Perceptions of Germany in British Travel Literature

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By

Dimitrios Kassis

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the loving memory of my grandmother, who always stood by my side.

ABSTRACT

As part of the "beaten track", Germany did not conform to the Grand Tourist ideals of eighteenth-century British travellers that were influenced by the spirit of the Enlightenment, and, therefore, sought to trace vestiges of the Greco-Roman cultural tradition in their ventures across the continent. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the German landscape becomes the central theme of British travel discourse, marking the gradual shift of focus from the "saturated" image of classical Greece to the rediscovery of the Old Germanic culture of the sagas.

Driven by an antiquarian interest in the German context, British travellers discover Germany in the wake of the nineteenth century, when the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire does not only signal French expansionism in protestant Europe but also stimulates the appetite of the Victorians for the exploration of the German culture in an attempt to define themselves as a pure Teutonic stock.

Given the strenuous struggle of German thinkers to deal with the feelings of humiliation and shame caused by the Napoleonic rule and, in view of a potential Gallicisation, nineteenth-century Germans master the fields of comparative philology and Northern antiquarianism to transform their political weakness into a new cultural paradigm that does not only foster pan-Germanism through the rediscovery of the folk tales and legends of their medieval tradition but also ascribe to Germany a superior spiritual role, which is later incorporated into the racial discourses of Germany and Britain.

This book is concerned with the views of British travel writers, focusing on travel narratives produced from 1794 until 1845. The purpose of this volume is to shed light on the instances which pertain to the representation of Germanness in relation to the British national context.

INTRODUCTION

The present volume concentrates on British perceptions of Germany since the late eighteenth-century and it encompasses a significant amount of travelogues penned until the mid-nineteenth century. In this volume, Germany is explored as a travel destination in order to address several issues related to the rise of the English and German nationalist movements.

Since the outbreak of the French Revolution and the continuation of the European conflicts during the Napoleonic Wars, Germany occupied a prevalent position as the epicentre of European war expeditions and was often regarded as antithetical to the Arcadian perspective which British travellers sought to ascribe to their voyages. Positioned in Continental Europe, Germany was neither an island nor a sequestered spot. Therefore, as a travel destination, it did not accord with the standards set by Grand Tourists at the close of the eighteenth century. As a result, Germany did not fare well as an off the beaten track location, given its proximity to Britain.

Notwithstanding its seminal geopolitical position, which did not render a German tour popular with British travellers, Germany possessed some advantages in contrast to the more Arcadian or utopian loci of the remote corners of Europe such as the Swiss Alps or Scandinavia: it was Martin Luther´s motherland, where the Reformation had commenced prior to the formation of the Anglican Church, a fact which encouraged some British travellers to undertake a journey to the sites which were historically linked to Luther´s defiance of the Catholic Church in a form of pilgrimage, given British emphasis on Protestantism as an indispensable factor of the nation-building agenda of the mid and late-nineteenth century. According to Robert Young, Britishness "was always closely identified with English Protestant values" (21), treating Catholicism and other religious doctrines as threat to the prosperity of the British Empire.

In addition to the connection of Germany to the introduction of Protestantism in Britain, which further enhanced the view of the Britons as an Anglo-Saxon race, distanced from the Catholic kingdom of France, travel discourse on Germany acquired a new form towards the close of the eighteenth century. As claimed by Dimitrios Kassis, during the Enlightenment

travel discourse revolved around a supposed dichotomy between the civilised South and the barbaric North which was not only based on the cultural differences between the two European zones but also relied on the climate theory, which relied on the Aristotelian premise that a cold climate also negatively impacts the natural and intellectual properties of the inhabitants of northern latitudes (2).

Moreover, the myth of Ultima Thule which coalesced with the ancient Greek hypothesis on a wasteland away from Continental Europe, impregnated with eschatological connotations, came to the foreground as part of the German and British expansionist enterprises to encompass all the arctic and subarctic regions of Northern Europe and underlined the existence of a Northern utopia which was diametrically contrasted to the Greco-Roman tradition, placed in the foreground throughout the greatest part of the eighteenth century (Hildor A. Barton 50). This concept acquired a new meaning in the British and German nationalist discourses, which influenced the position of Germany as one of the ancient Teutonic cradles.

Given that British travellers often defined their Saxon background in relation to Germany due to the linguistic and cultural connotations of the term German, they inevitably commenced to treat Southern nations as corrupt and effeminate, whose immoral qualities were staunchly opposed to the sturdiness and bravery of the North Europeans (Karen Klitgaard-Povlsen 325).

Based on the contemplation of the European North as a region inhabited by blond and masculine Teutonic tribes, British travellers were eager to apply this early racialisation of Europe to every country they ventured to explore. In that respect, Germany and the Nordic countries acquired a new, positive status in the British imagination which evolved into a direct response to the neoclassical aesthetics and intensified the polarity between North and South Europe (Klitgaard Povlsen 326).

One of the first attempts to classify European nations into distinct races was made by Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) whose impact on the formation of European nationalist identities can be traced in travelogues of the early and mid-nineteenth century prior to the advent of the pseudo-sciences. As has been asserted by Kassis, it was the Herderian concepts of the *Volksgeist* and the *Volkssprache* that inaugurated the investigation of the different traits or nations as nation-building factors based on the various peoples' distinct spirit and language (2). As Henningsen postulates, Herder might be regarded as the philosopher who inspired a specific nation-

building process based on the functionalisation of the national language (90).

In relation to Herder's attempt to draw a link between language and the national identity of a particular country, Henningsen claims that the *Volksgeist* revolved around a distinct language through which a people's soul manifests itself (91). As postulated by Herder, language becomes the "corpus mysticum" of a nation (99) and the sole way of drawing a distinction between different nations.

What is more, Herder's ideology, which is also encountered in British travelogues to a significant extent, introduces the notions of the culture and the community as decisive factors for the development of national feelings, mainly on the basis of the existence of primordial languages and myths on the origins of nations (Jörg Echterkamp, 102). In the light of the Herderian theory, the constructability of a nation rests on the existence of a mother tongue, which allows its people to differentiate themselves from neighbouring nations since "only with the help of its language can a nation become a nation, since language creates a feeling of togetherness and belonging" (Herder 794).

Consequently, for British travellers an additional positive feature of Germany became the common Germanic past between the two nations, which manifested itself in the wake of the nineteenth century due to revival of the Germanic philological studies across Northern Europe. As pointed out by Reginald Horsman

> By the 1830's German philology entered England to the extent of forming its own school, led by the work of Benjamin Thorpe and John M. Kemble. Thorpe had worked in Copenhagen under Rasmus Kristian Rask, and Kemble had intimate ties with Germany. He studied there, and became a friend of the Grimms. Thorpe and Kemble delved anew into the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and were able to integrate their work into the mainstream of Indo-European scholarship. As the English had already formed a firm link between their 'free Anglo- Saxons' and the Germanic tribes of the declining years of the Roman Empire, they were now able to take over this new extension of their history, and make their past even more glorious. (393)

The change in the mapping of Germany and the Nordic nations from barbarous regions to enlightened nations, which were morally and racially superior to the fallen nations of the South, was ideologically inaugurated and reinforced by German philologists and antiquarians that tended to

overemphasise the German claim to the ancient Germanic literary tradition of the Middle Ages.

According to Hans G. Schede, the contribution of the Brothers Grimm to the formation of a German utopia was decisive because their discovery and dissemination of German philology and the folklore was persistently linked to the Nordic background of the Germans and promoted a pan-Germanic spirit across Northern nations (5). As Schede asserts, the rise of the Romantic spirit in the late-eighteenth century had already awakened the study of the folklore, which became part of the nation-building agenda of the Germans after the meticulous promotion of the German folkish element by the Brothers Grimm so as to acquire a new national identity based on a common national literature (6).

During the French occupation in the Napoleonic Wars, German national literature was brought to the foreground by the two Brothers as a form of intellectual "resistance which established a method of collecting and preserving the folklore, later emulated by other European writers who wished to focus on the national literature of their countries" (Bernd Heidenreich and Grothe Ewald 103).

According to Heidenrich and Ewald, the Brothers Grimm firmly believed in the national resurrection of the Germans through a thorough knowledge of their cultural past, which relied on their folklore (39). From their perspective, the folkish element constituted the source of old myths and perceptions which fulfilled a significant function in the comprehension of the essence of the German culture (Schede 6).

Given the efforts of the Brothers Grimm to revive the lore and the epic literature of their country, a new German utopia was constructed through the use of myths and fairy tales, which marked the development of the national discourses of the Germans and the Britons.

Thus, towards the close of the eighteenth century, British travellers' stance towards Germany as a travel destination began to change in view of the emergence of the nation-building theories and the vast contribution of German intellectuals to the surge of interest in Northern European antiquities. Through their meticulous study of the Old Norse literature, Germans were the first to set the pace for other Northern Europeans to delve into the Medieval epics and the linguistic similarities amongst the Germanic nations of Northern Europe.

Especially under the Napoleonic rule, German antiquarians and writers focused persistently on the folkish element of their distant past, rediscovering legends and songs which were supposedly direct remnants of the Old Germanic culture. According to Nicholas A. Germana, after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon, folk literature was perceived as "emerging organically from the soil of the German nation" (152).

It is also noteworthy that, during the Napoleonic occupation of Germany, German scholars contributed to the promotion of neo-paganism in philological studies, as they were anxious to "trace the origins of German mythology back to the pagan Orient" (Germana 146). In search of a national epic which would permit the German nation to defy the French political and cultural penetration of their country, German scholars opted for the *Nibelungenlied* as the cultural evidence that distinguished their nation from the French and provided their compatriots with a unifying myth.

Regarding the importance of national literature in the political and cultural liberation of the Germans from the French yoke, Maike Oergel purports that the *Nibelungenlied* constituted the fitting national saga which reflected "the efforts to revive a German national mythology in connection to the national struggle against Napoleonic France" (107).

Considering the active involvement of the Germans in the promotion of a pan-Germanic spirit, which would attribute a leading role to Germany as the cradle of Northern Europe, the Britons were anxious to visit Germany in the mid- and late-nineteenth century to witness the alleged linguistic and racial similarities between the Anglo-Saxons and their "German brethren". Their interest rested on their parallel infatuation with the racial theories of Saxonism and Anglo-Saxonism that both belonged to and defied the British national awakening and nurtured the views of the Victorians as part of a wider cultural and racial continuum, rekindling the ties amongst the Germanic nations.

As explained by Horsman , there were several British philosophers and thinkers of the 1850s who endeavoured to disseminate the new Saxonist approach to British nationhood, such as Thomas Carlyle, Thomas Arnold, Benjamin Disraeli and Charles Kingsley (399). In particular, Horseman explains that

> Carlyle was the first great British writer to view Saxon triumphs as clearly a product of racial superiority. This Lowland Scot had little sympathy for the Celts, stressed the Norse origins of Scotland's population, and wrote of Robert Burns as 'one of the most considerable Saxon men of the eighteenth

century'. His inspiration was Germany, and among his mentors were Herder, Fichte, Goethe, Kant, Friedrich von Schlegel, and Novalis, but the passion of his arguments was peculiarly his own. He was imbued with a sense not only of the power of the individual hero, but also of the power of an individual race-the Teutonic. (399)

According to Peter Alter, even though the term nation was originally introduced by the French during the political convulsions of the French Revolution, the term nationalism was in essence a German invention, given that the word "'nationalism', whose earliest mention can be found in a work of 1774 by the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, did not begin to enter into general linguistic usage until the mid-nineteenth century" (7).

As explained by Oliver Zimmer, at the threshold of the nineteenth century, the contribution of the German philosophers and linguists to the amalgamation of the North European identities was of paramount importance, considering their instrumental role in the formulation of specific nation-building properties that comprised the new term, since

nationalism resulted from the fusion of three momentous philosophical ideas, which in the early nineteenth century began to acquire political significance […] nationalism was a German intellectual invasion. The three ideas are Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) idea of individual self-determination, Johann Gottlieb Fichte's (1762-1814) idea that the social whole is more important than its individual parts, and Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744-1803) emphasis on the value of ethnological diversity. (6)

The above philosophical ideas played a pivotal role during the manifestation of the Teutonic and Saxonist literary movements in Germany and Britain, which sought to corroborate the theory of an existing superior Nordic race amongst Northern Europeans.

Regarding the influence of Johann Gottlieb Fichte on the development of German nationalism and the promotion of Germanic studies, his work *Addresses to the German Nation*[1] should be seen as a direct response to the French Occupation of his country during the Napoleonic Wars, considering Fichte´s aim to establish a unified German national state by stimulating a pan-Germanic national feeling (Nationalgefühl).

In his philosophical essays the German philosopher propagates the emancipation of the Germans from the French yoke emphasising the notions of Reason (Vernunft) and Freedom (Freiheit) as the sole principles for the

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[1] *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (in German)

consolidation of the national self-definition of his nation. British thinkers were strongly influenced by Fichte's theory on the ideological construction of nations, given that this German philosopher laid the foundations, along with Herder, for the gradual classification of nations according to strict racial and cultural criteria. Defining German national identity, Fichte postulated that "the key element of German identity rests on the differentiation of our nation with the foreigner, and on the degree at which Germans are able to regain their independence based on each other's strength" (91). In this respect, Fichte suggests that the consolidation of German nationhood could be achieved through a process of total distancing from other nations and limited exposure to external influences in order to preserve a unique national character.

Similarly to the Herderian approach to language, Fichte claimed that one of the fundamental characteristics of the German nation was its language which ascribed to his countrymen a distinct racial and cultural identity, given that "it is language which defines a people and not the people the language they speak" (131). However, unlike the efforts of other German intellectuals such as the Brothers Grimm, Fichte did not favour the cultural unity of Germany with other Germanic nations as well as with other racial groups, since the lack of racial purity of the Germans might undermine their future autonomy if they allowed their gradual intermingling with alien ethnic groups (162).

This point was frequently made by Fichte to attack the increasing Gallomania in Germany resulting from his country´s exposure to the French political and cultural influences. As mentioned by Liah Greenfield, Fichte resented the use of the neo-Latin languages by insisting on the linguistic purity of modern Germans, whose language had not undergone significant changes compared to the ancestral forms of the German tongue (311).

Additionally, Fichte introduced the concept of the national education (Nationalerziehung) to address the need of the Germans to educate future generations in accordance with the nationalist ideals of their forefathers (163), a motif which is also encountered in the theoretical discourses of British nationalists such as Arnold and Carlyle. Based on this assumption, Fichte's persistent reference to the concept of the national education reflects his overall firm belief in the historical and ethnic continuity which implies the preservation of German culture and its isolation from foreign influences (Echterkamp 294).

Concerning the above notion of national education, British nationalism was also amalgamated in accordance with this principle, based upon the premise that a national identity needed to be constructed in contrast to other people's national properties. Discussing this isolationism of nation-building agendas, Greenfield argues that

> The specificity of nationalism, that which distinguishes nationality from other types of identity, derives from the fact that nationalism locates the source of individual identity within a 'people,' which is seen as the bearer of sovereignty, the central object of loyalty, and the basis of collective solidarity. (3)

Apart from the instrumental role of Fichte and Herder in the formation of German nationhood and the introduction of nationalism into modern European conscience, one should also make reference to Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel as an important figure of European nationalism, who had a considerable impact on the manifestation of the cultural movement of German Idealism[2]

> which emerged towards the end of the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany. It manifested itself as a reaction to Immanuel Kant's critique on Reason and was closely related to Romanticism and the spirit of the Enlightenment. (Echterkamp 85)

Taking into consideration the above theoretical framework, Schlegel penned the work *On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians* [3], published in 1808, in which he formulated his ideas on religion and "claimed that a nation hailing from ancient India were the founders of the European civilisation" (Terry Pinkard 217). Schlegel's philosophical work in question might be regarded as one of the earliest versions of the Aryan theory, based on which a comparative perspective was adopted towards the study of German, Greek, Latin and Sanskrit with the aim of touching upon the linguistic and lexical similarities amongst these nations. According to Horseman,

> The effort to determine the origin of the Indo-European language group assumed strong racial overtones. The fundamental error was the assumption that affinity of language proved affinity of race. This led to a search for an original homeland of the Indo-European or Aryan peoples. In the first half of the nineteenth century philologists not only described the ancient links between languages but also wrote historical descriptions of a tightly knit

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[2] Deutscher Idealismus (in German)
[3] *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (German original title).

racial group that had spread out from its original homeland to encompass much of Europe and India. (392)

European interest in the Indian context to address the alleged racial unity between Europe and the East on the grounds of common linguistic and racial traits resulted from Schlegel's attempt to locate the origins of Europe and Germany eastwards. Contrary to Fichte and Herder's approach to nation-building as a process which necessarily excluded foreign elements, Schlegel propagated an inclusive Germanic identity which supported its link to the Eastern context and drew a connection between Germany and the ancient civilisations of Greece and Persia. In this sudden shift from the Eurocentric to the Eastern cultural paradigm formulated by Schlegel, Germany assumed a crucial role as the mediator of the European and Oriental cultures. In particular, Schlegel constructed Germanness (*Deutschtum*) based on a novel racial hypothesis according to which German culture was tied to the cultural "transmission of Indian mythology either indirectly through contact with the Arabs or directly through the migration of Aryans from some nebulous homeland into the heart of northern Europe" (Germana 132).

Schlegel´s infatuation with the Orient as an attempt to restore the scathed image of Germanness was inextricably linked to the efforts of his contemporaries to construct a new German identity based upon the archeological and historical findings in the Orient. Unlike other forms of Orientalism, which developed to denigrate or present specific nations as non-European and backward such as the Irish in Victorian Britain (Joseph Lennon 115), German nationalist discourse favoured the view of Germany as the Orient of Europe. Given this persistent self-projection of the Germans as a colonised, oriental Other during the Napoleonic rule of the country, Germana highlights this cultural strategy of the Germans to fathom themselves as a nation antithetical to the imperial powers of France and Britain:

> Orientalism, both popular and academic, came onto the scene in Germany at a crucial time when the institutions of national life were threatening to crumble under the pressure of competition for dominance within the Reich, especially between Prussia and Austria. It emerged as part of public discourse at the time when Germany was physically occupied by French forces. (101)

It is also worth mentioning that, besides the racial and political nuances of travel literature on Germany, another point of attraction that rendered Germany more popular as a travel destination was its view as an enlightened nation in the light of the literary developments which were conducive to the

manifestation of the movement of the Weimar Classicism (Weimarer Klassik), associated with a rejuvenating humanist spirit. Considering the significance of Weimar Classicism as an artistic and literary expression, its main representatives (Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Johann Gottfried Herder, Friedrich Schiller and Christoph Martin Wieland) combined elements of other European movements such as Romanticism, Neoclassicism and the Enlightenment (Dieter Borchmeyer 55).

Regarding the main tenets of this literary movement, which aesthetically impacted the quality of the literary and nationalist texts of the contemporary European culture, Borchmeyer contends that Weimar Classicism relied on the notions of the content (Gehalt), form (Gestalt) and Stoff (essence) (56).

Even though Weimar Classicism constituted a typical German literary movement, it successfully fused cultural and philosophical elements of previous or contemporary aesthetic forms and approached the Greco-Roman tradition in a new light. This means that the old Greek myths and lore, revisited by German authors, were inextricably connected to the social and political conditions that pertained to German society at that time (Hans Robert Jauß 6).

With respect to the influence that this movement exerted on the self-definition of the Germans in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century, Wucherpfennig mentions that the characteristics of that movement underlay its considerable spread across the European continent (94). As per its main traits, Weimar Classicism involved

1) A juxtaposition with the French occupation
2) A cultural resistance of the German society to the French Occupation and not a violent uprising similar to the French Revolution based on the principle of Reason
3) Social change through the flourishing of arts and literature and the promulgation of national education
4) Promotion of the ideals of Humanity (Humanität) and harmony (Harmonie) across all social strata. (Wucherpfennig 95)

Moreover, all Early German Romantics who advocated the aesthetics of Weimar Classicism were attentive of the function of language as a means of shaping a national identity. As explained by Craig Calhoun,

For the German Romantics, language was key test of the existence of a nation. Language, moreover, was understood primarily in terms of

continuity […] The shared language is not the 'test' of nationhood, but the means of imagining –and thereby creating-the nation. (66)

Contrary to the above attempt of the German Romantics to employ language and literature as key elements for the creation of a German nationhood that would defy the French political oppression over their country, mid- and late- nineteenth-century German nationalists focused exclusively on the physical and intellectual attributes that underlay the Saxonist or Aryan race. According to Young, with the advent of the anthropological sciences of anthropometry and phrenology, British and German thinkers sought to categorise different ethnic groups according to their physical qualities (47). At the close of the nineteenth century the mental, spiritual and moral qualities of different European races were associated with their appearance in accordance with anthropological criteria which supposedly predetermined their national and moral disposition (Charles W. Gould 3-4).

Joseph Arthur Compte de Gobineau´s *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races[4]* exerted profound influence on European nationalism, since it propagated the alleged natural superiority of the white race. In his book Gobineau made the assumption that European culture did not originate from the Greco-Roman antiquity but mainly hailed from an Indo-Germanic tribe, the Aryans, whose racial vestiges could still be traced in Northern Europe (Cassirer 290).

One of the basic tenets of this Teutonic hypothesis on the origins of Europe was also related to the racial admixture, which was constantly demonised by Gobineau as the main reason for the fall and degradation of the Germanic stock (Julian Köck 118).

Another basic tenet of the Gobinist theory was the assumption that Northern Europe was inhabited by racially pure, blond and sturdy Teutonic tribes who had functioned as natural expansionists throughout European history (Köck 119). Inevitably, nations who were not regarded as Teutonic in appearance would be racially segregated and subdued to the Germanic peoples who also assumed a messianic role as promulgators of European freedom and democracy (Cassirer 292).

In short, Gobineau described the Arians as physically beautiful and strong, with immense intelligence and strength and endowed with unbelievable energy and creativity in military affairs (Boissel 95). Similarly

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[4] *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines* (in French)

to other race theorists of their epoch, Gobineau held a firm belief in the appearance as indisputable criterion for the racial classification of an ethnic group, being the first to employ physiognomy as a pseudoscientific standard before the advent of anthropometry and phrenology (Cassirer 292).

Even though the ideological formulations that accelerated the rise of Saxonism in Europe have often been regarded as an exclusive German enterprise, the mid-nineteenth-century Britons should also be given credit for the articulation of similar race-oriented views. As Frederick G. Detweiler puts it, "there were the more widely read books written in Great Britain by Kemble, Kingsley, Freeman, and particularly Seeley (*Expansion of England*)" (187).

Another British anatomist and philosopher, Robert Knox, published his *Races of Men* in 1850 to preach "a frenetic racial doctrine. From 1846 Knox had spread his ideas in lectures throughout England" (Horsman 405) which concentrated on the ideas of racial division and antagonism. With reference to British scientific racism, Douglas Morimer maintains that Knox might be considered as the founder of scientific racism both in Britain and Germany, as he endeavoured to "prove that anatomical features signified inherited traits of intelligence, personality, and character within the British population" (183).

Despite the common characteristics of the German and the British nation-building projects, at the threshold of the twentieth century British travellers entertained a peculiar view of Germany as both a fellow Protestant nation and a rival Empire. In the British eyes, the unification of the German states under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck in 1870 coincided with a parallel attempt of the Germans to expand northwards both culturally and geopolitically, thus appropriating the cultural heritage of all Germanic nations and ascribing to Britain a secondary role in the new mapping of the North.

In their journeys, British travellers of the mid- and late- nineteenth century expressed their concern about the excessive accumulation of political power of the Germans at the expense of the adjacent countries, signalling the need to reduce the Germanic cultural appropriation of the North.

If German nationalism acquired the form of a cultural revolution against French oppression in the wake of the nineteenth century, providing the Germans with a fresh national identity which pertained to the national myths

and epics of Old Germany and the Orient, after the unification of the Germanic states into a new Reich the German nationalist discourse turned inwards, "toward domination of Europe" (Todd Kontje 55). This meant that Germany ceased to concentrate solely on a literary expansion across Europe and aimed to expand territorially, thus abandoning the nation-building strategies of the Romantics which centred on language and national literature as the core elements of shaping Germanness.

All in all, it might be deduced from the above analysis of the theoretical aspects of the German and British national constructs that the nationalist agendas of both nations converged to a significant extent, a fact which intensified their rivalry as aspiring leaders of the racial hierarchy that the nationalist discourse of the nineteenth century presupposed. At the same time, Germany transformed into an ideal locus for racial inspection for British travellers who were eager to apply their theoretical knowledge to the Germanic context.

Considering the above framework, the purpose of the present volume is to detect the manner in which the national identities of Britain and Germany were crafted in the British travel discourse towards the end of the eighteenth-century and throughout the greatest part of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the notions of Britishness and Germanness hold a prevalent position in the analysis of the travelogues, shedding light on the cultural, political and historical circumstances that pertained to the construction of *Deutschtum* and the British nationhood.

Concerning the first chapter of the book, Robert Gray's *Letters during a Course of a Tour through Germany, Switzerland and Italy* revolves around the Protestant-Catholic antimony that is triggered in relation to the exploration of German identity while at war with Republican France.

Regarding the second chapter of this volume, Ann Radcliffe's *Journey made in the summer of 1794 through Holland and the western frontier of Germany with a return down the Rhine* coincides with the aestheticisation of Germany in accordance with the aesthetic principles of the picturesque and the sublime.

With respect to the third chapter, John Carr's *Tour through Holland along the Left and Right Banks of the Rhine to the South of Germany* is analysed in the light of the dissolution of the Reich and the subsequent struggle of the Germans to acquire a new identity through the flourishing of the classical philological studies.

As regards the fourth chapter, John Raffles' travel account *Letters during a tour through some parts of France, Savoy, Switzerland and Germany* is concerned with the national awakening of the Germans after the Napoleonic wars, during which a resurgence of interest occurred in the chivalric tradition of the country's medieval literary production and an increasing wave of Francophobia prompted German Romantics to forge an identity that distanced itself from the Frankish elements still in vogue at the time of Raffles' German tour.

With reference to the fifth chapter, Richard Boyle Bernard's *A Tour through some Parts of France, Switzerland, Savoy, Germany and Belgium* underlines the significance of the Herderian notion of the *Volksgeist* in the anthropological approach to language and national literature as components of the early Anglo-Saxon discourse.

As per the sixth chapter, John Thomas James' *Journal of a Tour in Germany, Sweden, Russia, Poland in 1813-14* explores the ideological transformation of Germany into a *Kulturnation* during the War of Liberation from the French rule and records the first attempts of the German Romantics to the unification of Germany as a political construct.

With regard to the seventh chapter, John Russel's *Tour in Germany and some of the Northern Provinces of the Austrian Kingdom* draws the reader's attention to the construction of Germany as an Arcadian world, shuttered by the Prussian despotism.

The eighth chapter centres on Seth William Stevenson's *Tour in France, Savoy, Northern Italy, Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands* which constitutes one of the early attempts of British travellers to apply racial criteria to the portrayal of the German nation.

The ninth chapter bears witness to the Anglo-German racial antagonism that surged in the mid-nineteenth century for the ideological and cultural expansion of the Germanic North through the analysis of William Howitt's *The Rural and Domestic Life of Germany*.

The final chapter focuses on James William Massie's *Recollections of a Tour* which illustrates the Scottish involvement in the spread of the Anglo-Saxon theory as a pro-Protestant cultural paradigm.

CHAPTER ONE

ROBERT GRAY:
LETTERS DURING A COURSE OF A TOUR THROUGH GERMANY

Robert Gray, Bishop of Bristol, was born in 1762 to a London silversmith. After completing his studies at Oxford University in 1784, he was appointed a lecturer in 1796 and published his lectures as a monograph, entitled *Sermons on the Principles upon which the Reformation of the Church of England was established.* In 1827 he was appointed bishop of Bristol.

As a writer, he penned several works related to his religious interests such as *Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha; or, an Account of their Several Books* (1790), *Discourses on various Subjects, illustrative of the Evidence, Influence, and Doctrines of Christianity* (1793). Nevertheless, his travelogue *Letters during the Course of a Tour through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy in 1791 and 1792* also came to prominence, after being published in 1794. He died in 1834 at Rodney House, Clifton.

The present chapter concentrates on his aforementioned travel narrative *Letters in Course of a Tour* which does not focus exclusively on Germany but contains detailed information on the Italian and Swiss landscapes, manners and mores. It is worth noting that Gray´s tour took place in a period in which the war between Germany and Republican France was raging. Consequently, Gray produces his travel account at a time when the "military defeat and physical occupation by French armies exacerbated animosities against the French" (Mann Golo 36).

In his text, Gray is well acquainted with the incumbent hatred between the Germans and their French rulers, since he comments on the wretched state of the German political scene upon his arrival. In an extract from his travelogue, the author touches upon the dissolution of the German Reich and its fragmentation into several, short-lived states:

> The state, however, of the German peasants is better than it was, for the
> princes have relaxed some of their more oppressive feudal claims, as
> particularly that, by which the lord obtained three or four days of gratuitous
> labour in each week; more indulgence has, likewise, been shewn as to the
> droits de la chasse, both with respect to permission and pardon. Germany is
> divided into many small ill-governed states, and fortunately; for otherwise,
> what power in Europe could withstand its confederate and united powers?
> (43)

Taking a closer look at the above excerpt, one is struck by Gray´s approving glance at the weak state of Germany, since he remarks that a united Germany would pose a visible threat to the existence of the other European powers. In that respect, Gray's function as the imperial beholder comes to the foreground, given that he formulates an imperialist concern over the condition of the country visited, corroborating Andrew Porter's definition of imperialism as "the acquisition by various means of a predominant influence or direct control over the political and/or economic development of weaker, less technologically advanced peoples or states'" (11). In view of the historical circumstances that surround Gray's narration, one can comprehend Gray's Anglo-centric approach to other nations.

Even though the travel writer refers to the precarious political state of Germany as a favourable political condition for the well-being of the British Empire, he provides the reader with another image of decay, when he makes reference to the religious and political matters of the country. When visiting Cologne, he states that

> Cologne is finely situated for trade, which once flourished here. It was one
> of the Hans towns, and free city, and formerly contained 30,000 men, and
> flood a siege of the whole empire. It is now badly governed; its corporation
> is rich; its trade and population are decayed; its streets and buildings are dirty
> and unimproved. The few Protestants who are here are not tolerated in their
> worship, but go to a church at Mulheim, six miles farther in the palatinate.
> (24)

Owing to the restrictions imposed on the Protestant population of the city, Gray wishes to criticise the political conditions in the country visited, given that he explicitly stresses its misruling. On the one hand, the writer seeks to associate the issue of religion with the general aspect of the city. On the other hand, he bestows significant attention on the contrast of its former glorious state as a Hanseatic centre of commerce to its late-eighteenth-century aspect. Speaking from an Anglo-centric narrative position, Gray draws a link between the country's forlorn image and the dominance of Catholicism. This point made by the author is closely related

to Britain's own nation-building agenda, which concentrated on its Protestant values as a determining factor for its forging of an identity against Catholic France (Paul Kramer 1321).

His anti-Catholic sentiment is further addressed in another fragment, when Gray rejoices over the prosperous aspect of the Protestant inhabitants in Frankfurt. As mentioned by Gray

> The adjacent dependencies, situated in a flat plain, are marked out by four towers all visible at once. The town is said to contain 30,000 inhabitants, Romanists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Jews, all of which have now their places of public worship. The Lutheran spirit, however, prevails in the magistrature. The Romanists are not allowed to partake of the government, or to have a public procession of the host; and the Calvinists were, till lately, obliged to have their churches at Bochenheim, in Hanau. The Jews are rich, but are compelled, by a useless and illiberal policy, to reside in a separate part of the town: in that oppressive spirit likewise with which they are every here marked out, they are obliged to fetch water to extinguish every fire that happens at Franckfort. (32)

Paradoxically enough, while the travel writer positively glances at the active role of the Protestants in the political affairs of this part of Germany, at the same time he does not consider the religious segregation of the Jewish element of the city as a positive development, a fact which shows that Gray's outlook on religious matters is beset with contradictions, if one considers his previews comment on the negative effect of Catholicism on German manners and mores.

Moreover, his firm belief in the corrosive effect of Catholicism on the religious life of the Germans is again explicitly expressed, when he dwells on the anti-Christian rituals of the Romish Church:

> That the consequence of this adaptation in religious matters has been prejudicial to the reputation of Papacy, and that the doctrine of the Romish church is, in consequence, in a great degree anti-Christian, has been shewn by many writers. The spirit of its correspondent institutions was often, perhaps, good, but that spirit is now evaporated, and its vital intention decayed, while the church is loaded with an accumulation of barren and destructive ceremonies. (358)

Drawing upon this extract, one can observe that Gray's travelogue is beset with references that aim to demonise the influence of Catholic Church on the German political and spiritual life. While touching upon the Catholic doctrine in relation to German institutions, Gray points to the barren and detrimental aspect of the Catholic rituals, which he does not hesitate to

characterise as anti-Christian. In that way, Gray's attitude towards religion in Germany does not depart from the overall British outlook on the topic in question, given that Protestantism in Britain came to be identified with "political stability and freedom" (Young 178), which underlay British ethnicity.

In another episode, Gray seeks to define religious tolerance in accordance with the Protestant religious paradigm:

> Toleration must result not from insensibility to the importance of religious opinions, or from any doubts of the certainty and evidence of truth, but from conviction that Christianity prohibits violence, and that its doctrines must be propagated by reason and argument; that it disdains a pretended and compulsive assent, and seeks for the testimony of sincere and unbiased faith. (42)

Judging by the writer's definition of religious tolerance, Christian doctrines must accord with the sincere and unbiased faith in the core elements of Christian faith. However, considering his anti-Catholic rhetoric when witnessing the predominant Catholic element in Cologne, it is evident that Gray wishes to construct his discourse as a reaction to the French intrusion to religious life in Germany.

Given that Germany was traditionally linked to the years of Reformation, the writer resents the presence of Catholicism on German soil and connects it to the political expansion of the French Empire. Considering the intimate connection of English nationhood to Protestant values at the end of the eighteenth century, when a widespread Francophobia prevailed in England due to the revolutionary movement in the neighbouring country, Britishness was often expressed in the form of "a Protestant solidarity against the wiles of Catholicism and the French" (Young 21).

Apart from the issue of religion, there are only two other occasions on which Gray elaborates on aspects of German life that are not relevant to religious issues. As pointed out by the writer

> A few months, indeed, may be spent with much advantage at the small courts of Germany. A stranger, of any condition or appearance, is privileged to associate with men of elevated rank and intelligent minds: he becomes acquainted with new modes of life, and is formed to politeness at the same time that he is gratified by condescension. We were too eager for Switzerland to avail ourselves of the occasion. (58)

On this occasion Gray points to the hospitable and class-free aspect of German society which is staunchly opposed to British social rigidity, since it does not favour social mobility. In particular, the writer claims that it is easy to become acquainted with members of the higher order in Germany, a condition which can be scarcely encountered in British life. However, Gray is not interested in socialising with the German elite but rather yearns to experience the sublime, expressing his eagerness to continue his journey in Switzerland. At this point, his interest in Switzerland attunes to the Grand Tourist ideal of mountaineering which was dominant at his time, when British travellers sought to experience the sublime of the Alpine landscape, since the Alps were the Arcadian locus which provided the travellers with "the necessary silence and solitude that were supposedly prerequisite for the sublime" (Ann Colley 20).

In another instance, Gray highlights the decayed image of Marburg, while in search of the famous university situated in that German city:

> Marburg has but a mean appearance; it is irregular and built on a lineal eminence: the castle, which overtops it, is fast verging to ruin; it commands a view of a country somewhat wild and romantic: the surrounding hills are well-varied and well-wooded. The university here, though near to Gottingen, flourishes. We look in vain, however, for college edifices, amidst the poor buildings of the town. (35)

Instead of focusing on the seminal role of university life in the construction of German identity at the time of his voyage in Germany, Gray concentrates on the desolate aspect of the city, thus undermining the important political and intellectual advances linked to the role of the universities in the cultural emancipation of the Germans from the French invasion. If "universities had emerged, especially in Prussia, as centers of German culture […] the sites of political agitation" (Germana 169), Gray attaches significant attention to the exterior aspect of the buildings in the place visited, showing that he never departs from his Anglo-centric narrative position during his German tour.

On the whole, Gray's observations on German culture indicate that the travel writer's attention is confined to the matters which are related to his capacity as a Protestant bishop. This applies to his overall focus on the role of Protestantism and religious tolerance in Germany, which mirror his anti-Catholic view on the subject and his attachment to Britishness as a compound of Protestant values.

In addition, the writer records the decadent aspect of German cities during the Franco-German war without placing significant emphasis on the cultural developments that took place at the time of his visit. In that respect, Gray is eager to witness the weakened state of Germany in an effort to safeguard the imperial interests of Britain in view of the French expansion eastwards. His Anglo-centric perspective, however, does not allow him to produce a travelogue which would provide his readership with more accurate descriptions of the manners and mores in Germany upon his arrival.