas, Love and Work Enough, 139–43.

63. Needler, Letters, 163–64; emphasis in original.

64. Thomas, Love and Work Enough, 209.

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45; see also Umbach, Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany, 1740–1806 (London: Hambledon Press, 2000). Umbach’s work informs the following discussion.


5. The park at Wörlitz has been named a UNESCO site; the volcano was restored in 2005 and reignited with much festivity, including performances of Lady Emma Hamilton’s Attitudes in the Villa Hamilton. These can be viewed online. See Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorf, Kunsthistorisches Journal einer fürstlichen Bildungsreise nach Italien 1765/66, trans. from the French and ed. Ralf-Torsten Speler (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001).


9. GutsMuths, 63.


15. Biskup, 147.