GERMAN-SPEAKING TRAVELLERS IN SCOTLAND,
1800 - 1860,
AND THEIR PLACE IN THE
HISTORY OF EUROPEAN TRAVEL LITERATURE

VOLUME THREE
APPENDIX

A. BIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT
B. 'FONTANE AND SCOTLAND': REVIEW OF THE CRITICAL RESEARCH TO DATE
## APPENDIX

### A. BIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

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### B. 'Fontane and Scotland': Review of the Critical Research to date

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INTRODUCTION

With a few exceptions, the German-speaking travellers who left accounts of their Scottish visits during the first six decades of the nineteenth century are to-day unknown. It has thus been considered necessary to supplement the discussion of their works with biographical information. In each case emphasis has been laid on the years preceding the Scottish visit and on those influences which will have had a bearing on the traveller's attitude to his or her tour of Scotland.

This biographical study serves to explain attitudes and points of view, while revealing that many of the travellers were important and esteemed public figures in their day, with interests ranging from commerce to medicine, politics to the Arts. Only a few lived off their travels, with professional concern for geography or anthropology; for the rest concern for these subjects was genuine enough, but travel and travel-writing merely provided them with a fashionable and enjoyable pastime. As a group of men and women writing from the standpoint of varying age and means, a 'romantically' inspired Scottish visit is often the only common point of comparison; biographical background thus becomes all the more relevant.

The travellers are treated in chronological order of their visits rather than alphabetically or according to dates of birth. This is particularly relevant with regard to their knowledge of works on Scotland already published prior to their tours. Information on four of the visitors is referred to in the Bibliography alone. In the case of Victor Aimé Huber this is because I was able to refer to his account only in the final stages of my research; the remaining three, Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn, Alfred Meissner and Helmuth Graf von Moltke, did not leave sufficient account of their visits to warrant further investigation. Meissner, however, is mentioned with regard to his father, Eduard.

For the most part the biographical reference works referred to have been restricted to contemporary publications or to those published within a few decades of the death of the traveller concerned. In some cases, the travellers' autobiographies have been consulted. On account of obvious translation difficulties, titles and rank and names of institutions have mostly been left in the original German. A brief outline of each individual tour is also given.
Christian August Gottlieb Goede (variously Göde) was born in Dresden on 20th February, 1774. He studied law in Leipzig and gained a doctorate from that university. From 1802-3 he accompanied the Legationsrath Baron von Blümner on a journey through Britain and his work, England, Wales, Irland und Schottland. Erinnerungen an Natur und Kunst aus einer Reise in den Jahren 1802 und 1803, is the result of this tour.

Goede also spent some time in Paris but felt ill at ease with French people and customs. He was later to return to London alone in order to work on his proposed detailed study of the British Isles. From London he moved to Göttingen and here he gave up his legal profession in favour of the study of the natural sciences, in particular medicine. At this stage, he even planned to return to London to practise as a medical doctor there, but in 1805 he abandoned this idea to take up a post as Ausserordentlicher Professor der Rechte und der Philosophie at Jena. His dissertation, Jus Germanicum Privatum, was published in Göttingen in the following year. Also in 1806 he completed and edited a legal text book which had been left unfinished by a deceased colleague, K.W.Patz. The loss of a further work, which was mislaid and never recovered after Goede's own death, was considered by one of his friends to be great:

Sollte sich dies Manuscript nicht wiedergefunden haben? Der Verlust wäre um so betrübender, da ein Werk dieser Art von einem so tiefdenkenden, kenntnissreichen, sorgfältigen und gewissenhaften Manne der deutschen Geschichte und Literatur zu einem bleibenden Denkmale gereichen würde.

(quoted in Ersch/Gruber, vol.1. p.61)

Goede was still not content with his profession, however. His old friend, the novelist Friedrich Laun (1770-1849), recounts in his memoirs that Goede visited him at this time in Dresden and was depressed and gloomy. Firmly anti-French, and all the more so after the Battle of Jena in October, 1806, Goede was all set to leave Jena. He packed a few things together and had a horse and cart waiting, when a deputation of two fellow professors came to him from a Senate meeting to try to persuade him to stay and work for the safety of Jena which was not yet in the hands of the French. Fearing repercussions after an essay he had written attacking Napoleon, Goede refused and fled the town. He was offered a chair in Rostock as
professor of Law and was on his way there when he was offered the equivalent post in Göttingen and decided to accept the latter. He took up this post in 1807. In Göttingen he was to become very close to the writer Christian Leberecht Heyne (1751-1821) — "an Heyne fand er ... einen Gönner und väterlich für ihn sorgenden Freund" (Ersch/Gruber, vol. 1, p. 60). Goede proved himself a popular lecturer, especially in view of the changes brought about by political events; he was to put forward the opinion that a legal system based on Roman and British law was no longer adequate. He made close and careful study of the Greek orators in order to enhance his own lecturing style, but even though he was still only in his thirties his hard work soon began to tell on his physical condition and friends, colleagues and doctors finally persuaded him to take a travel break. He returned to Paris, but instead of resting, he renewed his academic labours with vigour. Having become acquainted with the orientalist, Sylvestre de Sacy, he could not resist throwing himself into the study of Arabic. This was to be the ruin of his health, however, and he was forced to return to Göttingen, where he died on 2nd July, 1812, aged 38. One of his friends said of him:


(quoted in Ersch/Gruber, vol. 1, p. 61)

Although Goede scarcely so much as mentions Scotland in his work on Britain, it is nonetheless of significance here on account of its wide popularity; Döring considers it his main work. Many of the later travellers refer to Goede (for instance Niemeyer, Maidinger and Spiker,²) Maidinger calling him "der klare, gemüth-und geistvolle Göde (nicht Goethe)"! (Maidinger, Reisen, p. iii). The first three parts of England, Wales, Irland und Schottland were published in Dresden in 1804, parts four and five in 1805. Goede had also published excerpts from parts four and five in the 'Dresdener Abendzeitung' that year. Parts one to four deal almost exclusively with London, part five with some of the West of England and part six, a project which never in fact appeared, was to have dealt with Ireland. The three volume second edition ("2te völlig umgearbeitete u. verbesserte Ausgabe") was published by Arnold in 1806, also in Dresden. The work was translated into English first as The Stranger in England, or
Travels in Great Britain; containing remarks on the politics, laws, etc. of that country (3 volumes, London 1807). It was also published in Dutch translation at Haarlem in 1805-7. A second three volume English translation, by Thomas Horne, was published in London in 1821 as a A Foreigner's Opinion of England. Translated from the original German by T. Horne, and an edition of this translation was published in America by Wells and Lilly, Boston, in 1822. The title page of this last edition reveals much of the work's content:

A Foreigner's Opinion of England,

English Manners, English Nobility,
English Morals, English Parties,
English Domestic Life, English Politics,
English Arts and Artists, English Laws,
English Literature, English Lawyers,
English Criticism, English Merchants,
English Education, English Commerce,
English Universities, English Charities,
English Clergy, English Fashions,
English Sectarians, English Amusements,
And a Variety of other interesting Subjects including Memorials of Nature and Art,

Comprised in a series of free Remarks, the result of personal Observation during a Residence of Two Years in Great Britain,

by Christian August Gottlieb Goede.

(Title page of Boston edition, 1822)

It is not a regular tour, no itinerary is given and instead it takes the form of a series of essays, dry and laboured to modern taste, on English life as lived in the metropolis.
Dr. Joseph Frank was born on 23rd December, 1771, the son of a well known doctor, Johann Peter Frank (1745-1821), and cousin of a third notable medical man, Ludwig Frank (1761-1825). His grandfather had been a French peasant farmer in the village of Rothalben at the northern end of the Vosges and it was here that Johann Peter Frank first practised as a doctor, later moving to neighbouring France and in 1769 back to Germany to Baden, first to Rastatt, where Joseph was born, and the following year, 1772, to Bruchsal, where his reputation was established as writer and teacher. In 1784 he settled in Göttingen, but due to ill health transferred his teaching to Pavia, where he became chief medical officer for Lombardy. Famed for his teaching, Pavia became one of the most popular medical centres of learning and Joseph was fortunate to have studied there. In 1791 Joseph completed his studies, qualifying as a medical doctor (Callisen states that he received his degree in Como on 20th June, 1791) and embarking thereafter on an extensive tour of Switzerland with his father. His practical career began in Milan, where he worked and studied under Moscati, and from 1794 in Pavia, where he became first Adjunct und ausserordentlicher Professor der medicinischen Klinik and Repetitor and then, on his father's departure for Vienna in 1795, filled the latter's post as interim professor. His first published writing was a pamphlet (published in both German and Italian) which earned him a reputation as an "Evangelist des Brownianismus" (ADB, vol. VII, p.257), a theory of which he had first heard while with his father in Switzerland in 1792 and in which Moscati firmly believed. He even influenced his father to lean towards his thinking, albeit with reservations, but his cousin Ludwig, whose colourful career was spent in Italy, Egypt, Greece and only briefly in German speaking Vienna, persistently attacked the Brunonian system. In 1796 Frank left Pavia to join his father in Vienna and was appointed Primararzt at the Allgemeines Krankenhaus, a post he held until 1803, during which time he published further writings, at last moving away from the somewhat simplistic Brunonian ideas to more complex theories.

At the end of 1802 Frank set off on a study tour of France, England and Scotland, more particularly, Paris, London and Edinburgh, a tour "welche ihn mit den hervorragendsten medicinischen Gelehrten jener Zeit in Verbindung brachte und die offenbar sehr wesentlich zu
seiner weiteren Ernüchterung beigetragen hat" (ADB, Ibid., p. 258). After his return to Germany he accepted a post as "öffentlicher Lehrer der Pathologie und Allgemeinen Therapie auf der kaiserlich russischen Universität" in Wilna, Lithuania, and thus rejoined his father, who the same year became Professor der speziellen Therapie und Klinik there. The following year, however, Johann Peter Frank gave up this post to become Court Physician and director of a new medical school in St. Petersburg, and Joseph was appointed to it in his stead. It was at this time that Frank's Reise nach Paris, London und einem grossen Theile des Übrigen Englands und Schottlands was published, in 1804 and 1805. The work recounts his travels through France, England, Scotland in 1803, which, according to the full title, he undertook with the express purpose of meeting the outstanding doctors of those countries, observing their methods of teaching and visiting the public and welfare institutions, in particular the hospitals and prisons. Although he was surely more than curious to visit Edinburgh, where his erstwhile hero, John Brown, had lived and taught, Frank was no longer so restricted in his scientific outlook and he emerged "nicht mehr als Verfechter einer einseitigen Richtung, sondern als unbefangener Beobachter" (ADB, vol. VII p. 258). A second unaltered edition of the Reise, to which Frank wrote a foreword dated Vienna, June 1816, was published in 1816.

During his years in Wilna, Frank published several clinical reports (published in three volumes, 1808-12), but worked mainly on a specialist text book which can be seen as his life's work, Praxeos medicae universae praecepta (1811 ff.). Hirsch's opinion of this latter work, "dem allerdings weniger Originalität als der Charakter eines mit Umsicht ausgeführten compilatorischen Werkes zukommt, das jedoch in der Vollständigkeit der litterarischen Nachweise auch heute noch [i.e., 1878] als ein wertvolles Repertorium angesehen werden muss" (ADB, vol. VII, p. 258) could also be applied to his Reise, which makes up for any lack of originality through thoroughness and was certainly well used by medical men who followed Frank to Britain. It was also a measure of Frank's scrupulous thoroughness that he freely admitted his youthful errors of judgement, even stating in the foreword to the Reise that he was glad he had not travelled immediately after completing his studies, when he had been
too idealistic in his views. While in Wilna Frank also did much to improve the state of medicine practically, founding a "medizinisch-chirurgisch-pharmaceutische Gesellschaft", an "ambulatorische Klinik", a "Vaccinations-Gesellschaft", a "Gebäranstalt" and a scholarship for fifty medical students. In 1824 he retired, with a yearly pension of 2,000 silver rubles. He set up in private practice for two years in Vienna, but in 1826 he moved to his villa on Lake Como and it was here, on 18th December, 1842, that he died. During his retirement Frank continued to work on his Praxeos medicae universae praecptae (which was to be translated into both German and French), reworking and editing parts which appeared in a second edition. The work was never published in entirety, however, and the last two volumes were compiled by Puchelt and published in 1841 and 1843. Frank received many honours for his work in Wilna, being created first, in 1804, Kaiserlich Russischer Hofrath, then Collegienrath, and finally Russischer Staatsrath in 1821 and Kaiserlich Medicinalrath. Also in 1821 he was awarded two honours, Ritter des St. Wladimirordens, 4ter Classe, and Ritter des St. Annenordens, 2ter Classe. He became a member of the medical faculties of Vienna and St. Peterburg and of many learned societies.

Part One of Frank's Reise concerns Paris and London, while Part Two concludes his report on London and relates his findings on a British tour which took him to Oxford, Cambridge, Stamford, York, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Bath and Portsmouth, from where he sailed to Harwich and on to Husum. Some 75 pages are devoted to Edinburgh and Glasgow, 60 of these to Edinburgh. His visit took place in June and July of 1803. He spent most of his time in Edinburgh and left Glasgow on the mail coach for Carlisle and Liverpool on 11th July.
JOHANNA SCHOPENHAUER

Johanna Schopenhauer has received the attention of biographers and critics elsewhere. It is thus necessary for me only to mention those facts of her life which are relevant to her account of her tour of Scotland in 1803; the subsequent Weimar years for which she is best known are only of concern here in that it was expressly for her Weimar friends and associates that she published in 1813 her Erinnerungen von einer Reise in den Jahren 1803, 1804 und 1805.

Johanna Schopenhauer was born Johanna Henriette Trosiener (variously Trosiner, Trosina and Trossina) on 9th July, 1766, the eldest of four daughters in the family of the well-to-do Danzig senator and merchant, Christian Heinrich Trosiener. Her upbringing was comfortable and her education unusually good. Although she received tuition in music, she made little progress in it, but she is reported to have shown a great aptitude for and love of languages; the school she attended, Mamsell Ackermann's, in teaching her the social graces, ensured a fluency in French, but long before this Johanna's nurse taught her her own native language of Polish and some say the child had mastered the Polish tongue even before German. Her greatest talent lay in the field of art, however:

Entschiedenes Talent und Vorliebe zeigte sie schon in früher Jugend für die bildenden Künste. Was sie irgend sah, versuchte sie nachzuzeichnen und ermüdete, trotz mancher misslungenen Versuche, nicht in dem Streben, das auf dem Papier sich zu vergegenwärtigen, was so lebhaft vor ihrer Seele stand. Sie kopirte Kalenderkupferchen, englische Kupferstiche und versuchte selbst nicht ohne Glück Porträts nach der Natur.

(Schmidt, vol. XXXI, p. 411)

A precocious child, she harboured an ambition to become a painter like Angelika Kaufmann and at the age of ten begged her parents to send her to Berlin to study with Chodowiecki, whose mother and sister ran the school she had attended until the age of six. But it was to no avail - her duty was to stay at home and emulate the "Milde und Sanftmuth" (Ibid. p. 411) of her mother Elisabeth, and thus to serve as a model of social etiquette to her younger sisters. Johanna now applied her energies to a renewed study of languages and it was in this that a Scotsman played a vital role. Dr. Richard Jameson, good friend and neighbour to the Trosiener household, was the minister.
of the English-speaking congregation in Danzig. He recognised the unusual intelligence of Johanna and took it upon himself to further her education:

Als ich heranwuchs, wurde Jameson mein Lehrer, mein Führer, mein Berater, und blieb mir zur Seite, und wachte über meine junge Seele, und ließ mich nicht von ihm, bis die Zeit herangekommen war, in welcher ein Anderer die Verpflichtung, für mich Sorge zu tragen, mit meiner Hand am Altar übernahm.

(Schopenhauer, Jugendleben u. Wanderbilder, pp. 41-2)

According to Johanna, Jameson had arrived in Danzig about the time of her parents' marriage in 1765; he was in his mid-thirties, a highly educated man who had gained his doctorate in theology from the University of Edinburgh, and he exerted a great influence on the young and receptive Johanna. There is little doubt, too, that he must have imparted something of his native land to her, and it is certain that it was he who introduced her to Shakespeare:


(Schmidt, vol. XXXI, p. 412)

If Johanna's love of freedom extended to politics - and her enthusiasm for the 'freedom fighters' of the American and French Revolutions implied that at this stage of her life at any rate it did - then she was to be bitterly disappointed by events at home. Danzig was not to retain its freedom forever and Johanna lived through much of the Reichsstadt's struggle to retain its independence. She was married at 18 on 16th May, 1784 to the wealthy banker and merchant Heinrich Floria Schopenhauer, also a patriotic native of Danzig, and
twenty years her senior. Johanna readily admitted from the start that the marriage was not founded on love and while she seldom saw her husband, she was happy to enjoy the luxury of his wealth and, later, the opportunity afforded her for travel. Schopenhauer had spent many years in England:

Er war Anglophile, sein Landhaus ganz im englischen Geschmack, mit englischem Komfort eingerichtet, und selbst die Lämmer, mit denen Johanna spielte, hatten Glocken von neuestem englischem Fabrikat um den Hals. (Plakolb, pp. 313-4)

Such was Schopenhauer's enthusiasm for England that he seriously considered emigrating. In 1787 Johanna travelled with him to Berlin, through Germany and France to Paris and from there to England, where they stayed for a lengthy period. Schopenhauer had intended his first child should be born in England, in order to enjoy the business advantages of British nationality (he was much mistaken in predicting his son's profession!) but November in London did not agree with Johanna's health and they returned to Danzig, where Arthur was born the following February.

The Schopenhauers' visit to Paris during the last years of the unhappy reign of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette had but served to strengthen their own desire for independence, and the fall of Danzig in 1793 came as a bitter blow:

Die Helden des Alterthums, die für Freiheit starben, traten begeisternd vor ihre jugendliche Phantasie. Es ward ihr leicht, ihren Gatten zu bewegen, seine ansehnlichen Handelsverbindungen und die Annehmlichkeiten eines schönen Landesitzes in Oliva aufzugeben.

(Schmidt, vol. XXXI, p. 413)

Within twenty-four hours the Schopenhauers had left Danzig, only a few days before the Prussian troops occupied the town. They were followed, but escaped capture and set up home in the Hansestadt Hamburg, where they lived for ten years, Johanna only returning to Danzig to sell their property. From now on they travelled extensively, Johanna herself having learnt early of the excitement of travel from accounts of her father's business trips to Russia and France. They toured Germany in 1800 and in 1803 their travels took them through Holland and the North of France to London, through England and Scotland, back to Holland and from there to Paris.
The Schopenhauers' daughter, Adele (born June 1797), was left in Hamburg, but the fifteen-year-old Arthur travelled with his parents, staying with friends in Wimbladon and attending Mr. Lancaster's school there, while his parents toured Britain from July to September. It is a shame that he did not travel with them on this part of their travels, since both he and his mother kept a travel diary and a comparison would have proved most interesting. But Paris, now in the hands of Napoleon, was the highlight of the tour for Johanna, and during her stay she spent much time in the studio of the painter Augustin, perfecting her skill in the art of miniature painting. Ever on the move, she travelled in 1804 through the South of France to Switzerland and from Munich to Vienna, where she stayed a while before traversing Silesia, Bohemia, Saxony and Brandenburg, and even revisiting Danzig before her return to Hamburg. She had been away three years. After the sudden death of her husband in 1805, in an unexplained 'accident', presumed suicide, in which he fell from a high loft door into a canal below, she decided to leave the North and moved to Weimar. She arrived in September, when Weimar was in upheaval, a few days before the Battle of Jena. Through her knowledge of French and the loyalty of her French servants, her property escaped looting and she busied herself with caring for the wounded and displaced. Very soon her house, Herder's former home and one of the few houses in the town still fit for social entertainment, became a meeting-place for the intellectual and social elite, Goethe himself being one of the first to repair there, thus ensuring Johanna's acceptance into the society of the Residenzstadt. Houben refers to an occasion at one of Johanna's soirées on which Goethe read Kosegarten's translation of a Scots ballad, "Hilla Lilla" (1801), (Houben, pp. 73-4). Her Thursday and Sunday salons became famous; the following contemporary description reveals the high esteem in which she was held:

Vollkommen und unabhängig in der weitesten Bedeutung des Wortes konnte sie die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse, deren Mittelpunkt sie zu bilden bestimmt schien, nach eigenem feinen Sinne gestalten, ohne andere Rück- sichten nehmen zu dürfen, als die, die man überall zu beachten sich geneigt fühlt. Sie verstand die Lösung des zwiefachen grossen
And so the laudation continues, biased no doubt, but it is also certain that Johanna proved an excellent and refined hostess, "im Kreise ihrer ästhetischen Tischrunde Herrscherin" (ADB, vol XXXII, p. 348). Even the turbulent years of 1813 and 1814 did not curtail the soirées, albeit that "der edle Kreis, der sich um sie versammelte, war bunter, geräuschvoller, wechselnder geworden" (Schmidt, Vol. XXI p. 416).

It was at this time that Johanna published her Reise durch England und Schottland, the second, enlarged and improved, edition of which she published five years later in 1818. Her final years may be of less relevance regarding any light they might throw on her Scottish tour, but it may be said briefly that after losing her fortune with the collapse of a Danzig bank in 1819 and suffering a stroke in 1823, her salon dwindled and she and Adele moved in 1828 to the warmer climate of the Rhine and Bonn, where they stayed until the summer of 1837. Johanna had humbled herself sufficiently to write to the Grossherzog in Weimar, asking him for permission and financial support to return to Thüringen, her "zweites Vaterland". This he granted her and she and Adele moved to Jena in the summer of 1837. She survived the following winter despite illness and returned to society in the new year, while working on her memoirs. At Easter she caught a cold but thought little of it and on the 16th April, after receiving visitors as usual, she died of a stroke in her sleep. In a speech made at her graveside Superintendant und Kirchenrath Dr. Schwarz praised her character highly:

Der hervorstechendste Zug ihres Charakters war ein tiefes Gefühl des Rechts und der Pflicht im weitesten und schönsten Sinne. Eine dies Gefühl verletzende Gemeinheit, gleichviel gegen wen und von wem sie ausgeübt ward, rief stets den lebhaftesten Unwillen bei ihr hervor, der unter Umständen sich bis zu Aeusserungen des heftigen Zorns steigern könnte. Zu diesem Gefühle gesellte sich eine großartige, dauernde Freiheitsliebe und
obwohl aristokratisch gesinnt in Allem, 
was die äussern gesellschaftlichen Verhält-
nisse betraf, eherte sie doch die Menschen-
würde aus tiefstem Herzen und konnte eine 
Kränkung derselben, an dem Geringsten 
einem, nie gleichgültig oder gelassen 
ertragen.

(Schmidt, vol. XXXI, pp. 419-20)

"So treffliche Eigenschaften des Herzens wurden noch durch 
ihre feine wissenschaftliche Bildung gehoben" (Ibid., p.420) and 
her intimate knowledge of French, English and Italian language 
and literature and her artistic skills testified to this. As 
for music, she did not attempt to indulge in this, since "Nichts 
war ihr verhasster, als der unreife Dilettantismus" (Ibid.).

Did the writings of this apparently perfect society lady match 
her character? Johanna's career as a writer began in 1807 with 
critical descriptions of portraits by von Kugelgen of Goethe, 
Wieland, Herder and Schiller, and landscapes by Friedrich. These 
short essays she contributed, with more to follow, to Bertuch's 'Journal 
des Luxus und der Mode' in July 1809. Her first extensive 
publication was the biography of her close friend, the art histor-
ian and philosopher, Karl Ludwig Fernow, whom she nursed in her 
house till his death. Fernow had in a sense replaced Dr. Jameson 
in Johanna's life6 and it was he who had taught her Italian and 
who had persuaded her to publish the above essays. The knowledge 
of the world which she gained from her travels is put to use in her 
writing, fictional and critical; and there is no doubt that her 
work, in particular the pioneering of the 'Erzählungsroman', was 
influential amongst contemporary women. Of particular note here 
are two 'Novellen' which she published in 1836, entitled, Der
Bettler von St. Kolumba and Margaretha von Schottland. It should 
also be remembered that after the loss of her financial resources 
in 1819, Johanna Schopenhauer was in the then most unusual position 
of being a woman of letters, writing for her living. The Reise 
durch England und Schottland was written before this change in 
her circumstances.

There are two aspects of Johanna's life and work which 
darken the picture. The first is scarcely her fault and can be 
said of most of the travellers dealt with here: her fame died 
with her, her creative work possessing no lasting qualities. 
This does not apply to her travel writing, however, for which
different and less creative skills are necessarily demanded of the writer. But it does lead one to her great personal fault, for which, ironically, posterity remembers her, namely her complete inability to recognise the genius of her son Arthur. She was a woman of her time and judged according to the principles of the social circle in which she moved. She could no more understand her son and his distastes for her life in Weimar than she could appreciate the fact that, while she enjoyed a certain fame in her day, it would die with her, whereas the recognition her son was to receive, albeit gradually, would last. The child she needed was her submissive daughter Adele, who happily lived her life in the service and shadow of her mother. The upbringing the latter had given her son had left him lonely, restless and neglected. The split between mother and son is relevant here in that it was coming to a head during the time Johanna's Reise was being published in 1813. Arthur had been living in Dresden and had fled to Weimar to escape the confusion of war, whence he moved to the peaceful Rudolstadt to write up his dissertation, which he submitted in the autumn of that year, graduating Dr. Phil. in absentia in October. His mother's derisive remark on seeing his dissertation, "Das sei wohl etwas für Apotheker" (Die Grossen Deutschen (1957), vol. III, p.138), proves only how hopelessly she misunderstood him and the import of his work. But the rift between them became final when Johanna accepted Müller von Gerstenberg into her house; this greatly upset even Adele. And yet Johanna was happy to receive praise herself for her own work. In a letter to Major von Knebel, dated 29.3.1813, she thanks him for his complimentary remarks concerning her Erinnerungen von einer Reise, which had appeared at the beginning of the year:

ein freundliches, ermunterndes Wort sagen, 
das ist die Freude und der Stolz meines 
Lebens.  
(Schopenhauer, Damals in Weimar, pp.170-71)

Goethe, whose friendship Johanna treasured most highly, had almost 
certainly received one of the first copies of the Reise and he, too, 
had evidently accorded it high praise. It is interesting that 
Johanna should want to write her travels at such a time, when both 
family and political events around her were so troubled. Had she 
lost her earlier keen interest in politics? In the same letter to 
von Knebel she writes:

Ich wollte, ich hörte nichts und sähe nichts 
al scheine Freunde, meine Bücher, und meine 
Arbeiten, und alle politischen Neuigkeiten 
blieben fern von mir, obgleich sie auch 
über mein Schicksal entscheiden. Alle diese 
Furcht und Hoffnung ist mir ärger als das 
wirkliche Übel; man trägt's doch, ist's 
einmal da, aber das Hin- und Herbaltiren 
ist unerträglich.

(Ibid. p.171)

Is this mood reflected in her Reise, and if so, does it detract 
from any genuine observations she might have made therein?

In a letter to Bertuch, dated 1st July, 1816, she writes of 
the plans for a second edition of the Reise:

Ich habe meine Erinnerungen jetzt von 
außen durchgesehen, ich finde sie sind 
abgeschlossenes Ganze das mit dem 
zweiten Theil völlig beendet ist, wie 
Sie selbst finden werden wenn Sie dessen 
letzte Seite nur flüchtig nachsehen wollen. 
Das Buch hat mehr Beifall gefunden als wir 
beide erwarteten, deshalb muss es bleiben 
wie es ist. Wollten Sie eine zweite 
Auflage machen, so würde ich freilich viel 
Zusätze und Verbesserungen anzubringen 
haben, aber einen dritten Theil mussten wir 
icht hinzufügen, es thäte dem Buche 
Schaden. Gerade dass es kurz ist macht eines 
seiner Hauptverdienste, ich bin also ent- 
schlossen den dritten Theil nicht zu schreiben, 
sondernd den Stoff und die Vorarbeiten die ich 
dazu liegen habe, mit der Zeit zu einem für 
sich bestehenden Ganzen zu verarbeiten, wie, 
weiss ich selbst noch nicht bestimmt.

(Ibid. p.207)

Despite the above comment, a third volume was added to the first
two under the separate title Reise durch das südliche Frankreich. The Reise durch England und Schottland still remains an entity on its own, with or without the tours of Holland and the South of France. A letter to the publisher, F.A.Brockhaus, dated 12th October 1818, accompanied the second part of the Reise durch England und Schottland; in it Schopenhauer appeals to Brockhaus to ensure that the type-setter pays careful attention to her corrections (it was published as the "zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage"). She also thanks him for five copies of the Rheinreise, for which friends had been pestering her. The popularity of her travel writings had evidently been such that she could afford to make the following comment:


(Ibid. p.224)

There are two ironies here, first that her only son despised the triviality of her popular writing, and secondly that even her writing, popular as it was, could not provide her with the means on which to live in the manner to which she had been accustomed before the loss of her money in Danzig. In the above letter to Bartuch she discusses financial matters and informs him that since other publishers have offered her considerably more for her works she intends to go to them in future. She excuses herself with the words:

Ich schreibe zwar nicht um des Geldes wegen, sondern weil ich diese Art Beschäftigung lieb gewonnen habe und der Beifall des Publikums mich immer mehr dazu ermuntert, aber wir leben in Zeiten wo hundert Thaler mehr oder weniger wohl zu beachten sind, das wissen Sie selbst.

(Ibid. p.208)

Little did she realise how cruelly she herself would feel this in years to come when, no longer a lady of means, every "Thaler" really did count.
Schopenhauer was not concerned in her *Reise* with providing
dates and distances of her Scottish itinerary. She and her husband
toured the country in a private carriage from July to September 1803.
Their route took them through Berwick to Edinburgh and on to Carron
and Stirling and north to Perth and Dunkeld. They then followed
the Tay to Kenmore and Killin and saw Dalmally, Inveraray, Cairndow,
Arrochar, Glencoe, Loch Lomond and Luss. They stayed in Glasgow
and Lanark, visited the Falls of Clyde, and travelled south to the
Lake District via Moffat and Gretna Green.
Philipp Andreas Nemnich, "Reiseschriftsteller und Encyklopädist" (ADB, vol. XXIII, p. 426), was born at Dillenburg in Nassau in 1764. He became a Licentiat der Rechte in Hamburg, worked also as a journalist and before the age of 30 had begun work on a series of encyclopaedic works for which he became well known, amongst these Catholikon (1793-5), "ein allgemeines Polyglottalexikon der Naturgeschichte" (ADB, vol. XXIII, p. 426), Waarenlexikon in 12 Sprachen (1797) and Wörterbuch der Naturgeschichte in 8 Sprachen (1800). In 1799 he toured Britain and on his return wrote an account of this journey, concentrating on the state of the British economy and industry (Beschreibung einer im Sommer 1799 von Hamburg nach und durch England geschehene Reise (Tübingen, Cotta, 1800). He returned to Britain in the spring of 1805 and stayed until the following year, publishing his Neueste Reise durch England, Schottland und Ireland, hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Produkte, Fabriken, und Handlung (Tübingen, Cotta, 1807) on his return in 1807. It is uncertain whether his travels actually took him to all the places he describes, from Ayrshire to Shetland, but there is no evidence to the contrary, and his meticulous observations imply personal knowledge of the subject matter.

Nemnich was a prolific writer and traveller — Maidinger calls him "den rastlosen, unermüdlichen Sammler" (Maidinger, Reisen, p. iii) — and he continued to publish both travel accounts and commercial encyclopaedias and dictionaries. Amongst his later works, two in particular deal with Britain, the first being his Britische Waaren-Encyclopädie (Hamburg u. London, 1815; Nachtrag, 1820). The title alone of the second reveals something of the painstaking character of the author: Universal-Lexikon der Englischen und Teutschen Handels- Correspondenz, enthaltend alle Wörter und Redensarten des merkantilischen Briefstils, des Buchhaltens und Rechnungswesens, der Bank- und Wechsel-Operationen, des Kaufs und Verkaufs von Waaren, der Beschaffenheit der Märkte und Waarenpreise, des Zollwesens, der Schiffahrt und Rhederei,
der Begebenheiten und Gefahren zur See, der Assekuranz, des
Wechselrechts, des Insolvenz-Verfahrens und überhaupt der
ganzen Handlungs-Jurisprudenz der Contracts jeder Art u.s.w.
This pedantic piece of research, no doubt invaluable to those who
wished every eventuality catered for, was published in Hamburg in
1816.

Nemnich was nothing if not thorough in his researches; he
prided himself on his careful preparations for his second tour
of Britain, for instance, boasting of 1200 letters of introduction!
His interest in foreign lands was constant; he even published an
edited translation of Ross's expedition to the North Pole in 1820.
From 1819 he worked as censor of periodicals and women's journals
in Hamburg. Ratzel appraises him in the ADB:

Nemnich war ein fleissiger Sammler und
Beobachter von Thatsachen, jedoch ohne
Tiefe und Originalität. Man kann ihn
als einen der Vorläufer der modernen
Publicistik bezeichnen.

(ADB, vol. XXIII, p. 427)

Original or not, Nemnich's sober researches contribute to a present-
day study of Scotland's social history. It is most likely that
his work was used as source material by later travellers to Britain.
He conveniently provided his immediate successors with up-to-date
and exhaustive statistics and saved them much homework. Spiker
refers to him more than once (e.g. Spiker, 297) and doubtless
others did too, even if they did not acknowledge this. Nemnich
himself tells in the foreword to the publication of 1800 how he
would not have written an account of his British tour had the
publisher Cotta not urged him to use the opportunity to collect
material for the 'Allgemeine Zeitung':

Aus den Materialien aber ist ein ganzes
Buch geworden. Stiftet es den gewünsch-
ten Nutzen, so ist das Verdienst nicht
mir, sondern dem Urheber, Herrn Cotta,
zuzuschreiben.

(Nemnich, Beschreibung einer Reise,
'Vorwort')

As if apologising for any lack of originality or polish, he
continues:

Es blieb mir keine Zeit übrig, andere
Reisebeschreibungen zu lesen, um die
meinige vorzubereiten. Dagegen glaube
ich, erfahren zu haben, dass ein Beob-
achter seine eigene Augen brauchen, und
nicht mit fremden sehen muss.
Vielleicht wird man meine Schreibart etwas nachlässig finden. Ich muss also um Nachsicht bitten; denn ich habe auf die ganze Arbeit kaum einen Moment verwenden können. Die Beschreibung dessen, was man in cultivirten Ländern gesehen hat, muss geschwinder als jedes andere Buch, zum Druck befördert werden. (Ibid.)

In these statements he raises moot points concerning the function of travel literature; his intention is evidently to inform and instruct at the expense of entertainment, but others would argue that this attitude rendered a "Reise beschreibung" a mere "Reisehandbuch". Nonetheless, a publisher of Cotta's standing would not have seen fit to publish a second work had the first not been a success, and one must deduce that there was considerable demand for such a work.

Between his two visits, in the summer of 1799 and from the spring of 1805 to that of 1806, Nemnich apparently toured every corner of Scotland. If one presumes that his description follows the order of his tours, then he started in the Lothians, moving from there to the Borders, then to the South West, Glasgow, and Argyll, across the country to Kinross and Perthshire, over to Fife and Angus and up the east coast to Aberdeen and Inverness, and from there to the North. The account of the Western and Northern Isles is clearly based on second-hand information.
The only information on the life of Georg Holzenthal which I have been able to obtain is that which is revealed by the author himself in his work, whose title page reads:

Briefe über Deutschland, Frankreich, Spanien, die balearischen Inseln, das südliche Schottland und Holland. Geschrieben in den Jahren 1809 bis 1814 von Georg Holzenthal, Premier-Lieutenant in Hochfürstlich Schaumburg-Lippischen Diensten. On the inner page there is a dedication: "St. Durchlaucht dem Regierenden Fürsten von Schaumburg-Lippe als ein Zeichen seiner Dankbarkeit unterthänigst gewidmet von dem Verfasser". The work was published in Berlin in 1817. The 'Vorrede', dated October 1816, reveals little further information, since in it the author is naturally concerned with the presentation of his work rather than his own person, but he does emphasise the importance of his role as soldier and the opportunity this had given him to learn and observe:

Als Militair hatte ich Gelegenheit die Länder und Provinzen in allen Richtungen zu durchstreifen, und bei Leuten von allen Ständen in Städten, mehr aber noch auf dem Lande, mich aufzuhalten, und daselbst Charakter und Sitten zu beobachten. (Holzenthal, 'Vorrede')

The work comprises a collection of letters, 43 in number, which follow Holzenthal on his course throughout the latter years of the Napoleonic Wars. In the foreword he admits that not all the letters were written at the time. The first is dated Cassel, 20th March, 1809, and the last Bückeburg, April 1814; from the headings of those intervening one can trace his progress, first as an active soldier, fighting on the side of the French, presumably sent to Tyrol in the aftermath of the Peasant Revolt of January 1809, and thereafter as a prisoner of war, captured by the Tyrolean "Insurgenten". Letters 2 - 6 are dated from Würzburg, Donauwerth, Regensburg, Passau and Innsbruck in April, May and July of 1809, and letter number 7, dated Sterzing [Vipiteno], 6th August, describes how his unit was surrounded and defeated at Mittenwald (Holzenthal, p.51). Then began the long march to Spain by way of Vienna, and the ensuing letters are
headed from Salzburg, St. Pölten, Vienna, and then, presumably as a result of the Treaty of Vienna in October 1809, from Linz and towns in South Germany and France, the last of these being Perpignan, 6th March, 1810. They evidently reached Barcelona the following month and Tarragona in October. The last letter from Tarragona is dated January 1811, and the next are from Mallorca and Menorca, where the prisoners were held for some nine months before being transported by boat via Cadiz to Portsmouth. The ten letters describing the voyage and the subsequent months as a prisoner of war in Scotland are as follows:

29. Am Bord des Canopus vor Cadiz, 18. Nov. 1811
30. Auf der Rhode von Portsmouth, 2. Dec. 1812
32. Vor Anker in der Nore [sic], am Bord des Zealous, den 24. Dec.
34. Hawick, 1. Juni 1812
36. Hawick, 18. Dec. 1812
37. Hawick, 3. Juli 1813
38. Yarmouth, 5. Marz 1815 [in fact 1814]

From Yarmouth the prisoners were transported to The Hague and Holzenthal then travelled through Holland back to his native Bückeburg.

As a young officer, Holzenthal was evidently treated with respect. From the fact that he never once refers to any physical hardship one may deduce that he and his fellow officers, French and German, were well treated in Scotland. The boat on which they sailed to Leith, the "Zealous", arrived in the Firth of Forth on January 1st, 1812; on 7th a party of French officers and their wives, who had been brought from Wincanton, were taken ashore, and on 12th Holzenthal began the march to Hawick with a light heart:

Worte sind zu schwach, um das Gefühl zu beschreiben, das beim ersten Tritt ans Land mich beseelte. Ich bildete mir ein frei zu seyn, als ich ungehindert einige Schritte gehen konnte, und dabei weder von Mauern noch verschlossenen Thüren oder den Bretterwänden der scheusslichen Löcher in den Schiffen aufgehalten wurde, noch auch das wiederholte empfindliche: God dam, go down in the prison! (Marsch, herunter ins Gefangniss!) mehr vernahm.

(Holzenthal, p. 202)
Indeed, the march to Hawick seems to have been the greatest physical hardship the officers had to endure. When they reached Hawick they were well received by the agent for prisoners, who told them of their duties and even allowed them to choose their lodgings from a list. Forty of the French who had been transported with the Germans had arrived in the town a few days earlier and Holzenthal shared his quarters, "eine ziemlich gute Wohnung", with one of these and three of his own compatriots.

By the end of the war, two years later, Holzenthal's sympathies, while remaining loyal to his own state, had naturally changed allegiance. Writing from Hawick on 9th January, 1814 after the news of the outcome of the Völker_schlacht and the end of the war was confirmed, he makes plain that he and his compatriots looked on the news of Napoleon's defeat as the liberation of their country. From this time on he expresses his frustration and indignation that the German officers were not released forthwith by the British Government. They made several vain attempts to secure their release in order to take part "an dem Kampfe fürs Vaterland". After reading in the London newspapers that their own sovereign had joined the Coalition, they applied to the Austrian Ambassador, Baron von Wesenberg, to act on their behalf, but neither this nor an article stating their case which they had had printed in the London paper, 'The Traveller', met with any success, and even though the Dutch and Swiss were released to take part in the fight, the Germans remained in custody: "Man schien gegen alle unsere Versuche taub seyn zu wollen. Wir waren und blieben nach wie vor französische Kriegsgefangene, und wurden ganz dem zufolge behandelt" (Holzenthal, p. 233). Finally, in December, they received word from their Prince that the British Government was to be sent the necessary sum for their return home and, after suffering an exceptionally hard winter, their date of departure was set for February. On 21st the two German contingents, from Waldeck and Schaumburg-Lippe, twelve officers in all, were issued with passports and two days later they set out for Edinburgh. They sailed from Leith on 25th February on board a Berwick smack. On the boat they met up with five Hessian officers who had been held first in Badajoz and then in Lauder, and 130 soldiers,
amongst them their three valets, who, with 3,000 other prisoners of war, had been held in Valleyfield. Early next day, on 26th, owing to unfavourable winds, the smack was forced to cast anchor off the Berwickshire coast, but after two days' delay they finally reached Yarmouth on 2nd March. Holzenthal had thus been in Scotland for a little over two years.
SPIKER

Samuel Heinrich Spiker, journalist, geographer, "Känner Englands und Washington Ivings" (Bader, p. 250), and librarian to His Majesty the King of Prussia, was born on 24th December, 1786 in Berlin. He studied "Kameralia" at the University of Halle, graduating Dr. phil. and soon engaging himself in journalism. From 1814-15 he coedited the first four volumes of the 'Zeitschrift für die neueste Geschichte' and as "einer der besten Kenner von Afrika für jene Zeit" (ADB, vol. XXXV, p. 164), edited volumes 21 - 57 of the 'Journal für Land- und Seereisen' from 1819 to 1827. He had already contributed frequently to the journal and in fact edited it from 1813 to 1824 (6. bis 17. Jahrgang), but was not officially named editor until 1819. In addition to this journal he also edited the 'Magazin der neuesten Reisebeschreibungen in unterhaltenden Auszügen' (volumes 15-46, Berlin, 1813-24), but here too his name was only officially given as editor in volume 31.

Spiker had early contact with England and worked on several translations, especially of Shakespeare and Walter Scott (Will. Shakespeare's Macbeth, Uebersetzt von S.H. Spiker, Duncker u. Humblot, Berlin, 1826; Der Pirat, aus dem Englischen des Walter Scott, Berlin, 1822; and Quentin Durward, aus dem Engl. von Walter Scott, Berlin, 1823). He thus played a direct part in spreading the influence and popularity of Scott, and for that matter of Shakespeare's Scotland, in Germany. Indeed, his pre-occupation with things British was so great that he was even nick-named by his opponents 'Lord Spiker'. Before touring Great Britain himself, Spiker first translated and annotated a work from the English, entitled Historische Uebersicht der neuen Politik u. Staatsverwaltung (vol. 1, 1812; vol.2, 1813, published 1815-16). His own two volumed Reise durch England, Wales und Schottland im Jahre 1816 appeared in Leipzig in 1818. Also that year he published the "fünfte gänzlich umgearbeitete u. verbesserte Auflage" of Friedr. Gedike'ns englisches Lesebuch für den ersten Anfänger.

In 1827 Spiker bought the 'Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- u. gelehrten Sachen' and from then on used the paper, known as the 'Spenersche Zeitung', partly as an organ for discussing and promoting things British:

(ADB, vol. XXXV, p.165)

As a young man, in 1806, Spiker had worked as an assistant, 'Voluntär', at the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin, and from 1815 until 1850 he was employed there as librarian. By 1848 political events, trouble within the paper and conflict with the new Oberbibliothekar Pertz had embittered Spiker and his last ten years were not happy ones. He died on 24th May, 1858. The legacy he had left of a "national- liberales Parteiblatt" (Ibid.p.166) was not to last and a new editorial staff changed the paper's outlook and ultimately led to its demise in 1874.

As editor of the above journals, Spiker's name was evidently well known in his time and his Reise widely read. Von Raumer refers to it in his England im Jahre 1835, as does Niemeyer, and Meidinger calls him "ein sorgfältiger Aufzeichner, besonders in Beziehung auf Gegenstände der Kunst und Wissenschaft" (Meidinger, Reisen, Vorwort', p. iv). Spiker's tour of Britain was translated into English two years after its publication in Germany, as Travels through England, Wales & Scotland, in the year 1816 (London, 1820). In the 'Dedication to the Friends of England', the introduction to the latter edition, he writes:

Having been engaged for several years in the study of the history, constitution, and literature of Great Britain, I felt an eager desire to become acquainted with a country of the internal perfection and improvement of which I had, from every thing produced in it, conceived the most favourable opinion.

(Spiker, Travels, p.1)

He left Germany in September 1815 and stayed in London until June 1816,
carrying out business on behalf of the Library in Berlin. The wars in Europe had caused a break-down in communications in the literary field as much as any other, and Spiker had his government's authority to purchase many books for the library to redress the balance. On June 16th, 1816 he set out from London on the tour of Britain which he describes in his two volumed *Reise*. Since he left Newcastle on July 17th, and saw the sun rise over the ocean by Berwick, we can presume he entered Scotland on July 18th, arriving that day or the next in Edinburgh, which he left on July 26th, reaching Perth that evening at 7. The next night was spent in Dunkeld, and the following nights in Kenmore, the Cameron Inn at Killin, Dalmally, Mull, Oban (having visited Staffa), Inverary and Luss. This would take him to the 4th August. He then must have stayed several nights in Glasgow, since he mentions that the flags are flying in Carlisle when he arrives there, in celebration of the Prince Regent’s birthday on 12th August. Spiker's stay in Scotland thus lasted the best part of four weeks. The translator opens the 'Advertisement' to the second volume, dated London, July 31st, 1820, with the following tribute:

The Author of these Travels was well known to an extensive literary circle during his residence in England, and was as remarkable for the quickness of his observations and the diligence of his inquiries, as for the candour of his remarks, the urbanity of his manners, and the friendly disposition he invariably manifested towards this country.

(Spiker, *Travels*, 'Advertisement by the Translator', vol.2, p.ix)
MEISSNER

There is little information available concerning the life of Eduard Meissner other than that which can be ascertained from accounts of the lives of his two well known relatives, his father, August Gottlieb Meissner (1753-1807) and his son Alfred von Meissner (1822-85). August Gottlieb, son of a regimental quarter-master, was born in the Lausitz, in Bautzen, in 1753 and educated first in Löbau and then as a law student in Leipzig and Wittenberg. Having served in Dresden as Canceller, he travelled to Austria in 1785 and was offered the post of Professor of Aesthetics and Classical Literature in Prague. Twenty years later he moved to Fulda as Consistorialrath und Director des Gymnasium Illustre. As a young man he had been closely involved with theatre and would probably have sought a career in that field had he not received so much opposition from his widowed mother and family friends. Instead he contented himself with writing moralistic plays and stories, "bald gräcieirender, bald italienisch gestimmter Geschichten Wieland'scher bis Kotzebue'scher Frivolität" (ADB, vol.LII, p. 773). In his day he was well known both as a writer and translator and earned himself the nickname 'Skizzenmeissner'. He also contributed to and edited various literary journals.

Eduard Meissner was born in 1785, the year August Gottlieb moved to Prague. Frankel, in his biography of Alfred, stresses Eduard's "oberesächsische Lebhaftigkeit und Lust an Freiheit, an Aufklärung" (Ibid. p. 773), though if one assumes that he remained with his family (he had a sister, Bianca, whose second marriage was with the writer Johann Gottlieb von Quandt) until his father moved to Fulda in 1805, then the external influences of his childhood and youth would also have been Bohemian. As if to prove how closely the two regions were linked, it was to be in Teplitz, on the Bohemian border with Saxony, that Eduard was to set up in medical practice. Apart from the fact that it is known to be a journey of his father's to Rome in 1810-11 which served Alfred as the base for his tale Norbert Norson (published 1883), it is only from Eduard Meissner's own work, Bemerkungen aus dem Taschenbuche eines Arztes während einer Reise von Odessa durch einen Theil von Deutschland, Holland, England und Schottland, which was published in Halle in 1819, that I have been able to learn something of the intervening years.
In the first section of the work, 'Reise von Odessa nach Berlin in der letzten Hälfte des Jahres 1816', Meissner tells how he had originally planned to publish "eine medicinische Tour durch Europa". After seven months in Paris in 1809, two years travelling through Italy to Salerno, eight months in Vienna, and more than four years in the Russian-Polish provinces (three of them spent in Volynien and one in Podolien [Podolsk], Ukraine), he had realised that this was too big an undertaking. The information he could impart would become out of date more quickly than he could publish. In this first part of his book, Meissner relates his medical experiences in Russia and also in Berlin, where he spent the winter of 1816 working at Professor Wolfart's Magnetsches Klinikum. Meissner's interest in animal magnetism is apparent at various stages throughout the Bemerkungen, in particular with reference to second sight in the Highlands.

The second section of the work, 'Reise durch Holland', describes his journey by coach and barge to Rotterdam, from where he sailed on a packet boat to Harwich, then on by stage coach to London. It is not clear where Meissner spent the years between his return from Britain at the end of 1817 and his son Alfred's birth in Teplitz almost exactly five years later. In the Bemerkungen there is reference to the fact that he was in Bamberg in 1818 (p.22), but this may have just been a short term visit. His marriage must have taken place around this time; in relation to his impressions of Scotland it was of huge importance, for he married a native Scotswoman, Carolina May of Invermay. Where and how they met is unfortunately not revealed in the Bemerkungen, nor is her name even mentioned, but one could speculate that his 90 mile detour through the Trossachs back to Edinburgh from Perth was to take in Invermay on route. At any rate, in the Bemerkungen, Meissner reveals himself to be an ardent Scotophile and it is known that his wife retained a great love for her country and its national literature and imparted much of this to her artistic son, who grew up bilingual and well versed in Percy, Scott and Burns. By 1822 Meissner was established as a spa doctor in Teplitz, although he incurred the displeasure of the authorities by openly supporting anti-Metternich groups from outside Austria and buying their newspapers; he was punished for
this action and came under police surveillance. It was over a professional matter, however, that he finally fell out with the Teplitz authorities. In 1830 the first evidence of the cholera epidemic reached Teplitz; in the interest of the spa’s reputation, the town’s policy was to hush the matter up in the hopes that the outbreak would remain an isolated case. Meissner evidently felt it his duty to publicise the facts, but having been grossly insulted by a crowd who surrounded his home, it became clear that Teplitz was no longer a safe place of abode for him and he was forced to escape under military protection. He now settled in Karlsbad [Karlovy Vary] and in a short time had become well loved in his role as spa doctor there. In 1835 he moved into Prague.

As regards the relationship between parent and child, Eduard and Alfred Meissner can be compared with Johanna and Arthur Schopenhauer, for the differences between father and son were to dominate their family life. Although Alfred did agree to study medicine, his poetic and subsequent political leanings were to be the cause of a major rift between him and his father, only temporarily eased by his long-suffering and kind mother’s efforts at mediation. The course of his father August Gottlieb’s life and his own personal antipathy towards Metternich did little to help Eduard understand his sensitive son, who graduated in 1846 but practised only briefly as a doctor. As a close friend of Moritz Hartmann and later Heinrich Heine, Alfred was far more involved with the political Vormärz than with any prospect of a career in his father’s profession. After self-imposed exile in Brussels, Paris and Frankfurt, where he came into close contact with the leading political and literary activists, Alfred was to return home in 1849, only to be met by his father’s renewed attempts to urge him back to medicine and away from revolutionary politics. He escaped his father’s displeasure by travelling to Britain, spending the London season in the home of his parents’ friend, Lady William Russell. Alfred then made a two week tour of Scotland with his close friend Moritz Hartmann in the early summer of 1850 and visited Heine in Paris on his way home. He was to live seventeen more years with his parents but never made peace with his father. Fränkl writes:
War der vormärzlich Altliberale auch zu wesentlich conservativerem, wenn auch keineswegs reactionärem Standpunkte eingewichen, so hätte sich hier gewiss noch ein ständiger Waffenstillstand mit Alfred ermöglicht, zumal dieser, die Tagespolitik beim Erlöschen der Revolutionsflamme mit der Rückkehr aus dem Auslande an den Nagel hängend, künftig nur mehr in erfundenen Erzählungen seine Freiheitsgedanken ausströmte. Aber über die Entgleisung seines Lieblingswahns, im einzigen Stammhalter einen Erben des einträglichen Berufs aufwachsen zu sehen, kam Dr. Eduard Meissner nie hinweg und er verzieh ihm dies nie; um so weniger, als von den litterarischen goldenen Bergen, die sich der Sprössling ausgemalt haben mag, nichts zu verspüren war.

(ADB, vol. LII, p. 777)

Eduard had retired from his practice and Alfred's literary output in the 1850's and 1860's can be seen as a frantic attempt to establish some sort of independence from parental support. Eduard was doubtless all the more irked by his son's association with the unscrupulous and unpopular Franz Hedrich (1825-95), whose blackmail is thought to have been the direct cause of Alfred's ultimate suicide, but he was not to see his son happily married and settled in Bregenz from 1869, for he died on 15th August, 1868. Father and son were never reconciled.

The second section of Eduard Meissner's Bemerkungen, 'Reise durch Holland' (pp. 48ff.), is followed by sections entitled 'London' (pp.88ff.), 'Reise nach Schottland' (pp.180 ff.), 'Edinburgh' (pp.200ff.), and, finally, 'Fussreise durch die Hochlande' (pp.229ff.). On 1st July, 1817 he set out on the first stage of his journey to Scotland, making short stops en route in Oxford, Birmingham, Sheffield, Durham and Newcastle. In all he was to spend eleven weeks in Scotland, between July and September, first visiting Edinburgh and then spending the last few days of July and the month of August on a pedestrian tour of the Highlands, travelling by steamer to Alloa and from there to Callander and the Trossachs, through Glencoe to Inveraray and on to Oban, across Lochs Etive and Creran to Appin and Ballachulish, and on through Glen More to Inverness. A chance invitation granted him a few days as a house guest at Brodie Castle by Forres and on the way there he visited Cawdor and stopped overnight in Nairn, thus abandoning his original plan of travelling
further north into Ross-shire. After leaving Brodie he moved south through the Grampians to Blair Atholl and Perth and, instead of going straight on to Edinburgh, could not resist travelling there by way of Crieff, Loch Earn and Loch Lomond, in order to be able to enjoy the Trossachs once more. From Dumbarton he reached Glasgow, took a steam boat trip down the Clyde, and only then returned to Edinburgh, where he secured himself a passage on a smack from Leith to London. He spent some more weeks in London before returning to the Continent at the end of October.
MEIDINGER

Johann Heinrich Maidinger, geographer, travel writer and merchant, was born in Frankfurt am Main on 13th November, 1792, the eldest son of the French teacher and author of a French grammar, Johann Valentin Maidinger (1756-1822). Maidinger spent several years abroad before settling back in Frankfurt; he was in France from 1813 to 1815 and in Britain from 1815 to 1817. Thereafter business took him on several occasions to the British Isles, in 1820, 1821, 1824 and from 1825 to 1826. In the foreword to his Reisen durch Grossbritannien und Irland he writes:

Auf diesen Reisen habe ich mich bemüht das grosse Inselreich in allen Theilen auf das genaueste kennen zu lernen, und vieles aufzusuchen was ausser meinem Wege lag, und mir blos zur Vervollständigung einer richtigen Topographie dienen konnte. Ich versäumte dabei nicht meine Beobachtungen mit denjenigen zu vergleichen, welche frühere Reisende, sowohl englische als deutsche, vor mir gemacht. Sehr häufig fand ich grosse Lücken, ja die östlichen und südlichen Grafschaften von England, den grösseren Theil von Schottland und Irland, und namentlich die beiden, an der Küste der Normandie liegenden, interessanten englischen Inseln Guernsey und Jersey (diese Miniaturbilder von England) noch gleichsam eine Terra incognita in allen deutschen Reisebeschreibungen.

(Meidinger, Reisen, 'Vorwort', p.1)

Of the German works he refers to, Nemnich, Goede, Schopenhauer, Spiker, Otto and Niemeyer are all discussed (Ibid. pp.iii-vi).

On his return to Germany Maidinger devoted his free time to the study of geography and statistics and wrote many works on the strength of this, including several on Britain and matters British, amongst these the two under discussion here, namely, Briefe von einer Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland im Frühjahr und Sommer 1820 (Cotta, Stuttgart u. Tübingen, 1821) and Reisen durch Grossbritannien u. Irland (Frankfurt am Main, 1828). He also published Die Britischen Colonien in Australien (Frankfurt a.M., 1860), Das Britische Reich in Europa (Leipzig, 1851), England und Wales in geognostischer und hydrographischer Beziehung (Frankfurt a.M., 1844)
and even a German grammar for English speakers, published in London in 1839, *The German Self-Teacher, or a new mode of radically studying the German Language*. One can thus deduce that he had intimate knowledge both of Britain and of the English language.

The *Briefe* are addressed to his childhood friend, Professor N. G. Eidi, in Weilburg. The first three are written from London in March and April 1820, the fourth from Bristol and fifth from Norwich, dated April 1820, the sixth and seventh from Lincoln and Derby, dated May, the eighth and ninth from Liverpool and Newcastle in June, the tenth from Edinburgh, dated June 1820, the eleventh from Glasgow dated July 1820, the twelfth and thirteenth from Ballimoney and Dublin, also dated July, and the final and fourteenth letter written from London once more and dated August 1820. During this first stay in Scotland he appears to have gained knowledge of the Cheviots and East Lothian from his journey up the coast from Berwick and through Dunbar, Edinburgh itself in no little detail, Leith, the country between Edinburgh and Glasgow, the city of Glasgow, and two excursions from there introduced him to Loch Lomond and Hamilton Palace. He then sailed down the Clyde, bound for Belfast. In his detailed Reisen, which can be directly compared with Nemnich's works, Maidinger dispenses with accounts of any journeys he undertook, and instead gives a topographical description of the whole country. In the foreword to this work, dated Frankfurt am Main, 1827, he writes:

*Da ich ... während meines mehrjährigen Aufenthaltes in England, bei meinen vielen Verbindungen, und häufigen Reisen von einem Ende des Landes zum andern, so Vieles Gelegenheit hatte zu sehen, zu hören, zu vergleichen und zu berichten, auch ein anderer nach mir dieses im Ganzen kostspielige Land nicht so leicht wieder in die Kreuz und Quer bereisen dürfte (den der blossen Wissenschaft wegen, gehen wenige so anhaltend hinüber), so halte ich es für meine Pflicht, dasjenige nicht mit mir begraben zu lassen, was ich fast überall mit eigenen Augen gesehen, und gewöhnlich an Ort und Stelle gleich niedergeschrieben habe, glücklich wenn ich dadurch mehr Licht und Aufklärung in die zur Zeit noch ziemlich dunkle und unbestimmte Geographie Englands bringe.*

(Meidinger, *Reisen*, 'Vorwort', p.vi)
Despite the "fast überall mit eigenen Augen gesehen" and the "gewöhnlich an Ort und Stelle" one must presume that he did indeed visit those places he describes. Several personal comments and observations interspersed throughout the text would confirm this.

Heinrich Maidinger died in Frankfurt on 21st May, 1867.
Dr. Carl Otto was born on the Danish West Indian island of St. Thomas on 20th May, 1795. He was the son of the doctor, Johann Traugott Lebrecht Otto (1766-1827) and Albertine Vilhelmine Frederikke Conradi (1772-1844). At the time of Otto's birth, his father was serving as garrison medical officer on St. Thomas, but in 1800 he moved to Copenhagen, later to become Kammerrath and Universitäts-und Kommunitäts-Cassirer in the capital. Otto attended first Basedow's school and then, from 1810, the Borgedyd/School, studying at the University from 1813. During his studies from 1817 to 1819 he served as medical candidate in Frederiks Hospital, winning a university gold medal in 1817 and graduating in medicine the following year. From 1819 to 1822 he undertook an extensive 'Studienreise', traversing Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France, the British Isles and Holland, which he describes in the two-volumed travel account which he published in Hamburg in 1825.

In the autumn of 1823, after his return to Copenhagen, he became Privatdozent at the University and from 1825 "constituiter Arzt an den Strafanstalten". In 1832 he was appointed professor of Pharmacology and Medicina Forensis, a post which he held for thirty years, also becoming Assessor Consistoril in 1840. He had married Anna Elisabeth Friis (1802-75) in March 1827 and survived her by four years; he died in Copenhagen on 24th April, 1879.

After his return from his travels, Otto's interests lay chiefly in the field of phrenology and in 1825 he published a large work entitled Phrenologien. From 1822 to 1826 his lectures were largely concerned with phrenology and for a number of years he edited a journal on the subject, also contributing to the 'Edinburgh Phrenological Journal', the 'London Medical and Physical Journal', the 'London Medical Repository' and even the 'Philadelphia Medical Journal'. In his work at this time he made use of that which he had observed on his travels, publishing in December 1824, for instance, an article entitled 'Galehospitalet i Glasgow' and in 1825 a report on the treatment of syphilis in Britain. He wrote, edited and published much throughout his career and also amassed a large collection of criminals' skulls, which he donated to the university's Museum of Phrenology. In his later years, while finding himself less and less able to fit in with the modern
medical world, he devoted his time increasingly to Freemasonry, also writing two autobiographical works, which were published in 1873 and 1879.

Otto wrote his travels first in German and then in Danish translation, both languages being spoken in the circles in which he moved. Only latterly did he restrict himself to Danish in his writing. To Dr. Julius Petersen, Otto's inability to cope with modern scientific thought in his later years was a result of his unbending loyalty to "naturphilosophischen Idealismus" (Hirsch, vol. IV, p. 460). This in no way detracted from his personal character and achievement, however:

Er war eine interessante, ästhetisch begabte Persönlichkeit, die durch die Lebhaftigkeit und Vielseitigkeit ihrer wissenschaftlichen Interessen ihrer Zeit eine ziemlich hervorragende Rolle im dänischen Geistesleben spielte ...

(Ibid. p. 460)

Otto was a man of his time, a respected and well liked public figure in his day.

Otto's Reise durch die Schweiz, Italien, Frankreich, Großbritannien und Holland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Spitäler, Heilmethoden und übrige medicinische Zustände dieser Länder was published in two volumes in letter form. Volume one deals with Switzerland, Italy and France and volume two concerns Paris, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, the Highlands, Dublin, Wales and Oxford, with some comments, too, on other places on this itinerary, including the return trip to Denmark via Holland. The first letter from Edinburgh is dated 14th April, 1822 and the second 18th May, while the trip to the Highlands is described in a letter from Dublin dated 3rd July of that year. This tour of the Highlands, which he describes, like Edinburgh, in some detail, took him from Glasgow to Dumbarton and Loch Lomond, through Glencoe and Glenfinlas to Cairndow and Loch Fyne, from Inveraray to Fort William and Fort Augustus via the Devil's Staircase, up Loch Ness to Inverness, and through Rothiemurchus to Perth, passing Blair Atholl, Killiecrankie and Dunkeld. From Perth he travelled to Queensferry and caught the steamer to Belfast. Before arriving in Scotland, he had spent considerable time in London.
Maximilian Freiherr von Löwenthal was born in Vienna on 7th April, 1799, cousin of the general and diplomat, Johann Freiherr von Löwenthal (1803-91). After studying Law in Vienna he travelled extensively throughout Europe and returned to Vienna to embark on a distinguished career in the civil service. From 1823 he served in the Kammerprokuratur, from 1825 in the Hofkammer and from 1835 in the Postdepartement. He was to remain in postal administration for the remainder of his career, working from 1849 in the newly founded Ministry of Trade, where he became Ministerialrath in 1857 and was appointed Generaldirektor of a newly formed postal and telegraph department within the Ministry in 1866. As a senior secretary he was instrumental in negotiating communication links with many countries, representing the Austrian Government at treaty agreements signed with Russia, Switzerland and France in the 1840's and 1850's and at many conferences of the Deutsch-Österreichischer Postverein and the Deutsch-Österreichischer Telegraphenverein in the 1850's and 1860's. At a conference in Berlin in 1851 it was Löwenthal who had suggested the setting up of a European Postal Congress to lay down the plans for a system of world communication, and in 1863 he was to represent his country at the first International Postal Congress in Paris. That year he was ennobled and five years later, in 1868, he was created Freiherr. He was to receive many other honours for his services to his country. He died in Vienna on 12th July, 1872.

In many ways Löwenthal's wife, Sophie (née Kleyle, 1810-89), is of more literary interest than her husband, not so much as a writer but as the inspiration for Nikolaus Lenau (1802-50), whom she met in 1834 and with whom she remained in close contact until his mental breakdown, and indeed until his death ten years afterwards. Despite allegations of selfishness and vanity which later were even to come from Lenau himself, she remained faithful to the poet until his death in 1850, nursing him with devotion even after he had been committed to asylums. Sophie had married Löwenthal in 1829 and together they ran one of the leading Viennese literary salons. Löwenthal himself, "Dilettant in allen Gattungen der Poesie" (Kosch, 2nd edn., vol II, p. 1566), was involved in literary pursuits throughout his life and published a varied selection of
works, occasionally under the pseudonym of Leo Walthen, from his travel account, Skizzen aus dem Tagebuche einer Reise durch Frankreich, Grossbritannien und Deutschland, which was published in Vienna in 1825, to poetry and drama, of which one can mention the plays with, respectively, Scottish and English influence, the iambic tragedy, Die Caledonier (1826), and the comedy set at Charles II's court, Anna Lovell (1841). According to Bück and Hanus, "Löwenthals echte Anteilnahme an Werten des Geisteslebens bewährte sich in zeitkritischen Aussagen, in denen er die allgemeine Abwendung von idealer Geistesbildung und hoher Persönlichkeitskultur angriff" (Österr. Biogr. Lex., vol. V, p. 294). Despite his wife's involvement with Lenau, Löwenthal himself was known to be a close friend of the poet. It is interesting to note, too, that Pulszky's future wife, the Viennese born Therese Walter, was friend to both Lenau and Löwenthal.

Something of Löwenthal's character and his political and literary outlook can be deduced from comments he makes in his Skizzen. His constant companion on his British tour was Jean Paul's Siebenkäs, just as the Flegeljahre was to accompany Mendelssohn and Klingemann in Scotland seven years later. In Löwenthal's view Jean Paul is equal only by Shakespeare as a "Mahler der Menschlichkeit", his many fine qualities including "Schärfe, Genie, Witz, Satyre" and "erhabene Gedanken und Gefühle" (Skizzen, vol. ii, p. 80). Löwenthal was also an enthusiastic Ossian fan, was excited to become acquainted with the work of Burns, as a true "Naturdichter", and was extremely curious to set eyes on the celebrity Walter Scott. He in no way attempts to create a fine piece of literature in his Skizzen, emphasising instead that the work comprises a collection of short impressions as they struck him at the time. This leaves him plenty of scope to comment only on that which interests or impresses him personally. Set against this is his antipathy towards the French. In his foreword he states his position as a "Feind französischer Kunst und Philosophie" (Ibid. vol. i, p. vi); he cannot attempt to equal or approach French achievements in science or practical learning, but in the spheres of philosophy, art and poetry he finds the French either lacking or biased. This anti-French feeling is born of contemporary events; Löwenthal was a Catholic and a Royalist,
opposed to Protestant stringency and to the liberals and Bonapartists. He writes of "Deutschland" as home, and finds the French small-minded, too fond of worthless and trivial "aergerliche Literatur", their heads too full of outmoded Romanticism and too ignorant of other worlds outside their own, especially Germany (Ibid. vol i, pp. 203, 180 amd 197). Later in the work he was to level much the same attack at the small-mindedness of Oxford dons, "Magisterchen", who, despite their knowledge of Homer, are lacking in general knowledge, above all concerning Germany (Ibid. vol. ii, pp. 59-60).

Löwenthal toured Scotland in June 1822 as part of wider European travels which took him through France, Britain and Germany. His Skizzen comprises two volumes, the first concerning his journey through South Germany and France to Paris and London and the second describing the remainder of his London visit, his tour through England and Scotland and return to Vienna via London through the Netherlands and North Germany, Saxony, Berlin, Dresden and Prague. The work is dedicated to his friend and companion in Paris, Dr. Friedrich Müller. Löwenthal evidently travelled on alone to London, where he stayed some time before touring England, visiting amongst other places Oxford, Stratford, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Carlisle. From Carlisle he travelled on to Gretna, New Lanark, the Falls of Clyde, Glasgow, Dumbarton, Loch Lomond, Inverary, Oban, Staffa, back via Ballachulish to Glencoe, Ben Nevis and Fort William, up the Caledonian Canal to Inverness, and through the Grampians to Perth and Edinburgh. Thereafter he returned to London via York and Cambridge and crossed to Calais. He journeyed by means of stage coach, simple cart, rowing boat and steamer. On his return journey through Saxony he was to travel through Weimar, where he was granted an audience by Goethe (Ibid. vol. ii, pp. 231-4).
The life and career of Karl Friedrich Schinkel, as "bedeutendster Architekt des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts" (ADB, vol. LIV, p. 17) and creator of much of classical Berlin, has been well documented elsewhere. As with Mendelssohn, only those facts which pertain to his Scottish tour and concern his life before that date are discussed at any length here. Schinkel was born in Neuruppin on 13th March, 1781. His father, Johann Kuno Schinkel, who served as archdeacon and superintendent in the town, died only six years later, as a result of a chill he caught while helping to fight a devastating fire which destroyed much of Neuruppin, including the Schinkel home. After her husband's death, Schinkel's mother, Dorothea, who herself came from a distinguished family of scientists which included the chemist, Valentin Rose, who was later to become Schinkel's guardian, moved with her children to the "Predigerwitwenhaus", and from here Schinkel attended the town's Gymnasium. Fontane reports that as a child Schinkel was not a model pupil, but "eine echte Künstlernatur" (Fontane, Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg, vol. I, p. 112), both shy and given to outbreaks of temper, extremely gifted musically and fond of all art, especially theatre. After her older daughter had married, Dorothea moved with the 13-year-old Schinkel to Berlin, where for four years he attended the Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster. In 1797 he was to be so excited by Friedrich Gilly's plans for the monument to Frederick the Great, which were exhibited that year, that the following year he applied to the young architect's father, Oberbaurath David Gilly, to study with him. On Friedrich Gilly's return from a 'Kunstreise' at the end of 1798, he, too, became Schinkel's teacher and also his friend. This relationship, however fruitful, was only to last two years, for Friedrich died at the age of 29 in 1800, only five months after Schinkel had lost his mother. Aged 19, Schinkel was faced not only with the prospect of personal independence, but also with the job of completing Gilly's unfinished projects, many of which had been commissioned by Fürst Heinrich XLIII of Reuss-Schleiz-Köstritz,
from whom Schinkel was to enjoy much hospitality at this time. This early work is seen by critics (and Fontane and Waagen, both of whom were to visit Scotland in the 1850's, are amongst Schinkel's critical biographers) to be youthfully idealistic and greatly influenced by more fanciful French and English styles. In addition to working on Gilly's buildings, Schinkel had passed his 'Conduiteurexamen' and was already receiving a salary from Baron Eckardstein for drawings and designs for products from the latter's earthenware factory in Charlottenburg.

Schinkel was to make three extensive 'Kunstreisen', the first a pedestrian tour in the company of his friend and fellow architect, Steinmeyer, which was to last from May 1803 to March 1805 and was to take him south to Prague and Vienna, on to Rome and Sicily and back to Berlin after a visit to Paris. The journey was to give him ample scope for sketching and painting landscapes and his work from this time shows his attraction for Romantic scenes and medieval ruins rather than for the Classical buildings which were so to influence his later style. In Vallentin's words, "Seine Aussprache darüber und die Art der Reisedarstellung in dem damals geführten an seinen Vormund Valentin Rose gerichteten Tagebuch, wie mit eminenter Sicherheit entworfenen Zeichnungen der Jahre 1803-5 bestätigen dies" (ADB, vol. LIV, p. 19). Since his return to Berlin coincided with war, there was little opportunity for an architect and for the next ten years Schinkel lived as a landscape artist, producing "große hochpoetische Landschaften in Öl, vor allem jenen reichen Zyklus perspektivisch-optischer Bilder ..., worin er fast aus allen Teilen der Welt das Schönste und Interessanteste vor den staunenden Augen seiner Landsleute entrollte" (Fontane, op. cit. p. 18). In 1809 Schinkel married Susanne and his need to support a family further demanded his continued occupation as a painter and artist. It was also in that year, 1809, that the Queen, Luise, saw the exhibited oil painting cycle and from then on Schinkel remained in close contact with the Court, especially with the then Crown Prince, later Friedrich Wilhelm IV. In 1810 Hardenberg appointed him Assessor, in 1811 he was made a member of the Berlin Akademie der Künste and in 1815 raised to the rank of Geheimer Oberbaurath. During
these years he had covered a wide area of work as a painter and
designer and was famed, amongst other things, for his theatre sets.
After the peace of 1815, however, he was able to work pre-dominantly
as an architect once more and it was as such that he was to work for
the remainder of his life. His subsequent achievements were great;
Fontane points to the uniqueness of Berlin as a city whose architec-
ture is almost entirely influenced by the work of one man and in
this respect he compares Schinkel's influence on Berlin with the
very different mark left on London by Sir Christopher Wren
(Fontane, Ibid. vol. 1, pp. 120-1).

In 1819 Schinkel was created both Mitglied der technischen
Deputation in the Ministry for Trade, Arts and Architecture and
Mitglied des Senats der Akademie. The following year, during
which he became professor of the Berlin Akademie, he travelled
to Jena and Weimar and met Goethe, who was to write enthusiasti-
cally of their discussions of Schinkel's theatre plans. In
1824 Schinkel undertook his second Italian journey, which was to
last for five months, and on which he enjoyed the company of two
friends, Kerll and Brandt, but especially that of his biographer,
Gustav Friedrich Waagen. Fontane writes of the release which
travel afforded the man, whose artist's pen could never be idle,
even at the tea table. Having mentioned the two journeys of 1820
and 1824, Fontane continues:

Wir verweilen aber lieber bei einem in
Begleitung seines Freundes Beuth im
Frühjahr und Sommer 1826 nach Paris,
England und Schottland hin unternommenen
Ausfluge, weil wir in den speziell diese
Reise schildernden, ziemlich reichhaltigen
Briefen und Blättern am meisten Frische,
Behagen und gute Laune und das reifste
Urteil über Dinge und Zustände zu finden
glauben. Die Schilderungen sind von
einer merkwürdigen Präzision.

(Fontane, Ibid. vol. 1, p. 123)

Fontane, who was writing shortly after Schinkel's letters and
diaries were published in 1862-3, praises the letters from England
and Scotland highly. He compares Schinkel's sketches to those of
Turner, "der, wie Schinkel, es verstand, mit zwölf Strichen und
ebenso vielen Punkten ein ganzes Landschaftsbild zu geben"
(Ibid. vol. i, p. 125) and adds:
Ebenso scharf aber, wie er zu sehen verstand, so scharf und zutreffend wusste er auch zu urteilen, und die kurzen kritischen Bemerkungen, die sich durch die England-Briefe hindurchziehen, sind von höchstem Interesse. ... Diese Ruhe und Sicherheit in der Betrachtung der Dinge ist es, was diesen Briefen einen solchen Reiz verleiht. Alles Grosse, Reiche, Schöne findet eine willige, nirgends mäkelnde Anerkennung, zugleich aber steht diese Anerkennung ein unerschütterliches Urteil zur Seite, das sich nicht beirren und weder durch Scheinkünste noch durch Massen oder Zahlen imponieren lässt. Schinkel selbst zählte später diese Reise zu seinen liebsten Erinnerungen.

(Ibid. vol. i, pp. 125-6)

Fontane's own values and critical judgement as a traveller are unmistakable here.

As to Schinkel's appearance, Fontane gives both his own and Franz Kugler's impressions of the man. He himself describes him as being slim, of medium build and healthy complexion, well suited to his shining, curly, silver-grey hair. Although not handsome, his expression was serious and gentle and his movements fine and elastic. He normally wore a blue overcoat and "jederzeit weisseste Wäsche". Fontane then quotes Kugler:

Wenigen Menschen war so, wie ihm, das Gepräge des Geistes aufgedrückt. Was in seiner Erscheinung anzog und auf wunderbare Weise fesselte, darf man nicht eben als eine Mitgift der Natur bezeichnen. Schinkel war kein schöner Mann, aber der Geist der Schönheit, der in ihm lebte, war so mächtig und trat so lebendig nach aussen, dass man diesen Widerspruch erst bemerkte, wenn man seine Erscheinung mit kalter Besonnenheit zergliederte. In seinen Bewegungen war ein Adel und ein Gleichmass, um seinen Mund ein Lächeln, auf seiner Stirn eine Klarheit, in seinem Auge eine Tiefe und ein Feuer, dass man sich schon durch seine bloße Erscheinung zu ihm hingezogen fühlte. Noch grösser aber war die Gewalt seines Wortes, wenn das, was ihn innerlich beschäftigte, unwillkürlich und unvorbereitet auf seine Lippen trat.

(Franz Kugler, quoted by Fontane, Ibid. vol. i, pp. 128-9)

Fontane refers to Waagen for an account of Schinkel's character: "An die Spitze der zahlreichen Vorzüge dieses reich begabten Naturells stelle ich seine hohe sittliche Würde, seine selten
moralische Kraft, seine noch seltener Selbstverleugnung und
außerordentliche Herzensgüte" (Waagen, quoted by Fontane, Ibid
vol. i, p.130).

After 1832 Schinkel's health was poor and necessitated
annual journeys to the spas of Marienbad, Kissingen and
Karlsbad. From 1839 his health began to deteriorate rapidly,
although he was not to die until 9th October, 1841. In 1830
he had become Oberbaudirector and in 1838 the highest rank
attainable in his profession, Oberlandesbaudirector.

The travel letters and journals which Schinkel wrote during
his three major foreign journeys were published posthumously in
four volumes by Alfred von Wolzogen. The letters he wrote from
Britain are published in volume two under the title "Kunstreise
nach Frankreich und England (Briehe an seine Frau vom April bis
August 1826)" and in volume three under the heading "Tagebuch
der Reise nach Frankreich und England im Jahre 1826". Schinkel
travelled to Britain with his close friend Peter Caspar Wilhelm
Beuth (d.1853), "damals Geheimer-Ober-Finanzrath und Direktor
der Abtheilung für Handel und Gewerbe im Finanzministerium zu
Berlin" (Wolzogen, vol.ii, footnote p.139). Beuth, who had
business duties on the trip, had previously been in England in
1823 and had written to Schinkel from Manchester and York (see
Ibid. vol.iii, pp.139 & 144). Together they left Paris on
21st May, 1826 and sailed from Calais to Dover two days later on
the tour of Scotland Schinkel and Beuth were joined by Graf
Dankelmann, son of the Prussian Minister of Justice, from Gross-
Peterwitz by Breslau (Ibid. vol. ii, footnote p.154). The three
left London on 15th June and travelled to Oxford, Birmingham,
Newcastle-under-Lyme, Leek, Leicester, Sheffield, Wentworth,
Leeds and York. They were in Edinburgh on 4th and 5th July,
took the stage coach to Lanark and visited New Lanark and the
Falls of Clyde before travelling on to Glasgow on 6th, spent
7th July in Glasgow and travelled on next day by a combination
of steamer, stage coach and cart to Dumbarton, Balloch, Loch
Lomond, Tarbet, Loch Fyne, Cairndow and Inveraray. Another
cart was hired to take them on to Oban on 9th and on 11th they sailed by steamer to Tobermory, continuing next day to Staffa and Iona. In Glasgow they had met a certain "Herr Dannenberger aus Berlin", whom they were to encounter once more in the company of a Swiss gentleman on the steamer in Oban. After the voyage to Staffa and Iona, they parted company again in Oban, where Dannenberger and the Swiss man set out to return overland by the route Schinkel's party had come. On 14th July the three sailed on by steamer to Glasgow, where they spent the night, before catching the stage coach next day to Manchester. They had been in Scotland for twelve days and returned to London via Manchester, Liverpool, Wales, Bristol and Bath. After a further stay in London, Schinkel was back in Berlin on 22nd August.
I have dwelt little on Moscheles' 1828 visit to Scotland for two reasons, firstly it was a concert tour to Edinburgh alone and, secondly and more importantly, Moscheles could hardly be classed as a regular foreign visitor, since by 1828 he was a permanent resident in Britain, with little knowledge that he would eventually return to Germany to live. Nonetheless, he is of great importance as Mendelssohn's teacher and mentor and knowledge of his stay in Edinburgh and meeting with Scott must have had some bearing on the visit of Mendelssohn and Klingemann the following year.

Ignaz Moscheles, "der bedeutendste Claviervirtuose der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts" (ADB, vol. XXII, pp. 344-5), was born in Prague on 30th May, 1794, the son of a Jewish cloth merchant, a keen amateur musician who died in 1808. While his father was still alive, Moscheles received piano lessons in Prague, but shortly after his father's death, his mother followed the advice of friends and sent the young boy away to Vienna, where he was to learn to make a living for himself as a serious musician. For three years he studied with Salieri. From 1815 he began to travel abroad on many concert tours, that year accepting an invitation from the Grand Duke in Weimar. In the autumn of 1816 he embarked on a longer tour, visiting Leipzig, Dresden and Holland, and in 1820 he toured to Paris and London. In the autumn of 1824 he visited Berlin for the first time and met the fifteen-year-old Mendelssohn, whose friend and teacher he became. On a concert tour to Hanover and Hamburg early in 1825 he was to meet his wife, Charlotte Embden. They met in Hamburg in the middle of January and were married on 1st March. Their life together began on concert tours, to Bremen, Aachen, Paris and, finally, London, where they arrived at the beginning of May 1825. Moscheles, ever popular, was soon to become greatly sought after in Britain, both as a composer and teacher (he was to teach at the London Academy of Music from 1825) and as a concert soloist. He gave concerts in Dublin, Liverpool and elsewhere and toured Germany and Austria in 1826, the year in which he composed his "Anticipations of Scotland", the piece which was to go down so well in Edinburgh two years later. He returned to England early in 1827; that year Karl Klingemann and
Heinrich Heine arrived in London and both were frequent guests of the Moscheles'.

Moscheles' visit to Scotland began with a concert given en route in Liverpool on 2nd January, 1828. Next day he and his wife and two children (the elder of whom, a boy, they were soon to lose) set out for Edinburgh. They rented a house in Frederick Street and Moscheles gave three concerts. He visited Walter Scott and Sir John Sinclair and gave Edinburgh ladies piano lessons for two guineas an hour. The recitals and lessons soon began to weigh on him and they returned to London in February. The nineteen-year-old Mendelssohn was to reach London that year and was a frequent guest, often in the company of the composer Neukomm. Moscheles remained in England for over twenty years. Finally, after visiting Germany and Austria intermittently on concert tours, he was persuaded by Mendelssohn to move to Leipzig to fill the post of Professor of Piano Playing and Composition at the Conservatoire. In August 1846 the two musicians were in Birmingham together for Mendelssohn's direction of the first performance of his oratorio 'Elijah', and in September the Moscheles family moved to Leipzig. Mendelssohn's death only a year later was to come as a great shock to Moscheles, who had agreed to move to Leipzig only with the prospect of Mendelssohn as a colleague. Nonetheless, he lived on in Leipzig until his death, remaining active and fit until the end. He continued to travel until a few months before his death, on 10th March 1870. Although he himself readily admitted that he was no progressive, his importance as a German influence in London between 1824 and 1846 was great:

In London war er nicht nur der "prince des pianistes", sondern Beherrscher des ganzen Musikreiches. Alles ging durch seine Hände, jeder wollte Rath und Hilfe von ihm und sein Haus war der Sammelpunkt nicht nur aller zureisenden berühmten Musiker und Sängerinnen, sondern auch der Vereinigungspunkt aller anderen Künstler.

(ADB, vol. XXII, pp. 348-9)
a) MENDELSSOHN

There is little need to give details of a life so well known as that of Felix Mendelssohn, the "Wunderknabe" whose teacher, Zelter, paraded him at the age of twelve before the giant in Weimar, Goethe himself. Certain facts may be recorded here for purposes of easy reference, however, with comment, too, on aspects of the Scottish journey. Jacob Ludwig Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy was born in Hamburg on 3rd February, 1809 and died in Leipzig on 4th November, 1847, although it was in Berlin, where the family moved when Mendelssohn was four years old, that he was raised. Under the guidance of his parents and his teacher, the influential Zelter, travel was one of the many aspects of his wide and varied classical education, from which he emerged an accomplished all-rounder:


(Schmidt, vol.L, p. 680)

This "Erziehung von harmonischer Universalität" (Die Grossen Deutschen, vol.III, p.153) was completed by the happy life in the sociable, cultured and wealthy Mendelssohn household, where leading personalities in literary and artistic fields moved with ease and regularity. The virtuoso pianist, Ignaz Moscheles, was one of these guests and was asked by Mendelssohn's mother in 1824 to give Felix and his sister Fanny lessons. Moscheles recognised the extraordinary talent of the 15-year-old boy and the two were to become firm friends for life. Throughout Mendelssohn's career he was to receive an overwhelmingly enthusiastic reception in England and much of this he owed to Moscheles, his friend and mentor. In 1827 Mendelssohn began two years of studies at the university in Berlin and it was during this time that he met the other friend, also several years his senior, who, with Moscheles, was to mastermind the visit to Scotland in 1829. Karl Klingemann left Berlin for London in 1828 to serve in the Hanoverian Legation.
Between them, Moscheles and Klingemann urged the 20-year-old musician, who had already discussed his intended visit to Scotland in a letter to Klingemann of 26th March, 1829, to come over to England to promote himself; this he did with astounding success, arriving on 21st April, 1829, making his debut as conductor in London on 30th May. Towards the end of July Mendelssohn and Klingemann travelled north to Scotland. In a letter to his family of 7th June, Mendelssohn writes:

As soon as I find some peace and quiet, whether here or in Scotland, I shall write various things, and the Scottish bagpipe does not exist in vain . . .

(Quoted in Selden-Goth)

There is of course musical evidence that the bagpipe did not live in vain as far as Mendelssohn was concerned, but even so one could scarcely call the Scottish tour the highlight of his travels that year, since these also took him through Germany, Italy, Switzerland and France as well as the welcoming musical world of England. In a letter to Charlotte Moscheles of 6th January, 1830, he describes the events of the previous months as "mein erstes Hinaustreten in die Welt" (quoted in Wolff, p.42), "die buntesten und bewegtesten Monate ..., die ich noch erlebt" (Ibid, p.41), adding, "die unangenehmsten und die glücklichsten Tage meines Lebens sind einander so schnell gefolgt, dass ich wie betaubt davon bin" (Ibid, p.41). Scotland, without doubt, provided some of the most unpleasant days, yet Klingemann's companionship and the beauty of nature must also have provided some of the happiest too. Undeniable proof of the deep impression Scotland made on him, whether pleasant or not, is to be found in the music the country inspired in him, the A minor symphony, the 'Scottish', the 'Hebrides Overture' and the F sharp minor fantasy, the 'Scottish Sonata'. Encouraged by Moscheles and the British public, but also by no lesser persons than Victoria and Albert, Mendelssohn was to visit England many times, in 1832, twice in 1833, in 1837, 1840, 1842, 1844, 1846 and lastly in the year of his death in 1847. It was in 1842, the year the Queen made her own famous tour of Scotland, that he played for Victoria, and the ease with which he moved in the highest of circles in Britain is shown in a letter to his mother Lea in the spring of that year: "Das einzige freundliche Haus, so recht behaglich und wo man sich à son aisse fühlt, ist Buckingham Palace."

Even on his first visit as a precocious twenty-year-old, he had attended a ball given by the Duke of Devonshire; small wonder that the rigours of the Scottish tour seemed so harsh. On his return to Germany he visited Weimar and describes in two letters to his family (24th and 25th May, 1830) how he had had to tell Goethe all about Scotland, and how the next day, at a party at the poet's house, he had played alone all evening and had included the Scotch Sonata in his recital (Alexander, p. 6).

Mendelssohn was fêted by royalty in his own country, too. In 1843, when he founded the Leipziger Konservatorium, it was under the patronage of the King of Saxony, who had created him Kappellmeister in 1842, and who, in 1844, would travel himself to Scotland in the company of Carl Gustav Carus, very possibly with thoughts of the Hebrides Overture and even the Scottish Symphony, which Mendelssohn had finally completed in 1843, in their minds. That same year, 1843, Mendelssohn had been given the title of Generalmusikdirektor by the King of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. In 1842 he had already conferred the honour of the order Pour le Mérite on Mendelssohn. At the time Mendelssohn was involved in Leipzig in promoting the music of the young Danish composer, Niels Gade, which is of interest here since amongst Gade's music of this period was his composition "Nachklänge aus Ossian".

While Scotland deeply moved the young Mendelssohn, he never returned after his visit in 1829. This was no doubt partly due to pressing engagements elsewhere, but it may also have been that the Scottish visit was not, as it was for others, the realisation of a long harboured dream of his own, but rather a youthful and carefree holiday, willingly experienced and enjoyed. Be that as it may, the visit brought out the best of Mendelssohn's nature portrayal both in musical and artistic composition. There is no doubt that his composition talents suited a Scottish tour:

Seine Musik im Ganzen drückt nicht einen durch Kämpfe errungenen, sondern einen von Anfang an gegebenen Frieden aus, nur diesen entwickeln, so sehr auch hoch-sentimentale und walschmerzliche Stimmungen, der Richtung der Zeit der Eichendorff, Lenau, Geibel entsprechend, in den meisten Werken sich zeigen mögen.

(ADB, vol. XXI, p. 343)
The Mendelssohn family, too, were of importance, not only for helping to create "die bezaubernde, elektrisierende Wirkung seiner Persönlichkeit" (Ibid, p.330) of their son and brother, but also for being the ready recipients of the lively letters, in which both Mendelssohn and Klingemann reveal their mutual skill at wielding the pen. Although posterity remembers Mendelssohn the composer and Klingemann the poet is forgotten, for our purposes here it is both Mendelssohn and Klingemann, as tourists and letter writers, who are of significance.

b) KLINGEMANN

Karl Klingemann was born Ernst Carl Christoph Conrad Klingemann on 2nd December 1798 in the small village of Limmer an der Leine near Hanover, the son of the Kantor, schoolmaster and sexton, Friedrich Klingemann. In 1816 he became registry clerk and left for Paris, moving to Berlin two years later. In his spare time he attended the university, while being made extraordinairer Kanzlist in 1822. In the summer of 1827 he was transferred to London, where he remained for over 35 years, until his death on 25th September, 1862. He was first Geheimer Registrator und Sekretär and later Legationsrath at the Hanoverian Legation. Although a diplomat, Klingemann moved in circles not only of statesmen but also of artists and academics, and as his son Karl reveals, the pages of the Klingemanns' London visitors book were graced by such names as Arthur Sullivan, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Malvida von Meisenbug, Schleiermacher, Stockhausen, Chopin, the teenage prodigy Josef Joachim (whom Mendelssohn and Klingemann jointly received), Ignaz Moscheles and, of course, Mendelssohn himself.

und Klingemanns enthält eine Fülle bedeutender Beziehungen, und Klingemanns Stellung in London machte ihn je länger je mehr zu einem Mittelpunkt deutscher Geselligkeit. Wie manchem deutschen Künstler hat er die Wege geebnet, und eine Empfehlung namhafter Landsleute, die England kennen lernen wollten, reiht sich an die andere.

(FMB/KK Briefwechsel, p. 19)

Of the works produced in collaboration by Mendelssohn and Klingemann, the 'Doppelbriefe' from Scotland, illustrated by Mendelssohn and accompanied by Klingemann's 'Knittelverse', are perhaps the most charming. Klingemann's poems went well with Mendelssohn's compositions in these early years and one thinks in particular of Klingemann's 'Scottish' poem, set by Mendelssohn, 'Das Lied von Macleod' (see FMB/KK Briefwechsel, pp. 346-7), and of the 'Heimkehr aus der Fremde', performed in the Mendelssohn household on the return from Scotland, and writing of which Carus exclaimed, "War doch jener Felix ein so früh schon in voller musikalischer Schönheit erschlossener Genius!" (Carus, Lebenserinnerungen, vol.IV, p.55). Yet as an artist Klingemann could not possibly match up to his friend. It was Mendelssohn who did not fully appreciate this and this resulted in some coolness between the two in 1837 when Mendelssohn wanted Klingemann to write the libretto for his 'Elias' and Klingemann felt himself unable. In his son's words once more:

Sein allzeit getreuer Ratgeber und verständnisvoller Beurteiler ist Klingemann in künstlerischen Fragen stets gewesen, aber zu den vom Freunde erhofften Leistungen hat er sich nicht aufschwingen können.

(FMB/KK Briefwechsel, p.27)

The 'Heimkehr aus der Fremde' was the last work they produced together and one can say that it is thanks to Mendelssohn that Klingemann's poetry is remembered at all.

1837 was also the year both of Mendelssohn's marriage and of the death of their mutual close friend, Friedrich Rosen. It was Rosen's much younger step sister, Sophie, who was to become Klingemann's wife in August 1845, when Klingemann was 47 and she not even 23, and it was to Sophie Rosen that Mendelssohn dedicated his 'Lieder ohne Worte', op. 67. It had been during the university
days in Berlin that Rosen, Klingemann and Mendelssohn had met. Perhaps Klingemann's house in London was modelled something after the Mendelssohn household in Berlin, a meeting place for intellectual and artistic elite; certainly Klingemann owed much to the Mendelssohn family:


(Ibid, p.5)

Klingemann was a friend to the whole Mendelssohn family and corresponded not only with Felix, but it was the happy friendship between the two young men which brought so much extra vitality and originality to the letters from Scotland.

The itinerary of Mendelssohn's and Klingemann's tour can be ascertained from the places and dates given in the letters:

- Edinburgh, 28th July, 1829 (written by FMB)
- Edinburgh, 30th July (FMB)
- Abbotsford, 31st July (KK, postscript by FMB)
- Blair-Atholl, 3rd August (FMB)
- Tummelbridge, evening of 3rd August (FMB)
- Hebrides, 7th August (KK)
- "Auf einer Hebride", 7th August (FMB)
- Glasgow, 10th August (KK)
- Glasgow, 11th August (FMB)
- Glasgow, 13th August (FMB)
- Glasgow, 14th August (KK)
- Liverpool, 19th August (FMB)
Wilhelm von Horn was born in Braunschweig on 17th February, 1803, son of the military doctor, professor and psychiatrist at the Charité Krankenhaus in Berlin. It was a distinguished family, for Ernst Horn was well known both for his writings and practice, his brother Franz Horn (1781-1831) was a learned writer and literary historian and his two sons, Wilhelm and a brother who was to become Ober-Präsident der Provinz Posen, were both ennobled in 1865.

Ernst Horn's career started in his native Braunschweig; in 1804 he moved to Wittenberg, then Erlangen and from 1806 he worked in Berlin, ultimately attaining the rank of Geheimer Medicinal Rath. Wilhelm thus spent his formative years in Berlin. From 1822-27 he studied in Erlangen, Heidelberg and Berlin. Even before his doctoral dissertation was published in Berlin in 1827, he had published a treatise, Über den Geschmackssinn des Menschen, ein Beitrag zur Pathologie desselben (published in Heidelberg in 1825), and the year after graduating he was to receive a prize from the Berlin Medical Faculty for a further paper. That year, 1828, he embarked on a European study tour of more than two years. Returning to Berlin in 1830, he published part of his findings, concerning Italy, as a "Habilitations_schrift" and this gained him access that year to the Medical Faculty in Berlin as Privatdocent. The remainder of his tour was described in the travel work, Reise durch Deutschland, Ungarn, Holland, Italien, Frankreich, Grossbritannien und Irland in Rücksicht auf medicinische und naturwissenschaftliche Institute, Armenpflege u.s.w., whose four volumes were published in Berlin from 1831-33. In 1831 he moved to Halberstadt as Königl. Kreis-Physicus, a post he held until 1840, during which time he published amongst other things a history of the 1681-2 Plague in Halberstadt. In 1840 he moved as government Medicinalrath to Erfurt, and seven years later was transferred to Berlin to the Polizei-Präsidium and made a member of the Medicinal-Collegium der Provinz Brandenburg. From 1849 he was active in the Ministerium der Medicinal-Angelegenheiten, first as Geheimer Medicinalrath, and then, after he had taken over the medical directorship, first of the Charité Krankenhaus in 1851, and then also of the Pharmaceutische Ober-Examinationscommission in 1856, as Geheimer Ober-Medicinalrath. In 1860 he took over the management of the mental wards of the Charité.
Krankenhaus, for which his father had done so much, and in 1864 he became editor of the 'Vierteljahresschrift für gerichtliche und öffentliche Medicin'. Throughout his career Horn had contributed to several medical journals and published, amongst other works, *Das preussische Medicinal-wesen aus amtlichen Quellen dargestellt* (1857, 1st edn.) and *Das preussische Veterinär-Medicinalwesen* (1858 and 1863). It was as a civil servant, however, and not as an academic that his greatest service lay:

Bei einem ungewöhnlichen Grade von allgemeiner Bildung und Gewandheit verstand er es, alle seine verschiedenen amtlichen Stellungen in glänzender Weise zu repräsentieren und lag demnach, da er während seiner Laufbahn als Medicinal-Beamter zu einer streng wissenschaftlichen Thätigkeit keine Zeit fand, darin auch der Schwerpunkt seiner Bedeutung und seines Wirkens.

(Hirsh, vol. III, p. 299)

Horn died on 19th January, 1871.

Horn's visit to Scotland was only part of an extensive tour of Europe. Of the four volumes of his travel account, the first, published in 1831, covers the months April to October, 1828, when he visited Germany, Hungary and Holland, and the second from October 1828 to November 1829, when he visited Italy and France. Volume three, which was published in 1832, covers November 1829 to the end of March 1830, the dates he was in Britain and Ireland. The fourth volume is supplementary and was published in 1833. Volume three has three main sections, pages 1 - 290 describing England, pages 290 - 394 Scotland and pages 394 - 463 Ireland. The book is filled with data and scrupulous detail and was no doubt of much contemporary value to Horn's colleagues in the medical and scientific professions.

After completing his studies in Berlin, Horn set off on his travels on 7th April, 1828 in the company of his friend and colleague, Dr. Adolph Friedrich Funk. Before their departure they had decided to keep a detailed diary with a view to publication on their return, and Horn's *Reise* is the result of this undertaking. For two months they travelled through the German-speaking countries, visiting, amongst other places,
Leipzig, Dresden, Prague, Munich and Salzburg, and the spas Teplitz, Karlsbad and Marienbad. From June until the beginning of October they stayed in Vienna, from where they moved on to Hungary and Lombardy, travelling down to the south of Italy, where they remained until March 1829. There Funk learnt that his brother was dying in Berlin, so he returned home, leaving Horn to travel on alone to Paris, where he stayed from 21st April until 14th November, joined once more by Funk in June. Together they travelled on through the Netherlands, where Funk himself was taken ill and forced to return home. Alone once more, Horn crossed the Channel, presumably at the end of November. He stayed ten weeks in London, during which time he visited Cambridge:

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\text{[dann] ging ich in Begleitung des Dr. Danyau Sohn, aus Paris, über York nach Edinburgh, wo wir während 3 Wochen vollauf zu thun hatten und ein wahrhaft glückliches Leben führten, und nach Glasgow, von wo wir eine kleine Fahrt in die schottischen Hochlands machten und nach Dublin überschifften. (Horn, 'Vorwort', vol. i, p. 6)}
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After two weeks in Dublin, Horn returned to London alone, visiting Birmingham and Oxford en route. He left London on 26th March, 1830 and returned home to Prussia, only to learn in Minden of the recent death of his friend Funk. In Britain Horn was to be thankful for much hospitality, despite on the one hand having only a few introductions, and on the other being hampered by his self-confessed "so sehr mangelhafte Kenntniss der Sprache" (Horn, 'Vorwort', vol. i, p.6).
The historian, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von Raumer, was born on 11th May, 1781 in Wörlitz by Dessau, the son of a farmer, Georg Friedrich von Raumer, who managed the Wörlitz estates and who became fürstlicher Kammerdirektor in Dessau in 1796. Friedrich was taught at home until 1793 when he was sent to school in Berlin for five years, beginning his law studies at the University of Halle in May 1798, and moving to Göttingen in 1801. He then spent six months at home studying agricultural matters before returning to Berlin to become Referendarius bei der kurmärkischen Kammer, after which he earned the title of Kriegs- und Domänenrath and Steuerrath in Heiligenstadt. But, having all the while pursued his own studies of history and still fascinated by more cultural pursuits, he did not relish the idea of a career as Assessor in Heiligenstadt and returned to his former post in Berlin. Here he began his historical studies in earnest, publishing his first work in 1805. He was already an avid and industrious researcher, dismissing marriage at this stage as an obstacle to the furtherance of his work. While employed as Domänenrath in Königswusterhausen from 1806-8, he immersed himself in the Middle Ages and Stauferzeit and was able to continue this work when his post moved him to Potsdam. He gained the attention of the Staatskanzler von Hardenberg, who adopted him, even taking him into his home; Raumer became known as "der kleine Staatskanzler". But involvement with state reform and the opposition encountered disillusioned him and he was eventually able to disengage himself from government duty in 1811 to become professor of Staatswissenschaft at the University of Breslau. He remained in Breslau for seven years, marrying, despite his former repudiation of that estate, Louise von Göschen soon after his arrival there. It was not until after the Napoleonic Wars that he began his travels, which for the rest of his life were to take him many times to Italy, France, Scandinavia, Britain, Greece, North America and even Constantinople and Smyrna:

Diese Reisen gingen zum Theile aus der merkwürdigen Beweglichkeit seiner Natur, zum Theile aus wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und endlich aus dem Bedürfnisse, aus
In October 1819, glad to leave Breslau, Raumer became professor of Staatswissenschaften and History in Berlin, a post which suited him far better. He was never famed for his teaching, but he was respected and honoured, as is shown by his becoming Rector of the University in 1822. He was a devotee of both theatre and opera; in his enthusiasm for Zelter's Singakademie he doubtless came across the young Mendelssohn. In 1825, after many long years of work, the six volume history of the Hohenstaufen finally appeared and was greeted with much approval, so much was it in keeping with the preoccupation of the Romantics. But whatever school it adhered to and whatever criticism it engendered, the work was the first of its kind and assured Raumer's fame; whilst rousing interest in the Middle Ages.

In 1827 Raumer made his first visit to Paris, returning in 1830 and publishing his Briefe aus Paris zur Erläuterung der Geschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in that year. This can be seen as a forerunner to his work on Britain. And even if his Geschichte Europas seit dem 15. Jahrhundert, which began to appear in 1832, was a disappointment after the success of the Hohenstaufen history, his visits to Britain in 1835 and 1841 proved that he could indeed research thoroughly and effectively. In 1836 he published his England im Jahre 1835, adding the third volume after his visit in 1841. Between these visits, from 1836-39, he published his Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte Europas aus dem britischen und französischen Reichsarchive. In 1839 he travelled to Italy and published his Beiträge zur Kenntniss Italiens as a result.

Raumer was a tireless worker. In 1841 he began a series of popular lectures at the Singakademie, albeit frowned on by some of his learned colleagues. In 1844 his travels took him to America and his findings were published on his return in 1845. Despite critics,
Raumer became a popular figure, both in local politics as a Berlin Stadtverordneter and also as a lecturer, even though he was no great speaker and did not distinguish himself in political life. He endeared himself to his audiences, however, especially to the ladies to whom he delivered 'Vorlesungen für Frauen' from 1849–65. Even during his seventies he still travelled. It was not until 1860, at nearly 80 years of age, that he began his memoirs, which were published in Leipzig in 1861. He continued to write even after this. "Kein grosser, aber ein unvergesslicher Mann schloss mit ihm am 14. Juni 1873 die Augen." (ADB, vol. XXVII, p.414)

Whatever his shortcomings as an academic and teacher, Raumer was without question a prolific and industrious writer who was widely read in his day. Of his works on Great Britain, both England im Jahre 1835 and England im Jahre 1841 were translated into English the year of their publication in Germany (England in 1835, translated by Sarah Austin, John Murray, London, 1836; England in 1841, translated by H. Evans Lloyd, John Lee, London, 1842; and an American edition of the former, translated jointly by both the above, published in Philadelphia in 1836). Indeed there is evidence in the 60th letter of England im Jahre 1835 (pp.358-9) that the translation was already projected before the original text was completed; in this letter Raumer writes that he has received a letter from 'Herr M.' (presumably John Murray) saying that he had spoken with 'Mrs. A.' (Sarah Austin) and that she had received assurance from the Chancellor, Mr. Spring Rice, that he would personally check and verify any statements referring to finance and the Government. Thus Raumer had approval from high places and he acknowledges his debt to Spring Rice in the foreword (p.vii). The other work by Raumer dealt with here, his Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1836-9), was an extensive survey of European history from the reign of Elizabeth to the end of the American Wars of Independence. Of the five parts only the first, Die Königinnen Elisabeth und Maria Stuart, concerns us here and Carus, for one, refers to it in his England and Schottland im Jahre 1844 (Carus, ch. LXXV, ii, p. 295), noting that the work was amongst the
collection of the library in Parliament Hall in Edinburgh. All three works take the form of a series of letters on different topics, only the 61st letter in England im Jahre 1835 concerning Scotland (Part 2, pp.360-389), while the 24th letter in England im Jahre 1841 is solely concerned with the Scottish Church (pp.276 - 299). Other letters include comment on certain aspects of Scottish life, such as the 21st letter, which deals with the British universities. The letters in all three works could hardly be properly called 'Reisebriefe' as written by regular travel writers, and in his introduction to England im Jahr 1835 he defends his mixing of travel account and social and political comment:

Eine Trennung der grösseren Aufsätze über Armenwesen, Reform des Parlaments u.s.w., von den Reiseberichten über die Geschichte jedes Tages, hätte jene vielleicht zu schwerfällig, diese zu oberflächlich erscheinen lassen.

(Raumer (1835), 'Vorrede', pp.vi-vii)

Thus they are printed chronologically and the index will serve the requirements of each individual reader. In effect this provides much the same end result as the works of Kohl.

Raumer arrived in Newcastle from the South on 3rd August, 1835 and travelled to Scotland by post from Newcastle on 7th August, leaving Glasgow for Belfast on 14th August. He stayed in Edinburgh until the 9th, when he travelled on to Stirling. Unable to see the Trossachs on account of the thick mist, he continued on to Glasgow on 11th. Next day his second attempt to see the Trossachs was likewise thwarted and he had to turn back for Glasgow at Rosneath. His tour of the Highlands having in the end been prevented three times by the inclement weather, he left Scotland, having effectively seen only Edinburgh and Glasgow during his week's stay.
Ludwig Theodor Emil Isensee was born in Köthen on 14th September, 1807. It is likely that he came of the same family as the Anhalt-Köthen court chaplain and hymn writer, August Ludwig Christian Isensee (1743-1824), who may well have been his grandfather, or even his father, whom he mentions as the already (i.e. by 1835) deceased Consistorialrath und Superintendent in Köthen on page 246 of his Reisen. Emil Isensee evidently studied in Göttingen, Halle, Vienna and Berlin. From comments in his Reisen, where Isensee compares Edinburgh with Munich, one may assume that he was also familiar with the Bavarian capital (Isensee, pp.127-8). In his Reisen he tells, too, of his unsuccessful sojourn in Vienna in 1826-7. It is one of the many digressions, medical and philosophical, which occur throughout the work. In the twelfth letter ('Edinburg, den 7. April', Ibid, pp.140-150) he contrasts the hospitality and welcome he receives in Edinburgh with the impoverished weeks of rejection he spent in the Austrian capital as a penniless Halle student, waiting for money from home. He had gone there after a holiday with his Köthen friend, Gustav Nahde, later "Prediger und Rector zu Rosslau an der Elbe in meinem theuren Vaterlande Anhalt-Köthen" (Ibid, footnote, p.142). While Isensee remained to study, Nahde had returned to Leipzig, with a letter in his luggage for Isensee's family, requesting money with which to prolong his stay. The letter, however, was mislaid in a bag of Nahde's laundry and was not discovered for weeks, by which time Isensee was already in trouble with the authorities in Vienna, had twice been evicted from his lodgings and had had to go for four weeks without warm food or proper clothing, rejected by those to whom he had letters of recommendation on account of his shabbiness. When he finally returned home it was "um eine Erfahrung in der Welt- und Menschenkenntniss reicher" (Ibid, p. 148).

In 1829 Isensee won a prize from the University of Göttingen for a paper on epilepsy and in 1833, the year in which he was to become a Privatdocent in Berlin after habilitating, he was awarded the 'Königlich Preussische goldne Medaille für Verdienst' and a silver medal from the King of the Netherlands for his Elementa
In 1832 he published a Generalcharte der geographischen Verbreitung und des Ganges der Cholera vom Ende des Jahres 1816, which he updated in 1835 and again in 1837. At some stage during these years he evidently served as assistant to Wilhem Horn's father, Ernst (see Ibid, vol. iii, footnote, pp. 104-5). In 1836 Isensee was honoured by his native Anhalt-Köthen with the 'Herzogliche Medaille für Verdienst und Treue, am weissen und grünem Bande', and in 1838 he became Braunschweig'scher Hofrath. He published a number of papers and articles for various scientific journals and from 1840 until his death in 1845 worked on a major publication, of which six volumes, which were translated into Dutch, appeared, Geschichte der Medicin, Chirurgie, Geburtshilfe, Staatsarzneikunde, Pharmacie und anderer Naturwissenschaften und ihrer Literatur. The title page of the first of his two travel works, which were published in 1837 and 1839, lists his titles, honours and accomplishments in full and reads as follows:


(Isensee, title page)

Although it was customary in the 19th Century to state one's credentials in this fashion, few authors gave them in full, and one can detect an element of self-satisfaction in Isensee. Throughout his Reisen he never hesitates to refer to his own publications. This alone makes one suspect that he was something of a controversial figure, an opinion confirmed in the Biographisches Lexikon hervorragender Ärzte:

Das Lebensende dieses Mannes, der unleugbare Fähigkeiten besass, dessen Charakter aber von Charlatanerie nicht freizusprechen ist, ist nicht näher bekannt. Nach einer
Controversial, self-important or otherwise, Isensee was a colourful figure and left a lively account of his travels; in this respect he can be compared with the controversial Hallberg-Broich who was in Scotland four years later.

Isensee's Reisen in Schottland, England, Frankreich und Deutschland was published in Berlin in 1837, evidently as part of Nord-West-Europäische Briefe, Skizzen aus dem Leben der Natur, Kunst und Wissenschaft, the title which appears on the inner title page. The work is a collection of 31 letters, all dated, the first written from Hamburg on 25th March, 1835 and the last from Weimar on 20th May. They are addressed to a (presumably fictitious) 'Sie'.

For much of his stay in Britain Isensee was accompanied by a certain Argentine de la Bourse, whose praise as a female travelling companion he sings at the start of the work. The passage also throws light on his own attitude to travel:


Version soll er 1845 im Genfer See ertrunken (??), nach einer anderen als Leibarzt des Kaisers Soulouque von Hayti gestorben sein.  
(Hirsch, vol. III, p. 380)
Fall versetzt zu werden hoffen, wo sie,
wenig auch nicht mit meiner Garderobe, doch
mit meiner Protection sich beschäftigen
würde.

Mein Entschluss war daher gefasst, und ich
bat sie inständigst, mir das Vergnügen ihrer
Gesellschaft für die beabsichtigte Reise zu
gönne.

Welcher Unterschied zu den Sitten einer
Dame, die die Welt kennt und einer, die sich
von ihrer Toilette nur erhebt, um die ihrer
Nachbarinnen zu mustern! Nie ist meinen
Wünschen mit dieser edlen Zuvorkommenheit
begegnet worden. Nie hat ein so nobler
Anstand alle Bedenklichkeiten vorweg
desavouirt, die hier jede andre Dame mit so
grosser Prätention würde geltend gemacht haben.

(Isensee, pp. 4 - 5)

Having disembarked together at the Kronprinz Hotel in Hamburg, they
learnt that they had missed the London steamer and decided to follow
the advice of a Bremen friend, Herr zur Mühlen, that they accompany
him instead on Captain Draper’s steamer, “Transit”, which was
bound for Hull. From Hull they travelled by stage coach to York,
Newcastle and Edinburgh. The letters from Hull and Newcastle are
dated 31st March and 2nd April. The three letters from Edinburgh
numbers 10, 11 and 12, are dated 4th, 5th and 7th April, number 13
is dated Hertford, 10th April and numbers 14-21 are dated from
London, from 11th to 28th April. Letters number 22 - 29 concern
Paris and the final two describe Isensee’s return home via Epernay,
Strasbourg, Karlsruhe, Baden- Baden, Heidelberg, Darmstadt,
Frankfurt and Weimar.
HAILBRONNER AND PULSZKY

a) HAILBRONNER

General Karl von Hailbronner, "ein weitgereister Mann" (Schütze, p.107), was born in Bavaria in 1789. He entered the Bavarian army as an officer in 1809 and took part in the battle of Regensburg that year. He fought in all the major campaigns which followed, in Russia and France, and commanded the Light Infantry Regiment in the Schleswig-Holstein campaign. In 1857 he retired from active service for reasons of health. He died on his estate of Leitershofen, near Augsburg, in 1864.

Hailbronner became known for his travels. Indeed, the ADB gives him the epithet "Schriftsteller und bekannter Reisender" (ADB, vol. X, p.386) rather than army officer. Of his numerous writings, only two works have survived to be known to-day, Cartons aus der Reisemappe eines deutschen Touristen (1837) and Aus dem Morgen- und Abendlande (1841), both published by Cotta, Stuttgart and Tübingen. The full title of the latter work reveals the extent of his travels: Morgenland und Abendland. Bilder von der Donau, Türkei, Griechenland, Aegypten, Palästina, Syrien, dem Mittelmeer, Spanien, Portugal und Südfrankreich. It is in volume one of the former work that he describes his visit to Scotland, which he undertook "mit zwei ungarischen Cavalieren, von denen der jüngere durch sein geistreiches Werkchen: 'Aus dem Tagebuche eines in Grossbritannien reisenden Ungars' [sic] die schriftstellerische Bahn auf glänzende Weise betreten hat" (Hailbronner, 'Vorwort', p.iii). This first of the three volumes recounts visits to Switzerland, Seraing in Belgium, Paris, England, Ireland and Holland as well as Scotland, while volume two describes visits to Denmark and Sweden, Berlin, Dresden, Prague, Nürnberg, Munich and Vienna, with accounts of both the Swedish and Austrian armies, and volume three concerns Italy and Sicily and includes a dramatic account of a climb down into the crater of the active Vesuvius in the company of a lively and determined young English girl, who is badly burnt and dies later of her injuries (Ibid, pp.341ff.). Many of the articles which went to make up this work had already
appeared in papers and journals, in particular in "die alles Gemeinnützige so willig fördernde Allgemeine Zeitung" (Ibid, 'Vorwort', p.iv) in Augsburg. Hailbronner concludes his foreword with the words:


b) PULSZKY

Ferenč (Franz) Aurel Pulszky, Edler von Lebócz und Cselfalva (occasional pseudonym M. Ráthkay), was born on 17th September, 1814 in Eperies, the capital of the Saros Comitat in Hungary, the son of the landowner Karl Pulszky (born 1756) and his second wife Apollonie Fejérváry. In 1821 his older step-brother shot himself, so at the age of seven, Pulszky became heir to the family estates. The Protestant family into which Pulszky was born had originally settled in Hungary from Poland, where, escaping Jesuit influence, they had taken the name of Pulszky, and it was Pulszky's great grandfather who was ennobled by Maria Theresia in 1740. Pulszky and his sister were orphaned at an early age and received the rest of their upbringing in the home of their maternal uncle, the archaeologist, Georg Fejérváry, from whom the young Pulszky early acquired a love of archaeology. In his parents' household primarily German was spoken, although Hungarian was used when necessary, Pulszky's nurse being Hungarian and his grandmother, too, speaking only that language. His father considered Slovakian only for servants and peasants. Pulszky's education was thus primarily in German, the language both at home and of his sister's tutor, and it was because of this that he was sent to grammar school in Miskolcz, where, perforce, he mastered the Hungarian language fully. During the year away at school his uncle sent him much to read, Schlegel and "mehrere Reisebeschreibungen" (Pulszky, Meine Zeit, mein Leben, p.34) included. His father's library also included Lessing and Kotzebue and, to complete the 'German' education, "von meiner Tante erhielt ich Walter Scott's
Romane" (Ibid, p.38).

In 1833, inspired by their mutual love of archaeology, Pulszky and his uncle travelled via Vienna and Munich to Italy. The nineteen-year-old Pulszky, who on his return to Hungary sent the Archaeological Institute in Rome drawings he had made, so impressed the scholars there that, in 1836, on the strength of his visit and his drawings, he was given, as a corresponding member, the Institute's diploma. In 1834, having returned home to his philosophy and law studies, he moved to Pressburg \[Bratislava\] to the Reichstag. In 1835 he qualified as a lawyer and returned to his native Saros Comitat as Unternotar. The Polish Revolution had already roused his interest, but his energies at this time were also spent in serious study of the English language, with Thomas Moore as a favourite poet and champion. In April 1836 he and his uncle set off on their travels once more, this time touring Germany, the British Isles, Belgium, Holland and France. On his return to Hungary he published his Aus dem Tagebuche eines in Grossbritannien reisenden Ungars (Pesth, 1837), which he wrote in German, having visited on the way home both the 'Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung' and the editor of the 'Literatur Blatt' in Stuttgart, Wolfgang Menzel, who had accepted the manuscript. He also wrote some Hungarian travel sketches, 'Uti vazlati', and it was for these travel works that the Hungarian Academy made him a corresponding member. He contributed to various newspapers and journals at this time, writing both fiction and social and critical commentary in both Hungarian and German, covering a wide range of economic, philosophical and cultural topics. When the national hero, Kossuth, founded his political paper, 'Pesti Napló', Pulszky became an avid contributor of leading articles for him. In 1839, his home Comitat of Saros elected him as their member of the Pressburger Landtag, the Hungarian Diet. The 25-year-old was extremely active and diligent in this rôle, so much so that his native Eperies conferred the freedom of the city on him. He continued his journalistic pursuits, too, contributing to the 'Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung', a paper which he had read at home from an early age. Some of these articles appeared elsewhere in German publications and amongst these were 'Vom Zustande Irlands'
and 'Ueber englische Carricaturen' [sic]. Since, perhaps surprisingly, he was not elected to the next two parliaments, in 1843 and 1847, he became all the more ardent a journalist. Pulszky, who considered himself well able to write four or five 'Novellen' about his relationships with the fair sex which would not have been out of place in Boccaccio's Decamerone (see Pulszky, Meine Zeit, mein Leben, p.338), despite this married in 1845 the Austrian Therese (Teréz) Walter (1819-66) who gave him invaluable support in the hard years of exile ahead of them. The highly cultured daughter of a respected Viennese banker, and friend of Lenau and Löwenthal, she was a writer in her own right and they collaborated on several occasions (Aus dem Tagebuche einer ungarischen Dame, mit einer historischen Einleitung, published in Leipzig in 1850, an English version being published the same year in London, Memoirs of a Hungarian Lady, with a historical introduction, by F. Pulszky, and Sagen und Legenden aus Ungarn, Leipzig, 1851, which was also published in English that year as Tales and Traditions of Hungary.) They devoted much energy at this time, too, to their newly acquired estate of Szécséngy in the Neograd Comitat. After the Pesth Revolution of 15th March, 1848, the Archduke Palatine Stephan made Pulszky one of the Government Commissars, endowed with extraordinary powers. Their job was to maintain order after the upset of the Revolution, and it was Pulszky who was credited with containing the Jewish riots in Stuhlweissenburg. In April he became Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Finance and travelled to Vienna as Undersecretary to Count Esterházy. He exercised considerable influence in this post on Austrian public opinion and the Viennese press, and secured an arms deal with Belgium. On 5th October, the eve of the Vienna Revolution, he was dismissed from his post by the Kaiser and left Vienna that same day. Despite his dismissal, he had no sooner returned to Budapest than the Ministry sent him back to Vienna, but he left by the end of the month, unable to alter the attitude of General Windischgrätz, "mit Rebellen unterhandle ich nicht" (quoted in Wurzbach, p.73). Sent by Kossuth to try to effect the neutralisation of Russia's military intervention by approaching other foreign powers, Pulszky was taken prisoner in Galicia, but escaped
and arrived eventually, with the help of Polish friends, in Paris. He remained there until May 1849 when he crossed to London. Here, as nominal Hungarian ambassador appointed by Kossuth, he made every attempt to win the British over to the Hungarian cause, but despite the founding of a central bureau for Hungarian affairs, frequent articles in the British press and close contact with such politicians as Palmerston, he could not persuade the British Parliament to move against the Russian intervention. Meanwhile, his effigy, along with those of 39 others, was burnt in Hungary as a chief instigator of the Revolution, and his and his wife’s estates confiscated. A death warrant was issued in 1852. Therese and their three children were forced to flee in disguise. In London they occupied themselves with writing, publishing various works in German and English in 1850-1, including Pulzsky’s historical novel, Die Jakobiner in Ungarn (1851). When Kossuth arrived in London in 1851, Pulzsky remained loyal to him and travelled with him on his lecture tours, noting that the Scots in particular, "die ihn noch nicht kannten, aber dennoch grosse Sympathie fur Ungarn hegten, weil bei ihnen die Tradition selbstständigen schottischen Staatslebens noch lebendig ist", received him well (Pulzsky, Meine Zeit, mein Leben, pp.173-4). Pulzsky and Therese described Kossuth’s tour of America in their joint work, Red, white and black, which also appeared in German in 1853 and which was particularly well received by ‘Chambers Journal’ in Edinburgh. Pulzsky travelled again to America in 1853 and after returning to Britain occupied himself journalistically, writing amongst other publications for ‘Chambers Journal’ and the ‘New York Tribune’, but also continuing studies on archaeology and languages. In 1860 he became correspondent for the ‘London Daily News’ in Turin, where he also wrote for many other papers of the Hungarian, German, French, Italian, American and British press and gave popular lectures in the Academy of Arts in Florence. He became friends with Garibaldi (his youngest son, born in 1861, was even called after him) and it was this liaison which caused the final rift between himself and Kossuth in 1861. The following year the appraisal of Pulzsky’s political achievements, which appeared in Lorck’s Männer der Zeit, was belittling:

Von Pulzsky’s staatsmännischem Talent
haben wir keine hohe Meinung. Es fehlt ihm der sichere Blick, und es fehlt ihm ebensolche kühle Besonnenheit, ohne die ein Staatsmann nicht bestehen kann. Er ist leidenschaftlicher Parteimann, beredt und insbesondere mit der Feder gewandt.

Even his political critics could not deny his intellectual and literary skills. Back in Hungary, the Budapest Reichstag met once more and Pulszky, in his absence, was elected to serve by his native Saroser Comitat; he could not do so, however, since he still had no letter of safe conduct for his return. He remained in Italy until 1866, while Therese and their 16-year-old daughter, Henriette (they had seven children in all), had returned to Hungary in order to reclaim their confiscated property. Both women succumbed to the cholera outbreak of September 1866 and although friends intervened on his behalf and secured him safe passage, Pulszky reached his wife and daughter too late. He had travelled to Hungary with their second son, Gabriel, who was then nineteen years of age; he, too, contracted the disease and died. Ironically, now that no ties held him to Hungary, Pulszky received an audience with the Kaiser, who granted him a pardon and permission to return home. Pulszky did return and was unable to keep himself out of politics, even becoming involved in two duels, luckily with harmless outcome. From 1867 to 1872 and from 1884 he again served as member of the Reichstag; gradually, however, he withdrew from politics and in turn his eldest son, Ágost (1846-1901), who had followed his father’s legal profession after returning to Hungary in 1863, had become more and more involved in politics, while teaching law at the University of Budapest, and served as Secretary of State in the Ministry for Culture and Education from 1875 to 1895. Pulszky himself effected great improvements and reorganisation as Director of the Budapest National Museum, from 1869 to 1894 and in 1872 was also appointed General Director of all the provincial museums and libraries in the country. In addition he was to serve as Präsident der sprach- und schönwissenschaftlichen Klasse of the Hungarian Academy, becoming Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences in 1895. From 1870 he served as Grand Master of the Hungarian Grand Lodge and from 1886 to 1888
was "erster Grossmeister der Symbolischem Grossloge von Ungarn". In 1886 he remarried, and his new wife, Rosa Geszner, was to act as a devoted companion through his last years. Pulszky died in Budapest, one week short of his 83rd birthday, on 9th September, 1897.

In his full and colourful life Pulszky distinguished himself in many fields. Twenty-five years before his death, the compiler of his biography in Wurzbach could already write:

Umsicht, tüchtige national-ökonomische Kenntnisse und die redlichste Absicht, seinem Vaterlande zu nützen, streiten ihm selbst seine Gegner nicht ab. 


(Wurzbach, vol. XXIV, p. 76)

His epithet in Wurzbach is tellingly "Ungarischer Publicist und Archäolog" (Ibid, p. 71).

Obviously his tour of Britain was made early in his career, when he was only 22, but he was already a well travelled and widely educated young man, with an acute political awareness; it was recognised that a bright future lay ahead of him. It was while he was in London on this first visit that he heard for the first time of the arrests of friends and compatriots and realised that he, too, had he been at home, would have suffered the same fate.

There are 25 chapters in his Aus dem Tagebuche eines in Gross-britannien reisenden Ungarn, which deal with aspects of life in London, discuss literature and the Arts and describe visits to Oxford, Salisbury, Bath, Birmingham, Warwick, North Wales, Liverpool,
Manchester and Cumberland, Ireland and Castle Howard. Four
chapters are devoted to Scotland (pages 149-182), chapter XVIII
entitled 'Iona, Staffa', chapters XIX and XX both entitled 'Die
schottischen Hochlande' and chapter XXI 'Edinburgh'.

Pulszky published the four volumes of his memoirs, Meine Zeit,
mein Leben, from 1880 to 1883. It is in this work that most
details of his life are to be found, as for instance comment on his
reception in London. His uncle knew no English and had therefore
only troubled to procure letters of introduction to German bankers:

Ich besass jedoch ein Empfehlungs-
schreiben von Waagen an den bekannten
Buchhändler Murray, den Freund Sir
Walter Scott’s, Lord Byron’s, Thomas
Moore’s und vieler anderer berühmter
englischer Schriftsteller. Wir
wurden von ihm freundlich empfangen
und zum Frühstück geladen.

(Pulszky, Meine Zeit, mein Leben, p. 147)

Later he describes meeting the companion with whom they toured
Britain:

In unserem Londoner Hotel wurden wir
mit dem bairischen Major Heilbronner
[sic], einem geistreichen, walterfahrenen
Manne bekannt; mit ihm vereint entwarfen
wir den Plan zur Bereisung England’s,
Schottland's und Irland's.

(Ibid, p. 149)

He goes on to tell how, in the 1830’s in Europe, knowledge of Britain
was all but restricted to London and it took the letters of both
Pückler-Muskau and Raumer and the novels of Scott to change this.
He then describes how he came to write his own travel account:

Man konnte hier vieles sehen und lernen,
wovon man nicht nur bei uns, sondern auch
bei den Deutschen kaum etwas wusste. -
Heilbronner benützte diesen Umstand; er
verstand es, das Angenehme mit dem Nütz-
lichen zu vereinen und schrieb für die
Beilage der "Allgemeinen Zeitung", welche
überall, wo man deutsch sprach, stark
verbreitet war, Beschreibungen seiner
Reiserlebnisse. Er las uns diese
Artikel stets mit grosser Selbstgefährli-
keit vor. Bei einer solchen Gelegenheit
lächelte Fejerváry und indem er auf mich
zeigte, sagte er: "Herr Major, solche
Artikel, ja vielleicht auch bessere, vermag
auch dieser Knabe zu schreiben". Heilbronner fühlte sich dadurch verletzt; dennoch forderte er mich auf, ihm mein Tagebuch vorzulesen und da ich es in ungarischer Sprache geführt hatte, lag er mir so lange in den Ohren, bis ich in Oxford einen deutschen Artikel schrieb. Er fand daran so grossen Gefallen, dass er lebhaft in mich drang, ich solle hinfort mein Tagebuch deutsch führen und es nach unserer Heimkehr herausgeben, er werde mich zu diesem Zwecke mit der "Allgemeinen Zeitung" in Verbindung bringen.

(Ibid, pp. 149-50)

As described above, this is indeed what happened. Pulszky and his uncle parted from Hailbronner, who was to travel on to Scandinavia, in Holland, and Pulszky later acknowledges his debt to him:


(Ibid, p.152)

Without Hailbronner, to whom he also refers in the Tagebuch as "ein Reisegefährte, derselbe von dem zu dieser Zeit so interessante Berichte aus England in der "Allgemeinen Zeitung" und dem "Auslands" standen" (Pulszky, p.83), he might never have published his travel letters, at any rate not in German. Hailbronner generously bore him no grudge for potentially stealing his thunder.

Pulszky, his uncle Fejérváry and Hailbronner toured Scotland in 1836. Having left London they visited Oxford, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, the Welsh valleys and the Lake District. They crossed to Ireland and saw Dublin, the Giants' Causeway and Londonderry before sailing for Campbeltown. From Glasgow they toured the Trossachs, sailed to Iona and Staffa with an overnight stop in Tobermory, continued up the Caledonian Canal to Inverness and returned through the Grampians, via Dunkeld and Perth, to Edinburgh. They continued south to London via Newcastle and Yorkshire.
HALLBERG-BROICH

Karl Theodor Maria Hubert Freiherr von Hallberg-Broich, known also under his pseudonym, the "Eremit von Gauting", was born in the Prussian province of Cleveburg, at Schloss Broich, in the duchy of Jülich, by Düsseldorf, on 8th September, 1768. The family was descended in part from old Swedish nobility, originally Hohlberg, and in part from the Netherlands; both Hallberg-Broich's parents, Tillmann Peter von Hallberg (1729-1793) and Reichsgräfin Anna Rosa, née von Quad-Wickeradt auf Alsbach (1740-1830), came from families who had distinguished themselves in government and military service. Without question the most eccentric of the travellers under discussion, Theodor Hallberg has been variously described as "Tourist, Schriftsteller und Sonderling" (ADB, vol. X, p. 416), "rüstiger Reisender und Reise_schriftsteller" and "ein Mann von eigenthümlichem Wesen und originellem Äussern" (Schütze, p. 197). The adjectives used in all these phrases are telling, for Hallberg was indeed a "Sonderling":

Wenn je einmal die Geschichte menschlicher Sonderlinge und Käuze geschrieben werden sollte - es wäre dies eine in kulturhistorischer wie psychopathologischer Hinsicht gleich verdienstvolle Tat -, dann müsste dieses Freiherrn von Hallberg in allererster Linie gedacht werden. (Krämer, pp. 415-6)

Hallberg received his early education at home from a Jesuit tutor, who was scarcely able to control him; as punishment for severely misbehaving at the age of eight, the boy was locked up by his father in the castle keep for two weeks with only bread and water for sustenance. Thereafter he was sent to school in Cologne. Here his originality soon became evident. When ten years old he became so enraged at the history teacher denouncing his hero Charlemagne as a tyrant that he threw his heaviest book at him and then fled. Fearing the wrath of his father, he secured a passage as cabin boy with the skipper of a Rhine vessel bound for England. It was not long before he argued with the Dutch captain, and having ascertained he could not realize to his disappointment that his ambition to become Admiral of the British Fleet, he made his way as a sailor to Triest and from there to Vienna, where he enlisted as a cadet. Disgusted at not being made an officer at once, he
returned to his family. There is little doubt that his eccentricity was inherited largely from his father, an ardent upholder of the feudal system, whose perverse pride in his young son's exploits caused him to buy the boy a commission as Lieutenant "in kurbayerischem Dienste der Herzogtums Jülich". He spent five or six years at the Kadetten-institut in Metz, but resigned as Hauptmann in 1793 on inheriting the family estate on the death of his father. His travels, described by Holland as "seine planlosen geographischen Taumelzüge durch die Welt" (ADB. vol.X, p.416), appear to have begun while still in service. Dissatisfied with life at the military college, he obtained leave from the Bavarian Elector, Karl Theodor, to attend lectures on medicine. This pursuit took him to Oxford, Paris, Vienna, Göttingen and Heidelberg, and he is even said to have practised in military hospitals in Paris and Vienna.

Having retired to Schloss Broich, he embarked on a life "voll barocker Einfälle und wunderlicher Schnurrren" (Krämer p. 417), laying on lavish festivities of all kinds, moving amongst his guests dressed either in oriental costume or in the rags of a tramp, which he covered with sealing wax imprinted with his coat of arms. This life soon proved dissatisfying to him, too, and he began to travel widely, visiting Switzerland, Italy, America, the British Isles, Scandinavia, Lapland, Russia, Constantinople, Anatolia, Syria, Cyprus, Greece, Tunis, Sicily and Spain. A weakness for the opposite sex was to accompany him all his life. On these early travels he was doubtless an attractive figure, spirited, wealthy and carefree. On his return via Britain from America, however, he decided he would like to return home with a wife. While in Edinburgh he became engaged to a certain Lady Stuart; this lady, perhaps providentially for her, died three days before the appointed wedding date. Having returned to Germany, he married, to satisfy his mother, Caroline von Olne (Freie von und zu Olne zum Hause Birk in Brabant), a granddaughter of the Governor of the Netherlands, Graf von Effern. Against the odds this long-suffering woman "blieb ihrem mehr als wunderlichen Gatten in unwandelbarer Treue ergeben" (ADB, vol.X, p.416) and suffered accordingly. Her husband proved more and more eccentric as time went on.

On his return from his travels, Hallberg was preoccupied with
the idea of arming the German people against France and he set off around the world once more in an attempt to promote this plan and secure a mobilised force. He was ignored, however, first by the Elector in Cologne, and then by the Kaiser in Vienna, where he was locked up in the "Narrenturm" for two weeks until he 'recanted'. He received a similar response in Constantinople, Egypt and Italy. By now known for his antipathy towards Napoleon and followed on his travels by French spies, he next served eight months' imprisonment in Paris, although the circumstances are unclear, if not bizarre. Künsberg-Thurnau has it that Hallberg was championing the cause of the freedom of Germany in the face of the French enemy:

Da er für die Befreiung Deutschlands zu wirken suchte, wurde er aufgegriffen und sass 8 Monate bei Wasser und Brot zu Paris in einem elenden Loche.

(Kehrein, vol. I, p. 135)

Krüger says he was arrested "wegen patriotischer Tendenzen" (Krüger, p. 159), while Holland recounts that he was arrested for intent to murder French officials, whom he had attacked with a gang of masked bandits (AQQ, vol. X, pp. 416-7). Krämer agrees this was the charge against him, but hotly denies its truth, stating that Hallberg was arrested by the French when they stormed Schloss Broich, then subjecting him to a 36-day march to his imprisonment in Paris (Krämer, p. 418). At all events it was only through the brave self-humiliation of his wife Caroline, who made a personal plea to Napoleon, falling on her knees before him, that he was set free. After Caroline had thus secured his release, Hallberg was bent on revenge. With hopes of being made King of Corsica, he travelled to Tunis once more, asking the Bey for 6,000 Corsairs. With this force he was to rid Italy of the French and hand the country over to the Bey as a colony. He was given 1,000 men and named supreme general of the Tunisian forces. With typical contempt for the European establishment and his wife, he became a Moslem and indulged in a harem, even acquiring a sultan's daughter as one of his wives. But unexpectedly, and doubtless deservedly, he was ordered to leave; a Tunisian boat was to deposit him on a beach on the Greek coast. But the ship fell into British hands and, ironically, Hallberg was arrested on charges of spying for the French and imprisoned in
London for six months. This misunderstanding was resolved with an award of £600 damages on his release.

Hallberg next offered his services to the King of Prussia in the Napoleonic Wars and did indeed become active militarily, if unconventionally, in the border country between the rivers Rhine and Maas. In 1813 he masterminded the so called "rheinischen Landsturm". He had assembled an army of 30,000 peasants and soldiers and as their Feldobersthaupmann he led them in an attack over the Rhine at Koblenz on 6th January, 1814. Caroline, dressed as a man, rode behind her husband as adjutant. The regular Russian and Prussian armies relieving this peasant force, Hallberg was sent back to Cologne, which he defended against the French. He was then put in charge of the Russian troops in the march on Paris, receiving the title of General-Marsch-Commissair der russischen kaiserlichen Truppen, thereafter being offered the Leitung der Generalpolizey aller Armeen in Paris, a post in which he was to serve under the Governor General. This he saw as a slight, and although he had received many honours (including the Prussian 'Roten Adler', which he had declined on the grounds that it was held by some of Napoleon's officials), he did not receive the titular honours he deemed himself to have deserved, such as the dukedom of Jülich. With his younger brother, Franz, he wrote (in one night) the satirical Das politische Kochbuch oder die vornehme Küche für Leckermäule und Guip(p)ons (Düsseldorf, 1819) in response. Predictably its derision of Prussia incurred the displeasure of the King, Friedrich Wilhelm III, and a warrant for Hallberg's arrest was issued. In their native Rhineland Das politische Kochbuch went through three editions in four weeks. Hallberg and his wife and two children fled to Scandinavia in 1817, stopping in Stockholm, where Hallberg took up with the discontented Swedish nobility; together they planned the banishment of Bernadotte and, improbably, the realisation of Hallberg's own right to the Swedish throne, which he reputedly claimed both through his grandmother's sister, who had married into the house of Wasa, and through Caroline's family. Soon he was deported and in 1819 was granted refuge by the Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria (1756-1825). Hallberg bought Schloss Fussberg, at Gauting, by Munich. He was a tall, thin man and sported a long, greying beard, and both this and
the bearskin hat from Lapland which he wore soon earned him a nick-name amongst the locals - the "Eremit". It was typical of his contrary nature that he adopted the name as a pseudonym, adding "von Gauting" for greater effect. Through this, although he only resided seven years in Gauting, he earned the village a wide reputation. A measure of his own reputation at this time is reflected in the fact that those with loyalist leanings were often known as "Gautinger".

In 1821 Hallberg, with his wife, eight-year-old son and seven-year-old daughter, journeyed on foot to Rome, the first of a number of extensive walking tours which he was to make in the years to come. He received an audience with Pope Pius VII, who bestowed on him various orders, including that of the Golden Spur, even granting him the right to bestow it himself, which he was to do, freely and frequently, and on many non-Catholics! Around 1825 Hallberg presented the new Bavarian king, Ludwig I (1786-1868), with whom he was on familiar "Du" terms, with a plan for extensive drainage and cultivation of the moorland north of Munich, the Erdinger Moos. He was granted both labour and funds with which to execute this project; in addition the King gave him some land between Freising and Ismaning and the 'Jagdschloss' Birkeneck, a former property of the Fürstbischof. Hallberg moved here and lived "mit eulenspiegelhafter Verachtung alles Comforts" (ADB, vol. X, p.147), the only luxuries he allowed his family being beds, while he himself slept on the floor under a polar bear skin. The house was an attraction to frequent visitors, many of them foreign. The house was an attraction to frequent visitors, many of them foreign. Hallberg was known for his hospitality and his knowledge of many languages encouraged travellers from abroad to visit the notorious curiosity, Schloss Birkeneck. Despite his wide general knowledge, there was no library at Birkeneck, since Hallberg chose to keep only copies of his own works, many of which he published whimsically, merely to see his name in print. With the exception of the receiving room, which at one stage was plastered by Hallberg himself with motley papers, from theatre tickets and death announcements to maps and copper plate engravings, Schloss Birkeneck was painted entirely copper red throughout, as was the carriage - or wagon - in which Hallberg would travel into Munich. Frugality reigned in the house. Hallberg's luxury was tobacco,
which he grew himself, smoking a pipe all day long. Only water was served at table except on feast days, but the dinner table was enlivened by a tame jackdaw which was allowed to hop freely amongst the dishes. In addition its owner kept a variety of birds collected on his travels in a great cage. As before at Schloss Broich, many parties were given, one of the most lavish being to celebrate the capture of the arch-friend, Napoleon, to which all and sundry were welcomed: an effigy of Bonaparte was erected on a massive pile of figs, which, on being removed and consumed, caused the effigy to fall and smash - the figs (= Feigen) represented Napoleon’s cowardice (= Feigheit). But Hallberg’s life was not entirely hedonistic, if assuredly whimsical. He carried out the plans for the ‘Erdinger Moos’ with great success, founding a new village, a ‘Moorkolonie’, which to this day bears his name, Hallbergmoos. According to yet another whim, he wanted a church for his village, the only stipulation for which was that its members be frugally self-sufficient; accordingly he approached Jewish, Moravian, Protestant, Capuchin and Franciscan bodies alike. His lack of respect for religion never altered; in 1835, while in France, he posed as a German bishop to nuns in Avignon, and even preached to them in their dininghall.

Since it was during this Birkeneck period that Hallberg visited Scotland, it is interesting to read an account of his appearance and habits at that time. Gaunt and bearded, year in, year out, he was dressed the same, in a one-piece undergarment he had designed himself, over which he wore high riding boots and an old blue velvet coat. On this he not only festooned his many medals and orders, but had also had them duplicated and wore many replicas as well, some actually sewn on to the coat, while the buttons were covered with the ribbons, more of which he hung round his neck. To complete the exotic picture he wore the familiar polar bear skin hat, summer and winter, and was armed with both a cavalry sabre and two pistols in his belt.

Mann kann sich wohl vorstellen, was es für einen Eindruck auf die Residenzbewohner machen musste, wenn er in dieser Kleidung vor seinem Stammcafé Tambosi oder bei seinen Münchner Bekannten abstieg. Denn
The six donkey mares had been acquired when Caroline had been prescribed asses' milk as a cure for her ill health. Hallberg especially enjoyed watching his distinguished military guests being tossed and thrown by these creatures. Such was the carnival figure who visited Scotland in 1839.

From Birkeneck Hallberg resumed his walking tours, travelling to the Low Countries in the mid-20's and, after the death of Caroline, to Tyrol and Salzburg in 1834, and Algiers via the Netherlands and France in 1835. In 1836 he set out on foot to the Orient, travelling to Asia Minor through Austria, Hungary, Turkey and Greece and returning via Egypt, Malta, Sicily and Italy. In Constantinople he met and married a young, cultured and rich American girl, who died a few days afterwards of a nervous fever.

In 1839 he visited England and Scotland, planning to sail on to America and to travel back to Europe from Alaska by Siberia, but his voyage to America was thwarted by a ship wreck from which he only narrowly escaped alive. The following year, 1840, he sold his estate and moved into the Gasthof zum Schwarzen Adler in Munich. A resident Englishman laid a bet with him that he would not again be able to find a wife; thus challenged, Hallberg advertised in the paper for a veritable angel of not more than 16 years old, received much publicity and, incredibly, 640 replies to the advertisement! He did not follow them up, however, and spent the next two years writing anti-French propaganda. He then resumed his travels once more, with only one shirt as luggage and by now aged 74. He wandered aimlessly across Europe and Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Persia. In Teheran he approached the Shah on a trumped up diplomatic mission from the "all powerful" King
of Bavaria; the Persian ruler, suitably flattered, believed the tall story and ordered Hallberg forthwith to reorganise the Persian army according to European standards. He also bestowed on him the rare Order of the Sun and Lion, never before bestowed on a European. In 1847 Hallberg travelled again to Rome (where he received yet another honour from the Pope) and in 1848 to Jerusalem, returning via Mecca, India, Egypt and France. That year he published his intent to sail to America to start a new idyllic life with the natives, away from the hateful European civilisation, and invited those of like mind to join him. The events of 1848, marking the end of Ludwig's reign, caused this plan to collapse. In November 1850 he bought the half ruined Schloss Hörmannsdorf in Lower Bavaria. Three years later, at the age of 85 and already half blind, he fell so violently in love with an 18-year-old girl from Freising, that he took her off to marry her. The fortunate girl escaped. That year an eye operation rendered the old emaciated man totally blind and he lived his last years in isolation, attended by a gardener, housekeeper and lectress; hearing was his sole enjoyment, his room was filled with cages of song birds and several hundred Black Forest clocks. He had survived wife, children, family and friends and died, forgotten, at the age of 94, on 17th April, 1862. The unfortunate Caroline had long since suffered at the hands of her eccentric husband:


(ADB, vol. X, p. 417)

At his funeral, on 19th April, 1862, Hallberg was dressed in the uniform of the Bavarian Order of St. Michael; the coffin was attended by officers and local farmers, and four cannons, gifted by Hallberg to the parish of Weng, where he was to be buried, were fired in salute. At his death his full title, according to Krämer, was:

Reichsfreiherr Karl Theodor Maria Hubert Isidor von Hallberg-Broich, Serb und Grosskomtur des Sonnen- und Löwenordens des Schah von Persien, ehemaliger tunesischer Generalleutnant, ehemaliger
However much one might reproach Hallberg-Broich for his eccentricities (or madness?), it is not surprising that he enjoyed a certain fame in his day, especially latterly in Munich as the author of numerous outspoken articles in many different papers and journals on varied subjects, from military strategy to poetry. There are varying opinions of his worth as a writer, although it becomes apparent that it is for his travel writing alone that he deserves to be remembered. His biographer and champion, Baron von Künsberg-Thurnau is unswervingly complimentary:

Hallberg-Broich ist ausgezeichnet als Schriftsteller im Gebiete der Topographie, Strategie, Poesie und gemeinschaftlichen Wissens, und seine Schriften tragen das Gepräge von Freimütigkeit, Ernst, Heiterkeit, Spott und Gutherzigkeit, jedes an seinem Orte.

(Kehrein, p.135)

Schütze lets it be known that the fame Hallberg enjoyed was more in the nature of notoriety (Schütze, p.197), while the non-contemporary Krüger is more honest yet, looking back from the beginning of the 20th century:

Er war kein begabter Dichter, aber e. [ine] sehr interessante, naturwüchs. [ige] Persönlichkeit, die am originellsten in s. [einen] Reisegeschichten hervortritt.

(Krüger, p.159)

Schmidt echoes Kosch; he pronounces Hallberg's writings "kulturhistorisch nicht ohne Bedeutung" (NDB, vol.VII, p.539), but nonetheless uses the adjectives "grob" and "kauzig" to describe them. Twenty years before Schmidt, in 1949, Krämer had pointed to this
peculiarity of Hallberg's style:

Es ist ein Genuss eigener Art, eine Schrift von Hallberg zu lesen, besonders eine solche, in der er von seinen Wanderungen erzählt. Eine Fülle von kulturhistorischen und völkerkundlichen Bemerkungen steckt darin, dabei weiss er gut zu beobachten und das Gesehen und Erlebte auch entsprechend zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Freilich, an eine strenge Disposition hält er sich nicht, er springt vom Hundertsten ins Tausendste und redet seitenlang über Dinge, die gar nicht zu Erörterung stehen. Am ergötzlichsten ist es, wenn er ins Theoretisieren verfällt und seine persönlichen Ansichten vorträgt, .... Ein lebendiger, ja leidenschaftlicher Ton, der es weder an Derbheit noch Keckheit fehlt, durchweht jede Seite seiner Schriften, stets aufrichtig und original in Sprache und Auffassung. Der Begriff und Ausdruck "Dummheit der Welt" (die sich ihm vor allem in der Menschheitsgeschichte spiegelt) kehrt immer wieder und er wird nicht müde, ihn - nach seiner Art - zu begründen. Für die Schönheit der griechischen Kunst, für die Eigenart der ägyptischen Plastik hat er kein Auge, dagegen gibt er interessante Augenblicksbilder aus dem Leben des niederen Volkes in den von ihm durchwanderten Gebieten, verflochten mit persönlichen Erlebnissen, wobei, wie gesagt, das weibliche Geschlecht stets eine Rolle spielt. Sehr reich sind seine Wanderbücher auch an historischen Bemerkungen, denen fast stets eine höchst persönliche Note eigen ist, so dass sie auch heute noch amüsant zu lesen sind. (Krämer, pp. 422 - 423)

These comments can be applied also to the Reise durch England im Jahre 1839, in which Hallberg freely voices his contempt for conventional values, ignores much that others dwell on, and concentrates instead on the shocking conditions in which the poor and downtrodden must live. Indeed, the unrestrained comments of the Reise nach England, attacking both Germany and Britain, caused the work to be confiscated. It is not clear whether this was the published Reise durch England im Jahre 1839 or a further work (see Krämer, p.422).

Of Hallberg's travel books one can name: Reise durch Skandinavian im Jahre 1817 (1818), Reise-Epistel durch den Isar-Kreis (1822),
Reise durch Italien (1830), über den Rhein- und Donau-Kanal und den alten Handelsweg nach Indien (1831), Reise nach dem Orient (1839), Reise durch England und Schottland im Jahre 1839 (1841) and from all accounts most popular of all, Reise durch Deutschland, Russland, Caucasus und Persien in den Jahren 1842-44 (1844).

The course of Hallberg-Broich's life alone reveals much about his person. He was eccentric, even exotic, selfish, pompous and self-important. Yet he had kept his eyes open on his travels and in his own peculiar way did possess wide experience and knowledge in many different fields. The modern appraisal of his character is probably the most accurate, enjoying the objectivity of reflection on a bygone age:


(NDB, vol. VII, p. 538)

Moving often in the artistic circles of Munich, he was a sitting target for the caricaturists:

Als phantastische, absonderliche Erscheinung weithin berühmt und noch heute nicht ganz vergessen, dürfte H., dessen Leben einem einzigen "Theater" glich [Gistel], manchen Dichter und Künstler seiner Zeit beeinflusst haben.

(Ibid, p. 539)

Holland's comparison of Hallberg-Broich with Eulenspiegel is perhaps most apt of all - he belonged to another age, and the 14th century might have suited his stubborn peculiarities admirably.

In his Reise durch England im Jahre 1839, Hallberg-Broich displays a witty, often caustic humour. For all his delight in attacking the system, by virtue of doing just this he reveals much that goes unnoticed.
or unsaid, by others. In many ways he hides his acute awareness behind his unconventional image; since he had nothing to lose as a wealthy and aged eccentric, his writings often took the form of outspoken bitterness and derision. He arrived in Scotland in September 1839, having spent the summer touring England. From Manchester he travelled to Edinburgh, from there to Glasgow, where he boarded the steamer, visiting Staffa from Oban, Fort William and Fort Augustus, before sailing up the Caledonian Canal to Inverness. He left Inverness one morning (it was now mid-September) at 1 a.m. to travel the 145 miles to Wick, where he arrived five hours later. This was thus one journey he did not make on foot. He then sailed to Kirkwall, from Orkney to Shetland, and from Lerwick to Aberdeen, a voyage of three days. From Aberdeen he travelled south via Perth and Kinross back to Edinburgh, where he stayed for a few more days before leaving the country. He had just celebrated his 71st birthday.
Karl Friedrich Heinrich Marx was born on 10th March 1796 in Karlsruhe. From 1813 he studied medicine at the University of Heidelberg and in 1817 won a prize for a paper entitled 'diatribe anatomico-physiologica de structure atque vita venarum', which was published in Karlsruhe two years later. Returning to Karlsruhe, Marx passed his state medical examination in 1818, moving on to Vienna to further his studies. Here he met with an unexpected interruption, for he was arrested for his fraternity involvement and, at the request of the Prussian authorities, imprisoned for nine months. He then moved on to Jena, where he qualified as a medical doctor in 1820, soon moving to Göttingen as the University Library accessions officer. In 1822, after habilitating, he became Privatdocent in the medical faculty, at the same time practising as a doctor. Husemann considers Marx' early work, published in the 1820's, of importance, especially Die Lehre von den Giften in medicinischer, gerichtlicher und polizeilicher Hinsicht. For this Marx was able to make ample use of the University Library records; unfortunately the general work, which was published in 1827, was not sufficiently successful to warrant the publication of the proposed specialist volume already prepared by Marx and the manuscript for the latter was burnt. In 1826 Marx became ausserordentlicher Professor and five years later, the year in which he published a paper on the cholera epidemic, ordentlicher Professor. He was created Königlich Hannöverscher Hofrath in 1840. His practice was extensive and through it he was to become a well known Göttingen personality. A published work which also won him local recognition was the medical topography of Göttingen, Göttingen in medicinischer, physischer und historischer Hinsicht, of 1824, to which Heine jokingly refers in his 'Harzreise', which was published two years later. Marx's views were essentially humanitarian and this is borne out by the subject he offered on attaining his professorship in 1826, namely euthanasia; further:

Die von Marx in seiner eigenen, in seinem Jünglings- und Mannesalter sehr ausgedehnten ärztlichen Praxis gewonnene Erkenntnis, dass der Arzt nicht bloß als Heilkünstler, sondern auch als Mensch am Krankenbett einge
This latter work was published in 1844 and translated into English in 1848. Marx himself must have been gratified by this English translation, for in the 34th letter of his Erinnerungen an England he devotes several pages (pp. 148-155) to Germany’s relations with Britain and the British ignorance of Germany and German language and literature, which he sees to stem from the fact that Britain’s closed book trade makes German newspapers and books both very scarce and very seldom read in Britain.

Throughout Marx’s fifty-five year career in Göttingen, he wrote and published much in many diverse fields; this applied also to his teaching, and he covered subjects from criminal medicine, toxicology and pharmacology to anthropology, medical ethics and medical history. His published writings include critical works on the importance to medical history of, amongst others, Herophilus, Theophrastus ("eine vortreffliche Arbeit, die zu den besten Leistungen Marx’s zählt" (ADB, vol.XX, p.541)), Leibniz, Francis Bacon, Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht von Haller. Marx was a frequent contributor to many journals and papers, in particular the ‘Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen’, for which he wrote some 485 articles, and which was the subject of a work he published in 1863, Ueber die Wirksamkeit der Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen und meine Theilnahme an denselben. Critics agree that there is much value in Marx’s work, yet he remains a controversial figure. Although Husemann recognises his originality as a doctor, as regards his contribution as a pharmacologist he writes that most of Marx’s later work was devoted to the subject, "ohne jedoch in letzterem Fache, von historischen Forschungen abgesehen, jedesmal ein Verständniss der physiolog. und chem. Pharmakodynamik der Neuzeit zu erlangen" (Hirsch, vol.IV, p.105). By the end of Marx’s career he had evidently become both conservative and somewhat eccentric. His student and disciple, Rohlfs, to whom he bequeathed his considerable
fortune, was to become his biographer and this was to Marx's detriment; in Rohlfs' eyes "Marx der Einzige", as a "Gründer der ethischen Medicin", was faultless. The resulting biography, which comprises over 150 pages of the first part of Rohlfs' Geschichte der deutschen Medicin (1875), has been aptly termed a panegyric (Husemann, p.106; ADB, vol. XX, p.541). Husemann gives the more balanced view:


(Hirsch, vol. IV, pp.106-7)

Marx never married and, suffering from cancer, he died in Göttingen on 2nd October, 1877.

Marx's Erinnerungen an England 1841 was published in Braunschweig in 1842. As the title implies, Marx was in Britain in 1841 and his account takes the form of a series of 57 letters which he wrote to his brother, Professor of Physics and Chemistry in Braunschweig. The letters are not dated, but judging from his account of travel in Scotland, it can be assumed that Marx toured during the summer months. Letters number 4 to 10 describe the Scottish tour, which took place at the beginning of the visit. Having arrived in London, he travelled north via Derby, York and Berwick to Edinburgh. From Edinburgh he continued by stage coach to Stirling and Callander, toured the Trossachs, mostly on foot, took the steamer to Balloch and Dumbarton and then visited Glasgow. Rain prevented a planned
visit to Ireland, and he returned south via Lancaster. From London he visited the Isle of Wight, Ryde, Portsmouth, Slough, Oxford and Cambridge. He sailed from Dover and returned to Germany after visiting Paris.
KOHL

Johann Georg Kohl, geographer and travel writer, was born in Bremen on the 25th April, 1808, the eldest son of the wine merchant, Elard Kohl, and his wife, Minna. From an early age travel was part of his life. In his autobiographical Aus meinen Hütten he recounts the following:


(Kohl, Aus meinen Hütten, vol. i. p.201)

Kohl enjoyed several journeys as a boy, the first when he was seven years-old to Hannover, his mother's home town, Göttingen and Kassel. His own native Bremen, a busy seaport, also contributed to his desire to see the world:


(Ibid., vol. I, p. 203)

Ever since the "Völkerwanderung", he says, the Germans have been "wanderlustiger ... als andere Nationen" (Ibid, p.203), but he considers Bremen itself to have been the chief influence on him. It was common for the young people of the town, all weaned on Robinson Crusoe like himself (Ibid, p.212), to travel to America, Brazil, Mexico and the West Indies (Ibid, pp.203 -4). The urge to see distant lands was almost innate:

Nichts rührte mich von Kindesbeinen an mehr, als die Lieder und Geschichten, welche von den "blauen Bergen der Ferne"


However prosaic Kohl may sometimes seem to be, this passage shows him to be at heart a Romantic. Wolkenhauer writes:


(ADB, vol. XVI, p. 425)

In 1827, on leaving school in Bremen, Kohl studied law for a year in Göttingen, although he also attended lectures on Technology and Mathematics. He then moved on (on foot) to Heidelberg, where he stayed for one semester, before moving again (once more on foot!) to Munich in the spring of 1829. Later he admitted that it was neither the university and its professors nor even the good beer which kept him in Munich, but the presence of so many artists and above all the proximity of the Alps. But his studies were curtailed by the bankruptcy and subsequent death of his father and after one and a half years in Munich, he moved in 1830 to Kurland, where his duties as tutor helped support his family. He was employed first in the family of Baron von Manteuffel at Zierau and then by Reichsgraf Medem at Ellay and worked in this capacity for six years until
November, 1836, publishing his first works, Deutschen Mundes Laute, Beiträge zur Urgeschichte einiger Erfindungen and Kindergeschichten und Nichtgeschichten, in 1833 and 1834. In 1834 he travelled to Bremen to promote these works, but was so disheartened by his unenthusiastic reception that on his return to Kurland he burnt all his remaining works. As it turned out, however, he was in fact undeterred and proceeded to publish Die deutsch-russischen Ostseeprovinzen, his first real contribution to travel literature. This was the fruit of a tour he had made of the whole of Kurland, financing himself with his first savings. From 1838 to 1853 his base was Dresden; he now felt himself able to devote his entire time to his writing. He had spent the winter of 1836-7 in Dorpat, St. Petersburg and Moscow, the following autumn and winter in the Ukraine, in Charkow and Odessa, the spring and summer of 1838 on the Black Sea and in the Crimea and he had travelled, too, to Livland [Livonia] and into the then scarcely known and none too accessible inner provinces of Russia. The nine volumes he published as a result of these journeys were well received, as also was a work he published in 1841, Der Verkehr und die Ansiedlungen der Menschen in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der Gestalt der Erdoberfläche. For the next twenty years Kohl was to traverse Europe and North America, writing as he went, and so prolifically that Wolkenhauer considers that only the phrase "Veni, vidi, scripsi" is applicable to him (ADO, vol. XVI, p.426). Kohl was to publish 83 volumes in his career, nearly 200 articles and papers, for the most part very detailed and thorough, over 70 reviews and in addition he wrote a large number of works which remained unpublished. Of the earlier travel accounts the following select titles give an idea of the extent of his travels and labours: Hundert Tage auf Reisen in den österreichischen Staaten (1842) (which he dedicated to Alexander von Humboldt), Reisen in Schottland (1844) and Reisen in England und Wales (1844). Three works followed concerning Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark; these were particularly topical and therefore widely read at the time of their publication in 1846 and 1847. During that time Kohl had spent a year in Interlaken and in 1848 he moved to Bremen, ostensibly to further his studies on the River Weser, since he planned, and had already begun, an extensive geographical and anthropological study of the German rivers, but the freer atmosphere and greater foreign
contact which Bremen enjoyed made their mark and Kohl's interest in the New World and the West grew. While commencing his studies of North America, he nonetheless travelled elsewhere, and from 1849-53 he toured the Rhineland, the Danube country, the Netherlands and travelled also in the Alps:

Arbeiten wie Der Rhein (1851) und Die Donau von ihrem Ursprunge bis Pest (1853) zeigen, dass K. bemüht war über die Reiseschriftstellerei hinaus den Zusammenhang historischer und geographischer Erscheinungen zu erfassen.

(ADB, vol. XVI, pp. 426-7)

In 1852 Kohl was offered a newly established chair in Graz as professor of Geography. Lack of funds brought this to nothing, however, and he decided to devote his studies to a new subject. From 1853 he spent some months in Berlin, where he lectured, without the desired response from Humboldt, however, on the Discovery of America; in the spring of 1854 he stayed also in Paris, London and Oxford, furthering his research on this subject. In London at the British Museum he was given valuable access to maps and charts by a Mr. Major. He then set sail for the United States and Canada, arriving in Philadelphia on 7th September. In October he travelled to Quebec to a conference of Naturalists and came into contact with a Scotsman and Canadian authority, William Edmond Logan. In New York he stayed with the family of his brother, Johannes, gained access to the library of the newly formed Geographical Society and met Washington Irving. It was Longfellow with whom he was to become closely acquainted, however, and together they discussed the poet's plans for 'Hiawatha'. He then travelled to Washington, Chicago and into the Great Lakes region and Indian country - his writings on North America include works on Canada and the Indians. It was at Harvard, where he went in 1856, that he found most intellectual stimulus. Throughout his stay in North America he worked with astonishing diligence on the history of the discovery of the New World and as a result gathered an extensive collection of historical maps and charts. Charles Deane, a Harvard friend who knew him at this time, tells how Kohl, while working from 1857 to 1858 on the U.S. Govt. Survey Office's History of the East Coast, had an army of assistants working for him to reduce the maps down to the required size. But although he had a wealth of material at his
disposal, both on the history of the East and West coasts and of the North West Passage and Magellan Straits, none of this was able to be published at the time; for the most part the works concerning this material were published after his return to Germany in the 1860's and 1870's. The History of the East Coast of North America, particularly the Coast of Maine, from the Northmen in 990 to the Charter of Gilbert in 1578, should have been published by the U.S. Government in 1857, but financial difficulties prevented this, and Deane tells us that Kohl returned home almost broken-hearted that his beautiful maps would now be uncared for. However, the work was finally published in 1869 by the Maine Historical Society and Deane reports that Major, of the British Museum, wrote:

*It is a most admirable work; and I am proud to think that it was at my suggestion that the proposal was made to my learned friend to undertake so responsible and difficult a task.*

(Deane, p. 384)

It was published in German in Berlin in 1877; Bulthaupt writes that it was

*ein Werk, das Kohl's amerikanischen Ruf nur noch erhöhte und ihm in der Neuen Welt die Huldigung eintrug, der einzige ebenbürtige Nachfolger Alexander von Humboldt's zu sein.*

(Ersch/Gruber, vol.XXXVIII, p.40)

Kohl set sail once more for Europe in June 1858, travelling via London and Paris and arriving in Bremen in December of that year. He was created Stadtbibliothekar in October 1863 and his reorganisation and meticulous cataloguing transformed the institution, which had never before had a full-time librarian. This post, in which he soon made himself a popular local figure, always friendly and ready to help, engendered further historical studies, concerning both Bremen itself and the wider world. Kohl continued to publish as a geographer, too, lectured regularly and wrote widely for journals and papers, in particular for the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' in Augsburg, the 'Weser Zeitung', 'Ausland', the 'Göttinger Gelehrten-Anzeigen' and geographical journals. Die geographische Lage der Hauptstädte Europas, which he published in 1874, was a particularly successful work. In addition he was a member of many learned societies and
the universities of Königsberg, Brunswick (Maine) and Boston 21 bestowed on him Honorary doctorates. Indeed, his published writings were so numerous that there is believed to be no single collection of them. In later life Kohl suffered from a severe spinal complaint which caused gradual paralysis and from which he died, in Bremen, on 28th October, 1878.

For an account of Kohl as a man we can turn to his American friend and colleague, Charles Deane, who wrote his obituary in December, 1878:

He was a tall, spare man, of great energy of character, and full of enthusiasm on his special theme. During the winter that he spent in Cambridge, he would sometimes carry off from my own library armfuls of books, whenever he thought he could find a trace in them of a map which he had not seen, or a new fact bearing on his subject. I remember once on leaving my house he slung a large package of books over his shoulder, like a traveller's pack, and trudged off with them in a drifting snow-storm, making me almost tremble for my precious volumes.

(Deane, p.382)

Kohl remained single, though he kept in close contact with his family and was an ever popular uncle. In Charles Deane's words once more:

Dr. Kohl was never married. He was wedded only to his science. He had the enthusiasm, perseverance and learning so characteristic of German scholars, united to the most beautiful simplicity of character. After the death of Humboldt, he was unquestionably the most distinguished geographer in Europe.

(Deane, p.384)

Be that as it may, Europe has forgotten him and to-day his name is to be found only in the American biographies.

In the above passage, Deane goes on to describe the last letter he received from Kohl, in the spring of 1878. In this Kohl tells of the publication of his work on the Magellan Straits, but his continued labours on the history of the North West Passage had been thwarted. He writes (in English):
The greatest part of this work I had finished and prepared for print, when about one and a half years' ago such a weakness and frailness of my body befell me, that I was obliged to give up all working, studying, and writing. Some chapters or specimens of this work are printing in this moment in the "Ausland" of Cotta. But the entire work, at which I have been laboring for years, will never come out. I am so invalid in my legs that I am unable to walk from one table or room to the other; and that I can like my dear Professor Woods, enjoy nature and fresh air only in a carriage. How happy would I be if I could ride in his company through the lofty woods and picturesque scenery of Maine! Here, near my father-town, Bremen, the landscape is indeed extremely tame and uninteresting. I improve it a little on my excursions, thinking of my dear Professor Woods and his enjoyments.... Preserve me your friendship, and farewell. A great joy would it be for me if you would take the trouble to write to me a little more of your own life and doings, and particularly of my dear, revered friend, Longfellow.

(Quoted in Deane, pp.384-5)

The sentiments expressed here would suit the Scottish scenery, too.

In Aus meinen Hütten Kohl had written of his partiality for solitude:

Dieser Hang hat mich in allen Perioden meines Lebens aus den volkreichen Städten, die ich zuweilen bewohnen musste, in die Wildniss hinausgetrieben und hat mich stets von der grossen Heerstrasse der Welt, die ich zuweilen wandelte, auf die einsamen Fels- und Fusspfade der versteckten Thäler der unbewohnnten Berge geführt.

(Kohl, Aus meinen Hütten, vol.I, p.101)

A Scottish visit thus suited his nature perfectly. Set against this love of solitude and home, was the overriding desire to travel, which, although it abated in later years, was to accompany Kohl in some degree all his life. He writes:

Humani nihil a me alienum puto. Dies ging mir schon als Knabe beständig durch den Kopf. Ich sprach dies tausend mal nach. Ich schrieb es auf hundert Papierchen nieder. Ich hatte es immer in Gedanken. Es wurde Wahlspruch meines Lebens. Alles, was die Menschen angeht, alles, was auf
The human interest is very evident in *Reisen in Schottland*, but perhaps most fitting for Kohl's epitaph is a further comment from *Aus meinen Hütten*:

> Wenn ich jetzt an alles das, was mir schon von Jugend auf durch den Kopf ging, zurückdenke, so scheint es mir, als hätte ich nie andere Gedanken als Reisegedanken, nie andere Pläne als Reisepläne, nie andere Phantasien als Reisephantasien gehabt und gehagt.


As an academic Kohl knew his limitations:

> Andere Menschen haben ihre Hauptkraft in irgendeiner hervorragenden Eigenthümlichkeit. Ich habe meine Hauptkraft in der mein ganzes Wesen durchdringenden Mittelmässigkeit ... Mittelmässigkeit ist der eigentliche Ausdruck meines ganzen Seins.


Mediocre or modest, he was absolutely genuine and his thirst for knowledge unquenchable:


Contemporary critics reveal the esteem in which Kohl was held during his lifetime. Both Lorck's and Schütze's biographies were compiled in 1862. The former, discussing Kohl's early travel works, which were the result of his six-year stay in the Baltic provinces, writes:
Sie hatten bereits die Vorzüge, die, noch weiter ausgebildet, ihn zu einem der beliebtesten Schriftsteller gemacht haben: einen blühenden, lebendvollen Styl, eine keineswegs farblose Unparteilichkeit, eine grosse Sicherheit im Urtheil und ein richtiges Hervorheben aller der kleinen und grossen Züge, auf denen die Eigenthümlichkeit eines Volks, einer Landschaft beruht.

(Lorck, vol. II, p. 523)

Schütze, who describes Kohl as an "ausgezeichneter Reise_schriftsteller" (Schütze, p. 176), and whose entry on him is given as much space as that on Lessing, makes the contemporary demands of a travel writer even more plain:


(Ibid, p. 177)

Later critics refrain from such unqualified praise, but nonetheless find much to compliment in Kohl's work. Less than ten years after his death, Bulthaupt writes of Kohl as an "ausgezeichneter Schriftsteller und Geograph, in Deutschland der eigentliche Begründer der Reisebeschreibung, die den Ton populärer Unterhaltung mit wissenschaftlicher Beobachtung und Darstellung zu vereinigen bestrebt ist" (Ersch/Gruber, vol. XXXVIII, p. 37). While Bulthaupt recognises that Kohl had a weakness for pendants detail and sometimes lacked historical accuracy, he can only praise "die praktische Nutzanwendung der ...
of the travel works he wrote in the 1840's, he writes:

It is interesting that even in 1885 Bulthaupt considers that Kohl never received the scientific recognition in Germany which he enjoyed in Britain and America. Bulthaupt himself is particularly drawn to Aus meinen Hütten, in which he finds a depth often lacking in the travel works. Over fifty years later, Alexander puts Kohl's achievement into perspective:

There is certainly much truth in those words, and yet already, nearly fifty years after they were written, many of the things which were then taken for granted are now forgotten; the pedantic-seeming details give much of Kohl's work social and historical interest to-day.

As indicated above, Kohl visited the British Isles on more than one occasion. The works dealt with here arose from his first visit in 1842. He and his sister, Ida (1814-88), spent eight months in Britain in that year and together they published Englische Skizzen. Aus den Tagebüchern von Ida Kohl und J.G. Kohl (1845);
they also collaborated on *Paris und die Franzosen* (1845). Kohl was to publish in all thirteen volumes on Britain, all of which appeared in 1844; amongst these were his two volumed *Reisen in Schottland* (Arnold, Dresden & Leipzig, 1844) and the three volumed exhaustive work published as a companion to his British travels, *Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln* (Arnold, Dresden & Leipzig, 1844). However, pedantic and in some instances, especially in the latter work, trivial and over-detailed, these works may now appear, Kohl was a popular writer, widely read even in schools, where excerpts from his writings were incorporated into many text books. Much of what he wrote was also translated into English, the Scottish travels included. An abridged version of his three travel books appeared in London as *England, Ireland and Scotland*, published by Chapman & Hall in 1844. Also in that year, the year of the original German edition, *Travels in Scotland* was published, translated by John Kesson, who assures his readers that this edition is complete and unabridged! This gives an indication of the expected reading public. In addition many of the articles which went to make up these works were published in advance in various journals.

Kohl evidently left Ida behind in London when he visited Scotland, since he toured alone, the greater part on foot. He arrived from Belfast by steamer in late October 1842 and travelled from Glasgow to Edinburgh, back along the Forth to Stirling, from Stirling to Crieff and Perth, from there to Dunkeld and on to Taymouth, from there to Loch Tay and Killin and on to the Trossachs, then back to Stirling. From Stirling he returned once more to Edinburgh and travelled south through the Cheviots to Carlisle. Since he walked so much of the tour, its duration must have been at least a month, if not longer.
CARUS

Carus, like Johanna Schopenhauer, Schinkel and Mendelssohn, falls into the category of those of whom much has been written elsewhere. "Lange verkannt oder falsch verstanden" (Die Grossen Deutschen (1935-37), p.165), Carus had already gone out of fashion in his old age, everything he stood for being contrary to the 'unromantic' last decades of the 19th century. But the value of his writings was rediscovered at the turn of the century and by the 1920's, in the directionless atmosphere of postwar Germany, his optimistic philosophical and scientific writings enjoyed considerable republication. Nowadays it would probably be fair to say that Carus is well known only in his native Saxony, within his scientific field, and to devotees of Romantic art; otherwise he is remembered chiefly as a friend and associate of both Goethe and Caspar David Friedrich. On his grave in Dresden is the inscription 'Carl Gustav Carus 1789-1869 Naturforscher und Arzt Philosoph und Künstler' and it was in all four of these fields that he was prominent throughout his long career.

Carl Gustav Carus, an only child, was born on 3rd January, 1789 in Leipzig. Critics of his memoirs attacked the lack of any sense of childhood in his account of his early life, but this is perhaps because he enjoyed little of it. His father, August Gottlob Ehrenfried Carus (1763-1842) was the manager of a dye works, a post which necessitated hard work and granted few spare funds. His mother, Elisabeth Christiane, née Jäger (1763-1846), had received scanty education as a girl, but had earnestly set about improving her knowledge as an adult and became well-read and appreciative of art and as such exerted a considerable influence on her young son. Business leaving little time over for raising their son, the four-year-old Carus was sent to his uncle, Daniel Jäger (1762-1835), in Mühlhausen in Thüringen, where his maternal grandparents had a dye and print works. Even though the homesick boy only stayed here one year, until 1794, the time spent in his uncle's company had a lasting effect on him; Daniel Jäger had studied Theology in Leipzig, but his greatest love was for the natural sciences and it was he who
roused Carus' early and ever absorbing interest in nature study. Back in Leipzig, Carus lived an isolated childhood, taught at home and in contact mostly with adults. Of the regular guests in the Carus' household there were some who made a great impression on him, in particular the naturalist, Wilhelm Gottfried Tilesius, a distant relative, another relative and teacher of Philosophy and Psychology at Leipzig University, Friedrich August Carus, the musicologist and friend of Goethe, Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, and the publishers, Christoph Gottlob Breitkopf and Gottfried Christoph Härtel. Between them these men helped to direct Carus' future: Tilesius further roused his interest in nature and his love of drawing and Breitkopf and Härtel were to publish his first major scientific work in 1814. It was Carus' fortune that his father's interest in science went beyond the art of dyeing. Finally, at the age of twelve, Carus was sent to the famous 'Thomasschule', where for the first time he came into contact with his own contemporaries. The Göschel family, children of the publisher, were amongst his playmates and in their home Carus encountered not only the colourful author of *Spaziergang nach Syracus*, Johann Gottfried Seume, but also Goethe's art teacher and director of the Leipzig 'Kunstakademie', Adam Friedrich Oeser, and Friedrich Schiller himself.

After three years at school, Carus began his studies as one of Leipzig's youngest students, aged fifteen. He studied Chemistry and Physics, but his preferred subjects were Botany and Zoology. He was an avid collector of nature specimens, which, like his relative Tilesius, he drew with care, taking art lessons with the painter Julius Dietz, with whom he traversed the countryside, sketching studies from nature. As a student he belonged to a group of young men who met to read classical drama; through this he developed a particular love of Shakespeare's historical dramas. Both these loves, Nature and Shakespeare, made themselves strongly felt during his tour of England and Scotland.

Carus' father saw his son's studies to be of practical use for a future in his own business, but Carus did not relish the prospect of a life as a master dyer and, after some indecision, finally opted for a career in medicine as a way of pursuing purely academic study. He started his medical studies in 1806, with an early emphasis on
gynaecology, while continuing his artistic and naturalist pursuits. In 1809 he began his practical training at St. Jakobshospital. He graduated Dr. phil. in 1811, also earning the title of Dr. habil. in that year, the first Habilitant to teach gynaecology as Privatdozent, which he began to do in 1812. He published his Lehrbuch der Gynaekologie in 1820. Meanwhile, in November 1811, he had married his father's much younger stepsister, Karoline Carus (1784-1859); she was to have eleven children by him, six sons and five daughters, only six of whom survived to adulthood, and only two of whom survived their father. Since they could not live off his lectures alone, Carus was forced to go into practice, moving to Dresden in 1814 to work in the 'Chirurgischmedizinische Akademie'. Leipzig was not only a centre of learning; it was in the thick of things during the Napoleonic Wars and Carus experienced events at first hand. With his knowledge of French he had acted as mediator when French soldiers were billeted on the Carus household after the Battle of Jena in 1806 and, from June 1813 until the 'Völkerschlacht' in October, he was to tend the wounded in a French military hospital in typhus-ridden Leipzig. He, too, caught the disease, however, and was ill for five months.

Carus' travels certainly broadened his scope, since he could pursue abroad both his comparative scientific studies and find new inspiration for his art. By 1821, when he travelled to Genoa to visit medical institutions and further his research, he had already visited Berlin, Rügen (the favourite haunt of Caspar David Friedrich) and Prague. In 1827 he accompanied the Regent, Prinz Friedrich (crowned König Friedrich August II in 1836), as physician in ordinary to Italy and Switzerland, toured France in 1835 and Britain in 1844, again in the retinue of the King.

Writing in the 1860's, a contemporary critic praises Carus highly, but not without certain reservations:

Als Schriftsteller ist Carus außerordentlich vielseitig. Er beteiligte sich in vorwärtsstrebendem Geiste stets ideenreich an mannichfachen Discussionen über offene Fragen der Natur und Kunst. Während sich in seinen Schriften, die über Gegenstände seiner Fachwissenschaften handeln ... eine seltene Gründlichkeit der methodischen
The reviewer goes on to discuss the positive trend of Carus' nature philosophy, and sees this as typical of his generation. Regardless of whether the criticism of dilettantism was well founded or not, Carus has continued to be compared with Goethe right up to the present day. Writing nearly one hundred years after Lorck, Knauss opines:

C. war als Arzt, Naturforscher und -philosoph einer der selbständigesten Vertreter des romantischen Denkens, in seiner Naturanschauung vielfach an Goethe anklängend, wie er auch als Charakter Goethesches Gepräge trug.

(NDB, vol. III, p.162)

This view, that Carus was a "Goethe figure", is discussed and promoted once more by Wilhelmsmeyer in his book, *Carl Gustav Carus als Erbe und Deuter Goethes* (Berlin, 1936). It is put in perspective by Henschel in his *Villa Cara* (Dresden, 1963). The fact that Carus was as well known as a philosopher, painter and art critic as he was as a doctor and academic writer, was bound to lead naturally to a comparison with Goethe:

In dieser erstaunlichen Universalität war Carus Goethe ähnlich, den er gekannt und verehrt hat und der seinerseits die Vielseitigkeit des Dresdner Arztes bewunderte.

In 1818 Carus had published his *Lehrbuch der Zootomie* and it was this work which attracted the attention of Goethe. From that year on they corresponded and they first met in 1821, when Carus
visited Weimar. Carus' book, *Goethe, zu dessen näherem Verständniss*, was published in 1838. Goethe was to become for Carus, as for so many others, a model to be emulated. But Carus was not Goethe and this gave rise to sharp criticism, especially on the publication of his *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* in 1865 and 1866. To the critic of the 'Grenzbote', in his review of the work, Carus' autobiography belonged to an era already past, an age "der Tagebücher und der schönen Seelen". He continued:

> Wäre er Goethe selbst und nicht bloß einer der Herren, die ihm nachzuempfinden und nachzuschreiben suchen, so wollten wir auch das sachlich Unbedeutende dankbar annehmen.

(quoted in Zaunick, p.xv)

Was this justified criticism or was it merely the fate of all Goethe's contemporaries to be disregarded in the shadow of the giant? Rudolph Zaunick, who edited the posthumous edition of the fifth and fragmentary volume of Carus' *Lebenserinnerungen* (1931), admits that, were Carus to be judged by his memoirs alone, he would indeed emerge as "eitel" and "geschraubt" (Ibid, p.xv), but his private correspondence reveals that there was a warm and human side to his nature too:

> Das musste gesagt werden, damit der Leser der "Lebenserinnerungen" nie vergesse, wie hinter dem Prunkkleide von Carus' gespreizter Schreibart doch wärmstes Leben pulst.

(Ibid, pp. xv - xvi)

The artist, Wilhelm von Kugelgen (1802-67) had also attacked Carus for his egoism, while conceding his learned culture; in a letter to his brother he writes:

> Wir haben jetzt ein interessantes Buch gelesen, eine Selbstbiographie von Carus in Dresden, Mutters früherem Arzt. Man hört einen ungewöhnlichen gebildeten Mann sprechen, dessen nach allen Lebensrichtungen hin laufende feine Bemerkungen vielfach neu und anregend sind. Auch sein grosses Interesse für bildende Kunst zog mich sehr an. Auffallend ist, dass er unseren Vater kaum erwähnt; mit Friedrich war er sehr befreundet. Falsch erscheint mir, dass Carus sich selbst gar zu sehr zum Objekt seiner Darstellung macht. Ein Selbstbiograph soll vor allem schildern, was er gesehen und erlebt hat; in diesem Rahmen wird er selbst schon hínlässig anschaulich werden. Carus aber macht von Anfang an den Leser geflissentlich darauf aufmerksam, alle die einzelnen Umstände zu beachten, die dazu beigetragen haben, einen so grossen Mann
But if von Kügelgen finds the attractions of youth on the one hand lacking, and geniality in his latter years on the other, he can but admire "seinen enormen Fleiss, sein Wissen, seinen Verstand" (Ibid, pp. xiii-iv); both aspects of Carus' character do come to the fore in his England und Schottland (Berlin, 1845). Yet the memoirs had admirers too, none more so than Prinz Johann, who wrote to Carus after reading the work while in exile in Austria:

Bester Freund! Ich habe die zwei letzten Bände Ihrer Lebenserinnerungen nebst Ihrem lieben lieben Brief erhalten, der meinem Herzen recht wohl gethan. Das nähere Verhältniss hat mich durch einen grossen Theil meines Lebens begleitet. Ihr anregender Umgang gehört zu meinen angenehmsten Erinnerungen, und ich glaube, das Herz ging dabei nie leer aus. Haben wir doch gegenseitig an so manchen Lebensprüfungen Theil genommen ....

(Ibid, p.xii)

It is when one considers that Carus moved in the highest circles of his day, both amongst royalty and with the intellectual elite, that his self-importance can be understood.

Entries in contemporary biographical reference works alone tell enough about Carus' career. By 1820 he could be listed in that year's edition of Das gelehrte Teutschland as

M. der Phil. D. der AG. und seit 1815 Professor der Geburtshülfe bey der medicinisch-chirurgischen Akademie zu Dresden und zugleich Direktor des Hebammeninstitutes ....

(Hamberger/Meusel, vol.XVII, p.317)

and by volume 22, nine years later, the following could be added:


(Ibid, vol.XXII/L, pp.476-7)

He was to receive over fifteen awards and honours through his career and was to become member of many learned societies. By 1839 he had earned himself a place in Callisen's Medicinisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon, by which date, too, he had given a series of public lectures on anthropology and psychology in 1827 and 1829 and, in 1833, for
his work on anatomy and physiology, had been awarded the prize for experimental physiology of the 'Académie des Sciences' in Paris. In 1827 he had become the first man to discover the presence of blood circulation in insects. As Hof- und Medicinalrath of both the Landesregierung and the Ministry of the Interior, Carus exerted a considerable influence, culminating in his being elected Präsident der kaiserlichen Leopoldinisch-Carolinischen Akademie der Naturforscher in 1862. With over 200 scientific publications to his name, as an accomplished artist, and as a friend and associate of Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, Ludwig Tieck and Caspar David Friedrich, it is perhaps to be understood that he lived off his past glory in his latter years. In the words of a distant relative, Otto Carus, in the ADB, he had lived "ein charakteristisch entwickeltes, innerliches, künstlerisches Leben" (ADB, vol IV, p. 38)

Carus was definitely a man of his age, a Romantic:

Er stand jedoch in sehr hohem Grade unter dem Einfluss der naturphilosophischen Richtung der Medicin. Seine Bedeutung für die vergleichende Anatomie, Cranioskopie und Psychologie ist ganz entschieden höher anzuschlagen, als die für die eigentliche Medicin. (Hirsch, vol.I, p. 846)

While his work in comparative anatomy, gynaecology and zoology was important in his day, it was to be his ideas on psychology and views as a Nature philosopher which were to come into their own in the revival of interest in Romanticism long after his death. Carus' 'Philosophie des Unbewussten', his theories on the relation between the conscious and the subconscious, physical and spiritual, were discussed in his Psyche, Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele (1846) and Symbolik der menschlichen Gestalt (1853). Throughout his academic career he had been searching for the "Urform des Lebens", the "Urnatur", and he now saw this to lie in the subconscious, through which man has both awareness of the past and premonitions of the future. He carried this belief in continuity into the latter work, in which he expounded the theory of the unity of all living organisms. Man's true character and underlying spirit was reflected in, and could thus be determined by, his physical form and figure. From the study of the individual, Carus moved to
reflection on the character of the different races of mankind and it was here that his theories were eagerly 'rediscovered' and revalidated in the years of National Socialism. Julius Schuster, writing in the 1930's, says:


(Die Grossen Deutschen (1935-7) vol. V, p. 171)

Earlier in the article Schuster discusses Carus' conception of the supreme individual and "Ich", the Romantic "Genie":

Im Haus am Frauenplan trat 1821 Goethe vor ihn in strahlender Schönheit: so ganz, so vollkommen, durchzuckte es Carus, kann nur sein, wer wohlgeboren ist aus einer hervorragend guten Rasse. Gesundheit des Stammes, der ihn zeugte, kann allein den Leib gebären, ohne dessen Wohlbefinden die Entfaltung der Seele und des Geistes nicht möglich ist. Nur aus einer Rasse, die alle anderen überragt, kann die Persönlichkeit eines Goethe hervorgehen.

(Ibid, p. 169)

Carus' theories now seem simplistic, naive, and in the wake of Nazi Germany, dangerous; he saw the Mongolian race as the people of the dawn, the Asian race as the people of the dusk, the African race as the people of the night and, predictably, the Northern race, the Caucasians, as the people of the day, supreme above all others. Accordingly each race is suited to its own peculiar art form and expression. God reveals himself in nature and in instinct.

I feel it is not irrelevant to discuss these views here, since they were very evidently foremost in Carus' mind when he toured Scotland in 1844. He looked for many answers in Nature and the
wild landscape of Scotland, so much of it untouched by human hand, must in his view have held the solutions to many deep secrets.

Similarly, Ossian and Fingal were early 'people of the day', with a form of expression peculiar to their race which bound them to Nature. Carus' interest in phrenology also became evident while in Edinburgh, where he purchased several skull specimens (Carus, England u. Schottland, ch. LXXV).

As an artist Carus' place is also firmly bedded in Romanticism. His oil landscapes are impressive and skilful and strongly reminiscent of his friend and contemporary, Caspar David Friedrich. Like Goethe, Carus wrote critically on artistic matters, especially Neun Briefe Über Landschaftsmalerei (1831), a work which has also enjoyed republication in the 20th century. His artistic theories were important enough to have placed him alongside both Friedrich and Philipp Otto Runge. In an essay on Runge and Friedrich, Hubert Schrade comments:

Niemand, mit Ausnahme von Carus, hat so umfassende und so tiefe Begründungen für die moderne Landschaftsmalerei gegeben wie Runge.

(Die Grossen Deutschen (1936), vol. III, p. 119)

Carus (and the King, too) frequently sketched or painted while touring Scotland and his landscape interpretation thus also played a prominent part in his England und Schottland im Jahre 1844. Although not a music critic, Carus was also closely in touch with the music world, being a friend of Carl Maria von Weber and Franz Liszt, and a great admirer of Mendelssohn. The nine-year-old Clara Wieck played in his house in 1830, and in December 1847, he gave a 'Totenfeier' for the recently deceased Mendelssohn in the 'Villa Cara', at which Clara (now Schumann) again played.

It is interesting to conclude with the words of a modern biographer from Carus' native Saxony, where, in Dresden, in 1954, the newly founded 'Medizinische Akademie' was given Carus' name. If National Socialism found aspects of Carus' life and work amenable to its cause, so to-day does the Socialism of the German Democratic Republic:

(Genschorek, p. 240)

Carus' failure to take part in the events of 1848-49 can be excused on the grounds of his liberal humanism, from which stance he observed and did not act:

Carus nahm regen Anteil am wissenschaftlichen Leben seiner Zeit und förderte durch bewusste Unterstützung nationaler deutscher Gesellschaften die Überwindung des politischen Partikularismus in Deutschland und seiner negativen Folgen für die Entwicklung der Produktivkräfte allgemein wie der Naturwissenschaft speziell.


Carl Gustav Carus zeigt uns in überzeugender Weise, dass hohe Leistungen nur bei Überwindung eines einseitigen Spezialistentums unter Zuwendung zu den gesellschaftlichen Problemen der Zeit möglich sind.

(Ibid, p. 241)

With this affirmation of Carus' exemplary contribution to the GDR, Genschorek can conclude his study with satisfaction. As for Carus' tour of Scotland, Genschorek singles out only three aspects: firstly, the confrontation with the evils of capitalism in industrial Glasgow, secondly his tribute to whisky, and thirdly his visit to medical and scientific institutions in Edinburgh (Ibid, pp. 184ff.). His perception of romantic Scotland goes unmentioned.

Carus was not a travel writer as such, since he was a man of so many trades and skills, but his travels were important to him:
Mannichfaltige Reisen habe ich schon gemacht! immer weislich vorbereitet,
durch mancherlei Studien eingeleitet,
und zu irgendeinem aus innerer Lebens-
entwicklung folgendem Zwecke unternommen!
(Carus, Lebenserinnerungen,
vol. III, 7.Buch)

His journey to Britain was of particular significance. In 1841
in Berlin, where his friend Tieck had just moved, Carus heard Mendel-
seohn playing one evening at the Hänsel home. The prospect of his
coming move to Saxony seemed partially to compensate for the sorely
felt loss of Tieck's companionship. That year and the following
Carus worked on a book on Goethe, but it was to be his relationship
with his royal master rather than with the three famous artists which
was to bring him the more unexpected pleasure at that time:

Das nächste Jahr, 1844, ist dadurch mir wol
ein bedeutendes geworden, dass es die grosse
Lebenserfahrung der Reise durch England und
Schottland gewährte, denn wenn auch im
ganzen der Mensch die rechten Entfaltungen
immer am meisten innern Erfahrungen zu denken
hat, so bleibt die gegenständliche Anschau-
ung eines neuen Landes und bedeutend
entwickelten Volks, doch stets für den Geist
ein wichtiges Ereigniss! Wie lange hatte
ich übrigens nach jener Pilgerfahrt schon
mich gesehnt, wie manche Pläne hatte ich
auch früher wol dazu ausgedacht, und wie
wenig wurde ich doch dazu gekommen sein,
wäre nicht die Reiselust unsers verehrten
Königs endlich die Brücke geworden über den
Kanal nach jenen merkwürdigen Inselländern!


Such a "Pilgerfahrt" could surely hardly have been conceived solely
out of scientific or social concern. The Royal Party was away from
Dresden from 22nd May to 9th August, 1844. While working on his
manuscript that autumn, Carus would frequently read from it to the
Queen in the evenings: without the King's "Reiselust", after all,
he would never have undertaken the pilgrimage.

If the end of the 19th century criticised Carus for being
egocentric and unduly personal, this is perhaps just what makes his
Lebenserinnerungen, but more particularly his England und Schottland
im Jahre 1844, so readable to-day, since readers' interests and demands
have changed considerably. The King of Saxony's party followed in
the trail of Victoria and Albert's tour of two years previously. While in London Carus had encountered the royal pair on several occasions. He describes being received by Albert (vol. I, ch. XI) and tells of two other occasions when Albert came to visit him personally (chs. XXII & XXIV). On arriving in Scotland on July 21st, 1844, the Saxon royal party stayed first with the Duke of Hamilton at Hamilton Palace, reaching their next stop, Inveraray, two days later, and Oban on 24th. From here they sailed to Staffa and Iona, staying next in Fort William. On 27th they arrived in Inverness, having sailed up the Caledonian Canal. They set off south once more on 29th, staying the first night in Blair Atholl, although they had hoped to reach Dunkeld, an ideal stop before their next destination, Taymouth Castle, which they reached on July 30th, staying that night as guests of the Marquis of Breadalbane. July 31st saw them in Stirling and from August 1st to 5th at Dalmahoy, the home of Lord Morton. They sailed from Leith on August 5th. Throughout the sixteen day visit they had made many day excursions and met various figures prominent in contemporary Scottish society.


The reviewer begins:

Dr. Carus, a thorough German, though he claims a Roman descent as old as the invasion of Germany by the first Caesar, attended the King of Saxony on his late flying visit to Queen Victoria, and rapid gallop through her British dominions. The Court Physician found many things, if not all things, so very different from the country which he had previously imagined or read of in books, that he considers his enlarged and corrected views of England likely to prove acceptable both to those who have already seen, and those who may be preparing to visit, this wonderful island of ours.

(Tait, p. 301)

Having gone on to discuss and quote from Carus' geological introductory remarks on Britain, the critic continues:

Whatever German readers may do, we strongly suspect that the great majority of English
ones will find more gratification in viewing the Doctor's numerous aristocratic interiors, than in his scientific information and philosophical disquisitions. And these, between Dover, where the King and his suite first landed, and Inverary, Taymouth, and Dalmahoy, where he left, are found in sufficient variety.

(Ibid, p. 301)

Later he writes:

A Court Physician of Dresden, who has moreover travelled, has a prescriptive right to talk of pictures and to criticize works of art; but though Dr. Carus does this with knowledge and discrimination, his ivy-mantled old castles will be found more attractive.

(Ibid, p. 302)

Having referred to Carus' impressions of England and Wales at some length, the reviewer comes to the tour of Scotland. He describes the visit to Hamilton Palace and Glasgow and dwells on Carus' impressions of the Highland scenery with some proud satisfaction. But he also makes plain that much of the information Carus imparts is unoriginal:

Voyaging on to Staffa and Icolmkill, he relates, though not with perfect accuracy, some of the floating legends of the country; but all this, and much more, may better be found in the brothers Anderson's "Guide to the Highlands and Islands", one of the most well-stored and entertaining of modern descriptive books; so we shall look to the German traveller only for what natives cannot so well give; as, for example, this introduction to the pure mountain-dew, which took place at Bannavie ...

(Ibid, p. 306)

And, having quoted from the relevant passage, the reviewer goes on to describe the visits to Taymouth and Dalmahoy, comparing the former with the (then) well publicised and familiar events of Victoria and Albert's recent visit. But if the account of a royal visit to Taymouth was nothing new to contemporary Scottish readers, the critic is flattered by Carus' rapturous account of the city of Edinburgh and is at pains to quote him at some length. Finally, having reproved "the worthy court physician" for fearing unpleasant repercussions as a result of departing the country on the Sabbath, the reviewer closes with an account of the party's safe return to Dresden. Coming from a contemporary Scot, the review is of special interest.
KÖSTLIN

Theodorus

The Lutheran theologian, Julius Köstlin, was born in Stuttgart on 17th May, 1826. The Köstlin family was prominent in matters of church and state in Württemberg. Köstlin's grandfather, Diakonus Nathanael Köstlin, who died the year of Julius' birth, is still known today as Friedrich Hildering's tutor at the Lateinschule in Nürtingen; Nathanael's brother, Friedrich, was a pastor in their native Esslingen and Nathanael's son, Ernst Gottlob (1780-1824), was a well known Württemberg teacher. Nathanael's own sons were also to attain prominent positions in Württemberg society. Nathanael Friedrich (1776-1855), a churchman, was to serve as professor of Practical Theology in Tübingen until 1815 and afterwards as an administrator in Stuttgart, and his son, Julius' cousin, Christian Reinhold (1813-56), a criminologist, was likewise to hold a chair in Tübingen, though he was also a talented musician, mimic, poet and writer (under the pseudonym C. Reinhold); K. W. Gottlieb Köstlin (1785-1854) was a theologian and teacher in Urach, and his son was to become professor of Philosophy in Tübingen; August Friedrich Köstlin (1792-1873) was well known as a politician and civil servant in Stuttgart; finally, Köstlin's own father, Karl Heinrich Gotth. Köstlin (1787-1859), was an eminent doctor in Stuttgart, a close friend of Uhland and Justus Kerner, and in constant contact with the 'schwäbische Dichterschule' as a follower of Romanticism and of Schelling's nature philosophy.

Julius, whose health was considered weak by his father, was educated at home by a tutor until 1834, when he was sent to the Gymnasium in Stuttgart, graduating to the Oberes Gymnasium in the autumn of 1840. At the time of his birth his father was working both in private practice and as Stadtdirektionsarzt; two years later he was made Obermedicinalratl and in this capacity he did much to organise and set up adequate treatment of the insane in Württemberg. In 1834 he was offered the position of physician in ordinary to King Leopold of Belgium; had he accepted this post, Julius' life might well have taken a different course. By the time of the latter's visit to Scotland his father's health was fast deteriorating and it was his father who encouraged the tour at that time, while he was still in a position to give his son financial support. His health forced him to retire from public service only four years later, and in 1855 he had to give up his own practice as well. During his four years
of retirement he did much to support Württemberg's charitable institutions.\(^{28}\)

Meanwhile, Köstlin followed all his above mentioned relatives to the University of Tübingen, where, from October 1844 to 1848, he studied Theology. He then served as Vikar in Calw for six months before undertaking the traditional 'Candidatenreise'. Inspired by recent events within the Church in Scotland, he and his close friend and fellow student, Burk (later Prälat and Stiftspräbig in Stuttgart), decided not to limit their tour to Germany, but instead to visit Scotland. Before leaving, Köstlin prepared himself by reading about Scottish affairs but, eager to improve his school English, he left for Stuttgart in order to spend a few weeks taking language lessons. Having reached the city, however, he was met by the news that the headmaster of the Calw Lateinschule was dying and that he was to return to take over his classes. Anxious to avoid this retrograde step, which might well have meant cancelling his visit to Scotland, Köstlin managed to persuade the authorities that his successor, who was being delayed a few weeks in his post in Kirchheim/Teck, should go ahead to Calw and he himself should officiate in Kirchheim over the Easter period. Even if his English was no more fluent, he was thus able to embark on his Scottish journey with Burk as planned.

Köstlin was away from Germany from the spring to the autumn of 1849. On his return to the Continent he travelled through Holland and North Germany and spent the winter semester studying in Berlin. Later he was to return to Tübingen as 'Repetent' and was to hold chairs as Professor of Theology, first in Göttingen, then Breslau, and lastly in Halle. In 1852 he published the fruit of his six month study visit in Britain, *Die schottische Kirche, ihr inneres Leben und ihr Verhältniss zum Staat, von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Protestantismus* (Hamburg & Gotha, 1852), and in 1875 published his most famous work, his biography of Luther, *Martin Luther. Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (2 vols., Eberfeld, 1875), which enjoyed five editions before 1903 and was first translated into English in 1883. In addition to several critical works on Lutheran theology, Köstlin published a work on ethics, *Christliche Ethik* (Berlin, 1899), and as an ardent member of the Reformed Church he was also co-founder
of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte. Köstlin died in 1902.

Köstlin and Burk set off for Scotland in April 1849. They visited theologians on the way in Heidelberg, Bonn, Elberfeld and Barmen, and travelled through the Wuppertal and Belgium to Ostende and London. Eager to reach their final destination, they remained only a few days in London, enjoying the company of the Bible Societies' founder, Pastor Steinkopf, and his assistant Scholl. They also attended mission meetings in Exeter Hall.

Having reached Edinburgh, the Germans immersed themselves in the affairs of the two church assemblies. From the end of June they set off to tour the Highlands for three weeks, travelling by steamer to Staffa and Iona and up the Caledonian Canal, and returning through the Grampians to Perth, and through Fife back to Edinburgh. They stayed a few days longer in Edinburgh, then travelled on to Glasgow and Greenock, where they stayed with the family of an Edinburgh friend. They then sailed to Ireland, visiting Belfast and Dublin, where their visit coincided with that of Victoria and Albert and their two eldest children. They arrived back in London in the middle of August and spent several weeks in further study, mostly in the British Museum Reading Room. Burk was called back home to Germany, but Köstlin found time to visit the Isle of Wight at the end of September before returning to the Continent.
BRANDES

Dr. Heinrich Karl Brandes was born in Salzuflen in 1798, the son of the town's pharmacist, Johann Gottlieb Brandes (1751-1816), and his wife Friederike, née Nolte, daughter of the Salzuflen pastor. Carl Brandes attended the Gymnasium in Detmold, where he proved himself to be an exceptionally industrious scholar, especially in the Classics. Indeed, he worked so hard that he was forced to undergo a cure in Bad Pyrmont on account of weak and strained eyesight. He studied 'Klassische Philologie' at the universities of Jena and Halle; as a student he was said to be shy and retiring, seldom taking part in the activities of the 'Burschenschaft' of which he was a member. Even so, his career, like that of Heinrich Marx (see above, p. 86) was abruptly interrupted. Having successfully completed his 'Staatsprüfung' in Münster, he became a teacher at the Gymnasium in Elberfeld. Here he soon fell victim to the persecutions following the 'Karlsbader Beschlüsse' of 1819. Denounced by his fellow teachers, he was arrested on suspicion of complicity in the "demagogischen Umtrieben"; armed men marched him out of the classroom one day to imprisonment in Köpenick. Here he served nine months in a poorly lit cell. During this time his only reading matter was the writing on a tobacco packet; Brandes used his linguistic talent to translate this mundane text into Latin, Greek, Hebrew and English and to play with all possible permutations of the individual letters. This resourcefulness saved his sanity. When no evidence could be found against him, Brandes was moved to the 'Kasematten' in Spandau, where he was held for a further four years. Although conditions were considerably better here, these five years' imprisonment naturally left their mark on a man already reserved and diffident by nature.

In 1829 Brandes was released and moved to Lemgo, where he became Lehrer der Tertia at the Gymnasium. In 1831 the headmaster, Schierenberg, a highly respected figure, moved to Detmold, and Brandes became Rektor, a post which he held until his retirement in 1868. Although he was traditional and conservative in many respects, retaining the old system in which each class was taught most subjects
by one master only, there were also many improvements during his
time as Rektor. Formerly the school had only taken pupils from
the 'Quarta', but two further classes, the 'Quinta' and 'Sexta'
were added, as was a new 'Vorschule'. Brandes himself taught the
'Prima' for thirty-five years, abiding by tried and tested educa-
tional methods:

In Ehren und mit eiserner Pflichttreue
hat er seines Amtes gewaltet, ein bis
zur Härte strenger Schulmeister, und
die Anstalt hat lange seinen Stempel
getragen. Gegner hat ihm seine Art
und Weise reichlich erweckt, doch ist
kaum einer darunter gewesen, der ihm
nicht seine Achtung voll gezollt hätte.
.... Sein Wesen - er war unverheirathet
- mochte wohl Einseitigkeiten aufweisen,
aber sein Eifer und Ernst, sein weit-
umfassendes Wissen, sein ununterbrochenes
Studium erzeugte Hochachtung vor seiner
Person sowohl als vor der Wissenschaft,
Dinge, die der Schüler nicht leicht
trennt. Er war ein Gelehrter jetzt
fast verschollener Art, ein Sammel-
gelehrter, ein doctor umbraticus.

(Steusloff, pp.17 - 18)

Brandes' favourite subject, in which he in turn demanded most of
his pupils, was unquestionably geography. It was his love of
geography which gave him a reputation extending beyond Lemgo,
for he travelled widely and wrote accounts of these journeys in
addition to many articles and essays on geographical topics. He
had all the makings of an avid traveller; like Johann Georg Kohl
he frequently travelled on foot and he was also unmarried with no
financial ties. He enjoyed the simple life:

Er war fast bedürfnisslos, so weit das
der heutige Mensch überhaupt sein kann,
in einem Grade, wie wenige es sich
überhaupt vorzustellen im Stande sind,
vor Briganten, Palikaren u. dergl. m.
schützte ihn seine Kleidung, die ein
solches Äusserste von Schmucklosigkeit
aufwies, dass Niemand in ihr und an ihm
Geld und Geldeswerth vermuten konnte.

(Ibid, p. 18)

As a traveller Brandes was thus the complete opposite to Hallberg-
Broich, although the latter's flamboyance probably assured him as
much safety as did the former's reticence. When pressed, Brandes would tell fascinating tales of his travels; Steusloff tells of the "ergreifende, classische Einfachheit" (Ibid, p. 18) with which Brandes described his impressions of Delphi to him. He also had in common with Hallberg-Broich the fact that his desire to travel did not abate in later years:


(Schnitger, p. 17)

On his retirement, Brandes returned to his native Salzuflen, where he died on 29th January, 1874. He never returned again to Lemgo, but he donated his considerable library of some 2,500 volumes to the school, who retained it as an entity under the name of 'Brandes-Bibliothek'.

Brandes' older brother, Dr. Rudolph Brandes (1795-1842), pharmacist and chemist, achieved far greater renown than his brother and is remembered also for his correspondence with Goethe on meteorology. After finishing his studies he returned to Salzuflen to take over his father's pharmacy. A further relative, Friedrich H. Brandes (born Salzuflen 1825 - Rudolph's son?), for many years a noted pastor and preacher of the Reformed Church in Göttingen,
visited Scotland not long after his uncle, and the fruit of this visit, which, like Köstlin's, was undertaken in order to study presbyterianism, was a work published in 1862, John Knox, der Reformator Schottlands.

Brandes' many travel books were all published by Meyer, Lemgo and Detmold. His Ausflug nach Schottland im Sommer 1850 (1855) is notable as the first of these. There followed Ausflug nach England im Sommer 1851 (1855), Ausflug in die Pyrenäen und Ersteigung des Montperdu im Sommer 1854 (1855), Ausflug durch das Salzkammergut und die Gastein nach Venedig im Sommer 1856 (1857), Ausflug nach Rom in Sommer 1857 (1858), Ausflug nach Schweden im Sommer 1858 (1859), Ausflug von Mamel nach Muskauf in Sommer 1859 (1860), Ausflug nach Griechenland im Sommer 1860 (1861), Ausflug nach Mahdia, Konstantinopel, Brussa und der Stätte von Ilium im Sommer 1862 (1863), Ausflug nach Portugal im Sommer 1863 (1864), Ausflug nach Spanien im Sommer 1864 (1865), Ausflug nach der Tatra, der Hegyallia und dem ungarischen Erzgebirge im Sommer 1865 (1865), Ausflug nach Norwegen im Sommer 1866 (1867), Ausflug nach Neapel und dem Normannen-Archipel im Sommer 1867 (1868) and Ausflug nach Bombay und Kairo im Jahr 1868 (1870). Not only did Brandes include a map of the main cities in most of the above works, but he also added an extract from the Koran in the 1862 book, an essay on the Portuguese language in that of 1863 and a short Hungarian grammar in that of 1865. There is a plan of the city of Edinburgh in his Scottish tour.

Brandes left Ostende for Dover at 10 p.m. on Monday, 8th July, 1850. He travelled by train to London and after a day in London, continued on the North Western Railway on the night train from Euston to Lanark, which he reached the following afternoon. He visited the Falls of Clyde and spent the night in Hamilton. The journey from Lemgo had so far taken him 300 hours. From Hamilton he moved to Glasgow on Friday morning, boarding the steamer that afternoon (Friday, 12th July) to Dumbarton. Next day he continued by steamer, taking a tour of Loch Lomond and travelling on that evening by stage coach to Oban. Two days later, on Monday 14th, he enjoyed the steamer day excursion to Iona and Staffa. Early next day he took coach and steamer to Glen Coe and Banavie.
On the Wednesday he toured up the Caledonian Canal to Inverness, stopping at the Falls of Foyers. From Inverness he travelled by mail along the North East coast through Nairn and Elgin to Aberdeen. On Friday morning he left Aberdeen by train for Perth and Stirling, stopping en route in Dundee. On Saturday morning he took the train to Edinburgh, where he stayed for four days. From Edinburgh he spent a day in the Borders, taking the train to Galashiels and walking from there to Selkirk and Abbotsford, and then along the Tweed to Melrose. He returned home after a fortnight's stay in Scotland. His tour did not follow the regular route, since he included Aberdeen and Dundee on his itinerary and took pains to see more of the Scott country in the Borders than most of his compatriots.
Fanny Lewald is another of whom much has been written elsewhere, albeit chiefly around the turn of the century. At that time she still enjoyed a wide reputation as a socially motivated novelist who fought for the rights of women and challenged convention. To-day, as a child of her time, who never really outgrew the events of the 1830's and 1840's and the 'Jungdeutschland' Movement, she is little known.

Fanny Lewald was born Fanny Marcus on 24th March, 1811, the eldest child of ten (of whom five daughters and two sons survived to adulthood) in the family of a well-to-do Jewish wine merchant in Königsberg. The Marcus family were well established in business throughout East Prussia, Poland and Russia, and Fanny's father held the post of Stadtrat. But even though sufficiently liberal to allow a Jew on its council, Königsberg still kept the Jewish members of its community at a distance and the Marcus family, though wealthy, were never included in society. Fanny had religious instruction at school, however; her mother even attended church on occasion and her father, who in 1828 even decided that his two teenage sons should be baptised in order to 'set them free', had no religious objection when his children converted to Christianity, which many members of the wider family had done. The family's Jewishness was seemingly never discussed at home, but indirectly it was the cause of Fanny's relatively lonely and secluded upbringing. From the age of six she attended a private school which, unusually for those days, was mixed; here she was far ahead of her years, reaching the top class, in which the pupils were aged from thirteen to fifteen, three years too soon. The only pupil with better results than hers was a boy later to become president of the first German Parliament in 1849, Eduard Simson. In 1824, after it had been decided to leave her in the top class for three years, occupied with handwork and French, the school ran into financial difficulties and was closed and Fanny, much against her will and now aged twelve, was forced to stay at home, which left her dissatisfied and bored. For a short while she took language lessons in English, French and German from an Englishman, a Mr. Motherby, who, despite having fallen on hard times as a businessman, was highly educated and an
excellent language teacher. Other British influences at this time were to be found in English furnishings in the Marcus household, in particular a set of copper-plate engravings from England, which Fanny grew to love and which were to remain almost her only introduction to the world of art for many years. Otherwise the family connections were with the North and East, Poland and Russia, with Fanny's uncle and cousin making frequent business trips to St. Petersburg and Warsaw.

The young Fanny, who described herself at this time as "ein wahrer Lesewolf" (Lewald, Lebensgeschichte, vol. I, p. 218), could not find enough to read; by the age of 11 or 12 she knew most of Goethe's and Schiller's ballads by heart. To try to relieve her boredom, her father drew up a rigorous timetable for her, which comprised five hours of hard work, two hours of piano and allowed only school books as reading matter. This may have occupied her time, but it still bored her, especially the piano lessons, which she took for over twenty years, from the age of seven to thirty, and which she later considered a waste of her unmusical parents' money and of her own time. She never advanced beyond the level she reached at the age of thirteen and felt tuition in art, languages and science would have been far more profitable. In this connection one thinks of the much more enlightened education received by the young and equally precocious Johanna Schopenhauer, also brought up in a well-to-do business family in a Baltic port, yet some fifty years before. The strict regime to which Fanny was subjected was devised out of genuine concern for her education and the family was loving and happy as far as it could satisfy a precocious daughter. After the birth of the tenth child in 1825 it was left to Fanny to take over the household of seventeen people (including seven servants) from her ailing mother; this she saw as a challenge. One of the few recreations she enjoyed at this time was dancing and through this, in 1828, she met a young Lutheran theology student by the name of Leopold. With him she read new poetry. When Leopold asked Fanny's father for her hand, the latter refused, ostensibly because he considered the young man should first be ordained Pfarrer. Ultimately he was to ban Leopold from the house; while he considered baptism
would liberate his sons, he evidently did not think along such lines where his daughter was concerned. Nonetheless, Fanny attended confirmation classes, but by the time she came to be baptised her enthusiasm had lapsed into indifference. (Indeed, she was later to call her confirmation vows the only lie she ever told, "ein trauriges Muster von schwungvollem Jesuitismus".) She was attracted to the stories of the Old Testament and the ideal figure of Christ, but could not approach the dogma with any conviction. This mood ties in with her early enthusiasm for Ossian. The events of 1830 made a deep impression on Fanny; on the one hand the news of the untimely death of Leopold shocked and benumbed her, while on the other the wider political events following the July Revolution had a lasting effect on all. With the troubles in Königsberg, Fanny's father decided to change the family name to Lewald, which his brothers had done twenty years previously. Then, in the autumn and winter of 1832-3 he took Fanny, now 21, on one of his business trips. This marks the end of the period she designated in her Lebensgeschichte "Im Vaterhause" and the start of what she was to call her "Leidensjahre".

Fanny and her father stayed in Berlin for ten days, after a 72-hour journey from Königsberg, and then travelled on to Leipzig, Weimar (where they arrived a few weeks after Goethe's death), Erfurt, Gotha and Frankfurt. For the first time she saw her father in a carefree happy mood, even travelling on foot part of the way, and she in turn began to learn to appreciate travel. From Baden-Baden they continued to Breslau, where Fanny was left to stay with cousins. At the home of her uncle, Friedrich Jakob Lewald, a friend of von Fallersleben, she had access to newly published literature for the first time in her life, including the works of George Sand. (Later her biographer, Steinhauer, was to dub her "die deutsche George Sand", despite, or perhaps because of a remark made by Goldschmidt in the ADB over 40 years before in 1893 (Vol. XXXV, p. 411):

sie ist keine deutsche George Sand, die mit dichterischem Seherblick in die Tiefen der menschlichen, der weiblichen Seele schaut - wir verdanken ihr keine Offenbarungen.
Here, too, she encountered Meyerbeer and Ludwig Börne (1786-1837), who was to have a great influence on her, both as a radical journalist and as a converted Jew. With her great aunt Fanny she travelled to Frankfurt, the Rhineland and Berlin; in Breslau she had particularly enjoyed the company of her cousin, Heinrich Simon. In the spring of 1833 she returned home and accompanied her sick mother to a Baltic spa. Her love of the sea, which she expresses so vividly on her trip to Iona and Staffa, made itself felt here:

Ich war gern am Meere, seine Poesie war mir stets zugänglicher, als die der Gebirge. Die grosse, unabhänige Weite hatte Etwas, worin mein Geist sich gern verlor, das Schrankenlose gab mir stets das Gefühl einer persönlichen Allmacht, dennwie weit das Auge auch trug, der Gedanke reichte darüber hinaus.

(Lewald, Lebensgeschichte, vol. II, p. 198)

The following year her rôle as invalid companion was to mark the start of her career as author when, to amuse her sick sister, Märchen, she began to write stories.

Three years later, much to the anxiety of her family, Fanny refused a proposal of marriage from an Assessor. This show of wilful independence was a taste of things to come: she firmly believed that marriage should only be entered into for love and, as such, much envied Queen Victoria, not only queen of the most powerful Empire, but also married to the man she loved. She herself still loved Heinrich Simon, even though a letter from him around this time told her he loved another; "the other" was of course her future rival, Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn, and Fanny was soon to prove herself "im richtigen Gegensatze zu ihrer Zeitgenossin, sozusagen im Doppelsinne Rivalin und stillen Widersacherin Gräfin Ida Hahn-Hahn" (Frankel, AD8, vol. LII, p. 770). The Gräfin's aristocratic novels were easy targets for ridicule and
Lewald herself wrote a witty if cruel parody of them in *Diogena* (1847). In the autumn of 1839 Lewald accompanied her father on a second journey, this time to Berlin, where she stayed on alone. She was then called home once more to tend her sick mother; her return coincided with the festivities in honour of the coronation of the new king, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Her cousin, the theatre critic and journalist, August Lewald, then editor of the journal *'Europa'* in Stuttgart, wrote asking her to give an account of these celebrations; it was through his praise of her letters, which he published as 'Briefe aus Königsberg' in 1840, that she felt confident enough to devote her life to writing. In her *Lebensgeschichte* this event marks the start of a new era in her life, which she calls "Befreiung".

In December 1842 Fanny's mother died at the age of 50 and Fanny was now free to leave home. Through her cousin, August, she had been approached by the publisher, Brockhaus, who accepted her second novel (*Jenny*, published 1843; she had already published her first novel, *Clementine*, in 1842). In 1843 she moved to Berlin, which was to be her base for the rest of her life. Here she met the creator of the historical novels 'à la Scott', Wilhelm Härning (Willibald Alexis), who was both married to an Englishwoman and also cousin of Ludwig Rellstab. She became friends of the Härings and socials at Fanny Hensel's gave her sight of and introduction to many other famous names, amongst them the hostess's brother, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, the prodigy Joachim, Friedrich von Raumer, Tieck, Liszt and even the British ambassador, the Earl of Westmoreland. Fanny was warmly greeted by Fanny Hensel; the bond between the Jewish people in Germany at that time was always great, regardless of whether they had in fact gone over to the Christian faith. Berlin was in its hey-day and Fanny relished the lively intellectual society and the enthusiasm for the arts, all the more so after her sheltered life in Königsberg:


(*Lewald, Lebensgeschichte*, vol. III, p. 241)
This period of her life she saw as her "Wanderleben". She made a further visit to Breslau and met Heinrich Simon again for the first time in eleven years; according to her account it was a happy reunion. 1841 saw her in two spas, firstly Teplitz with her uncle and aunt and, secondly, Franzensbad, where she accompanied her sick sister. Travelling down the Elbe to Dresden, she saw a handsome young man sitting at the helm, youthful and carefree; on being told it was Moritz Hartmann, this meant little to her:

Ich hatte den Namen noch nie gehört, und ich konnte nicht ahnen, dass ich diesen Namen einst so lieb gewinnen würde, nicht ahnen, dass ich in dem fremden jungen Manne einen meiner künftigen Freunde und einen guten treuen Genossen für manche spätere Lebenstunde vor mir hatte.


It was Moritz Hartmann, political poet and radical journalist (1821-72), who, having fled Germany after his part in the Frankfurter Nationalversammlung and Baden uprising, was to accompany Fanny through the streets of Edinburgh nearly ten years later and whom she was to meet again thereafter in Paris. In Berlin Fanny met Varnhagen, whose sister had married her uncle, Dr. David Assur (later Assing, Kotzebue's doctor in Königsberg), and whose wife, Rahel (1771-1833), Berlin's literary hostess, was to exert such an influence on her. Although she herself had long wanted to visit Paris, Heinrich Simon persuaded Fanny to travel to Italy; she had returned briefly to Königsberg and in February 1845 she set out for Berlin once more, bound ultimately for Italy. On this stay in Berlin she associated with Theodor Mundt, his novelist wife, known under her pseudonym of Luise Mühlbach, and a further lady novelist, Gutzkow's friend, Therese von Bacheracht. Having found a cheerful middle-aged lady as companion, Fanny travelled first to Nürnberg, Bayreuth, Stuttgart and Baden-Baden. In Baden-Baden she at last met August Lewald, who gave her a warm reception and with whom she had inspiring arguments and conversations, centred round the ideas of the two South Germans, Herwegh and Kerner. The difference between North and South Germany struck Fanny; another southerner and friend at this time was the radical Berthold Auerbach, whose uninhibited southern nature taught her much. In her Lebensgeschichte she
describes how, like most of her generation, she had been brought up to look on Nature as there for Man's use, with Man as the most perfect of God's creations. Influenced by Auerbach, yet another converted Jew, her attitude to Nature now changed:

in der uns umgebenden Natur war ich so fremd als möglich. Die Frucht des Feldes, die Bäume des Waldes, die Blumen, die Vögel, Alles war mir nur ein Ganzes, dessen allgemeine Wirkung ich mit meinem scharfen Sinn sehr lebhaft empfand; aber mir fehlte die Möglichkeit des Unterscheidens, und damit entbehre ich eben so viel Einsicht und Genuss.

(Lewald, Lebensgeschichte, vol. III, p. 241)

She found the answer to her desires in Spinoza and fifteen years on she freely saw this as having been the tenet of her beliefs from that date:

und nun hatte ich mit einemmale, was ich brauchte, nun hatte ich den Halt für mein ganzes ferneres Leben, den Regulator für mein Denken, Lieben und Handeln, und zugleich die Anmahnung zu jener Unterordnung des eigenen Willens unter das Allgemeine, welche Niemand erlangen kann, so lange er noch den Menschen und dessen Wohl als den einzigen Zweck der Schöpfung ansieht. Es ist dem Hochmuth und der Selbstsucht freilich eine schwere Zumuthung, sich nur als mitwirkender Teil zu denken, wo er sich bisher als den Herrn und Gebieter gefühlt hat; aber man gewinnt an der wachsenden Liebe zehnfach wieder, was man an Macht- und Wichtigkeitsbewusstsein zu opfern hat. Monarchen und Aristokraten werden wohl ihre Rechnung bei dem Spinozismus niemals finden, und Staatsreligion könnte er nirgend werden als in der menschlichsten der Republiken; obschon er für die Erziehung und das Glück der Einzelnen, für seine Ruhe und Resignation ein wundervolles Mittel ist.

(Ibid, vol. III, pp. 244-5)

Thus suddenly the world opened up to her and she was able to make the most of the many travels she was to undertake in the following years. She describes herself as a speechless child, facing these wonders:

ich gewann mit einemmale tausend neue Gegenstände für meine Aufmerksamkeit,
Fanny left Baden-Baden full of new life and thoughts and moved on to Interlaken, where she spent two weeks with Therese von Bacheracht, enjoying the Alpine scenery in a new light. In August she spent a further two weeks in Vevey, drinking in "das schweigende Alleinsein in der Natur" (Ibid, vol III, p. 294). By the time she reached Italy, therefore, she was fully alert and open to new sights and experiences:

Italien umfing mich, Italien nahm mich in seinen Zauberring auf, und wie jene ritterlichen Pilger, die zum heiligen Graben wallen, sollte ich in Italien durch Nacht zu Sonne, durch Schmerz zu Wonne, durch Tod zu neuem beglückendem Leben eingehe!

(Ibid, vol III, p. 306)

She visited Milan, Genoa and Florence before travelling on to Rome. Here, in August, 1845, she met Adolf Stahr (1805-1876), a school teacher from Oldenburg, who had made a name for himself as a classical scholar, but was also to write widely and with acclaim on modern literature, history, art and ethics. Stahr had travelled to Italy on account of his ill health, and in the spring of 1846 he returned to his wife and five children, despite his growing relationship with Fanny Lewald. A few days later Fanny heard of her father's death; shocked by both these events, she was driven to depression. At the beginning of October of that year she returned to Berlin, but not for long. Steinhauer describes this restless period of her life, the years during which she visited Scotland:

Und nun folgen Jahre eines unstätigen Wanderlebens. Reisen nach Paris im Revolutionsfrühjahr 1848 und nach
In the spring of 1852 Stahr retired on account of his ill health and moved his family to Jena. He himself joined Fanny in her rooms in Berlin and from this time on Fanny "blieb ihm ... andauernd eine echt geistes- und gemüths- verwandte Lebens- und Arbeitsgefährtin" (ADB, vol. XXXV, p. 403). They were always together and frequently entertained, never ashamed of their liaison. Eventually, in the autumn of 1852, Stahr's wife agreed to a divorce, but it was not until 6th February, 1855 that they married. For the first time since she had left Königsberg Fanny now at last had a home and some money and this was to be her most productive literary period; their house also became a popular meeting place for literary discussion. They travelled much, mostly on account of Stahr's, and later Fanny's own, health, spending the autumn of 1855 in Paris, the summers of 1856 and 1861 in Switzerland and from the autumn of 1866 until the autumn of 1868 in the Harz and Rome. In 1869 they published together *Ein Winter in Rom*. In addition they toured to North Italy in 1858 and Ostende in August 1864, visiting Helgoland in August 1859 in the company of Gross_herzog Carl Alexander von Sachsen, with
whom Fanny corresponded for many years. In 1876 they travelled to Wiesbaden for the milder winter, but Stahr died on 3rd October. Fanny, "seine so eng verbundene Ehehälfte" (ADB, vol. LII, 'Nachträge', p. 771) was devastated and desperately lonely, but she continued to travel. In 1885 she had to leave her house under a demolition order and was rendered even more unsettled. In 1889 she travelled to Dresden to undergo a cure for her asthma and here, on 5th August, she died. Four days later she was buried next to her husband in Wiesbaden.

The events of Fanny Lewald's life can thus be seen to have an important bearing on her tour of Scotland. She had just visited both Italy and France for the first time. In Italy she had learnt much, in a land so alien to her native East Prussia; she had been struck particularly by the gulf between the Roman Church's teaching and its clergy's practice, and yet she felt Catholicism to be far more appealing than dour North German Protestantism;

Italien hat mich nicht katholisch, nicht romantisch gemacht, wenn schon ich es dort gelernt habe, die Romantik zu verstehen, und es anzuerkennen, dass für gewisse Organisationen der Katholizismus das entsprechendste Element ist.

(Lewald, Lebensgeschichte, vol. III, p. 281)

Moreover, her path had already crossed with those of many prominent and important figures of her day. In addition to those mentioned above, both Keller and Fontane met Lewald in Berlin - Keller christened the forceful lady an "altes Dragonerweib"! - and four prominent figures of whom she left accounts in Zwölf Bilder were Pückler-Muskau, Liszt, Johanna Kinkel and Heine. She had met Heine in February 1848, while she was in Paris with Therese von Bacheracht, already a personal friend of the poet. Two years later, after her five months' stay in Britain, she saw him again in Paris. On her way to England, in May 1850, Fanny had also met Johanna Kinkel (1810-58), a kindred spirit both as a woman of letters and a divorcée who remarried. While in exile as a republican activist, her husband, Gottfried Kinkel (1815-82) toured Britain, lecturing in Edinburgh in February 1852, and Fanny was able to give them letters of introduction for Manchester and Edinburgh. By this time, too, Fanny was already
known as a novelist of social concern, an emancipated woman who fought for her right to happiness, both as a woman and as Jewish born. By the time of her visit to Britain in 1850 she had published Clementine (1842), Jenny (1843), Eine Lebensfrage (1845) and Prinz Louis Ferdinand (1849, in which the Jewish Rahel Varnhagen, who had died in 1833, was a central figure). On her return in 1850 she published two novels relating to the March Revolution, Liebesbriefe eines Gefangenen and Auf rother Erde. These, and the many works she was to write in years to come, both fictional and political, gave her her reputation: "die vielfach als ungewöhnlich nüchtern und ausschliesslich rationalistisch ver- schrieene Fanny Lewald" (ADB, vol. LII, p. 770). But the events of her own life and the personality which emerges in her travel writing (Italienisches Bilderbuch (1847), Erinnerungen aus dem Jahre 1848 (1850), England und Schottland (1851 &52), Reisebriefe aus Deutschland, Italien und Frankreich (1878), Sommer und Winter am Genfersee (1869), point to another side to her character, too, a warmer, less rational side which drank in the beauties of Nature and was not above indulging in a certain amount of Romanticism. Her social awareness was ever present while in Britain, but in a letter to Grossherzog Carl Alexander from Manchester, dated 24.8.1850, she revealed what had in fact been the highpoint of her tour:


(Göhler, p. 67)

This was hardly the reaction of a woman described as "ungewöhnlich nüchtern und ausschliesslich rationalistisch"; in Scotland she was
to find plenty of attraction for both the rational and irrational sides to her nature.

Lewald was without doubt a child of her time, deeply affected by the events of 1848, but, like so many of her generation, finding it hard to see beyond the Vormärz. Ludwig Geiger, in the introduction to his compilation of 1900, Gefühltes und Gedachtes von Fanny Lewald 1838-1888, discusses her character and opinions:

Freisinnig blieb sie stets; aus einer energischen Demokratin wurde sie eine gemäßige Liberale, dem Doktrinären abhold, dem Maulheldentum feindlich. Ihr deutsches Bewusstsein stärkte sich, nachdem der Einheitsgedanke, den sie stets lebendig in sich gefühlt, mit Blut und Eisen durchgeführt war. Für Ausländer-Rei hatte sie nie geschwärmt; die grossen nationalen Erfolge, deren sie sich freute, verstärkten ihren patriotischen Sinn.

(Geiger, p. xxiii)

Nonetheless, the importance of Lewald's travels to her work and her thinking cannot be understated, however firmly patriotic she remained. As far as literature was concerned, Geiger sees Lewald as never having outgrown her youthful ideal, namely that art, and therefore literature, should enhance and improve; this was then the cause of her antipathy towards the new literature of the 1870's and 1880's. And yet she was not drawn to either Romanticism or Mysticism. After her brief encounter with Christianity, she was never to return to it; she could not believe in immortality and life after death, yet retained a certain amount of envy for those who could. She remained "eine Frau ... von starkem Willen und offenem Geiste" (Geiger, p.xxv), "keine religiöse, keine Gefühls-, sondern eine Verstandesnatur" (Ibid, p.xxii).

Although a great admirer of Goethe, she did not read much, but preferred to listen and talk; as a result she would often misquote from memory, but remained untroubled by any potential inaccuracies.

Lewald was a prolific writer; her Gesammelte Werke, published 1870-74, comprise twelve volumes. As regards contemporary opinion of her work, Bornmüller, writing shortly before her death, praises her clarity of thought and style:
In den Schriften dieser Frau tritt das scharf pointierte Verstandeselement, das ihren Stammgenossen eigen ist, sehr in den Vordergrund, der Idealismus dagegen über Gebühr zurück. Der einfache und klare Stil erhebt sich nie auf den Schwingen der Begaisterung in den Äther verklärter Poesie; was dagegen bei einer allein auf die Realitäten des Lebens gerichteten Geistesart durch scharfe Beobachtung und lichtvolle Darstellung geleistet werden kann, hat die talentvolle Schriftstellerin in der That geleistet.

(Bornmüller, p. 429)

Twenty years earlier Lorck also had words of praise for Lewald's work, concluding:

Speciell sei noch erwähnt, dass in stilistischer Beziehung Fanny Lewald gegenwärtig wohl keine Rivalin zu scheuen hat. Ihre Sprache ist stets bestimmt und einfach, klar und wohllautend, und sie übertrifft in dieser Hinsicht alle ihre Genossinnen.

(Lorck, Suppl., p. 65)

Fanny Lewald's England und Schottland is written in epistolary form. The first letter is dated 17th May, 1850 from London. In London, where she stayed until the last week of July, she experienced much, observed much and met many people, amongst them Thomas Carlyle (see '8. Sendung', pp. 247 - 68, and '12. Sendung', pp. 379 - 409). She also attended a "Schottenfest" at the home of Lord Holland ('13. Sendung', pp. 410ff.). At the end of July she travelled by train to York and from there to Edinburgh, where she stayed for two weeks, visiting Melrose, Abbotsford, Roslin and Hawthornden, and staying most of the time as guest of Robert Chambers. She then made her tour of the Highlands, first visiting Linlithgow, Stirling and Glasgow before taking the steamer to Oban and from there making the trip to Iona and Staffa. She returned to Glasgow by stagecoach via Taynuilt and Loch Lomond. The last letter from Scotland is dated 17th August, from Glasgow. Next day she travelled on to Manchester.
Gustav Friedrich Waagen, Professor of Art History and Direktor der Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, was born in Hamburg on 11th February, 1794, the son of the artist, Christian Friedrich Heinrich Waagen and Johanna Louise Alberti, sister-in-law of Ludwig Tieck. It was while visiting Tieck in Dresden in 1801 that the seven-year-old Waagen was introduced to the world of art in the famous Dresdener Bildergalerie. After the death of his mother in 1807, the family moved to Schlesien, where Waagen attended school in Hirschberg [now Jelenia Góra], before going on to study at the university in Breslau [Wroclaw] in 1812. After two years as a volunteer in the Prussian Army during the Napoleonic Wars, Waagen returned to his studies in Breslau in 1815, and lodged with his well known relative, the professor of mineralogy, Karl Georg von Raumer (1783-1865), younger brother of the historian Friedrich von Raumer. In 1818 Waagen moved on to Heidelberg and gained a doctorate. The following year, after his first extensive 'Kunstreise', on which he travelled through Germany and the Netherlands, he settled in Munich and began to publish writings through which he made his name as an art critic. In 1823 he moved to Berlin to work on the setting up of a new museum and art gallery. He associated closely with the architect, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, at this time and together they travelled to Italy in 1824. By 1829 Waagen had taken over the organisation and planning of the Bildergalerie and the following year it was opened and he was named Direktor. Although he wrote and published a considerable amount in the years that followed, he spent much of his time touring Europe's art collections; the knowledge he acquired on these 'Kunstreisen' soon rendered him one of Europe's leading art experts. In 1835 he visited Paris and England and in 1839 he visited Vienna for some months and toured Germany extensively. The new King, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who had attempted in 1840 to recall the royal paintings from the Bildergalerie, an order which Waagen managed to reverse, sent Waagen to Italy in 1841. Here, by royal order, he acquired paintings and art treasures and stayed for over a year. His *Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland* was published from 1843-45, while in 1844
he was appointed ausserordentlicher Professor der Kunstgeschichte at the University in Berlin, a post he could scarcely fill, however, since he travelled for so much of the year. In 1862, at the invitation of the Tsar, he travelled to St. Petersburg to catalogue the art collection in The Hermitage and the result of his work there was published in Munich in 1864. From 1866-69 he published his account of the foremost art treasures in Vienna, likewise publishing his findings after a journey to Spain in 1866. In 1867 he travelled to Paris to visit the Great Exhibition, moving on from there on his last visit to England. In 1868, while visiting his friend, Baron Mohrenheim, the Russian ambassador in Copenhagen, he unexpectedly took ill and died on 15th July of that year.

Waagen's career, however learned and distinguished, was by no means smooth or easy. Right from the days of his first appointment in Berlin in 1823 he came up against professional rivalry and altercations, most of all in the person of his superior, the Generaldirektor, von Olfes, "ein vornehmer Dilettant mit einigem Kunstinteresse, aber ohne gründliche wissenschaftliche Bildung" (ADB, vol.XL, p.412), who, until Waagen's death, continued to act against the latter's better judgement and frequently contrary to the best interests of Art. Even if he came to know that recognition would not be forthcoming, Waagen's reaction was to bury himself in his work. Waagen roused opposition in England, too, from the painter Morris Moore, who even travelled to Berlin in 1856 to gather evidence against Waagen which he could then use to attack the Director of the National Gallery in London, the painter Sir Charles Eastlake. On Waagen's visits to London he had become close friends with Eastlake. 35 Waagen was one of the first art critics and historians to gain access to many of the private collections of the British gentry and as such his work was of great significance in Britain, where he earned himself a considerable reputation. In 1860 his London publisher, John Murray, commissioned him to produce an English version of the Dutch and German sections of Kugler's Handbuch der Malerei and this in turn was developed by Waagen into his own Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei (Stuttgart, 1862).
The titles of Waagen's two English works on British art speak for themselves: *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*. Being an account of the chief collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated Mss., &c. &c. by Dr. Waagen director of the Royal Gallery of Pictures, Berlin (3 vols., London, John Murray, 1854) and Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain, being an account of more than forty collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, MSS., &c. &c. visited in 1854 and 1856, and now for the first described (London, John Murray, 1857). In the preface to the former, Waagen writes that his first work on British art, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris* (1837-39), which had been well received by such periodicals as 'The Quarterly Review', 'The Edinburgh Review' and 'The Athenæum', had been the fruit of his five-month stay in England in 1835 and through it he had hoped to rouse German interest in British art. By 1851, after a visit that year and the previous year also, he had stayed in Britain altogether thirteen months and felt sufficiently knowledgeable to publish *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, which, being written in English, was intended for a wider public:

I have ... erased from the first work all such portions as were interesting to German readers only, and also suppressed the descriptions of collections which have been subsequently dispersed. At the same time I have retained various opinions and remarks on subjects not strictly included within the domain of the formative arts, from the belief that the impressions of an unprejudiced foreigner would possess some interest with many an English reader. I have also adhered to the epistolary form, as offering greater animation to the style, notwithstanding that the usual limits of a letter are greatly exceeded by the new additions. ... Besides, many collections had been more or less increased, or altered in arrangement; and in order to render this work in any way worthy of its title, it became my duty to visit not only these, but likewise all the more important collections hitherto unknown to me, in London and its neighbourhood, as well as throughout England, and even in Scotland, to which I was an entire stranger.

(Waagen, *Treasures of Art in GB*, 'Preface', p.iii)
In the preface to *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* Waagen tells of three further visits to Britain, in 1854, 1856 and 1857. As stated above, he was to return to Britain for the last time ten years later.

Both works refer to collections visited in Scotland, amongst them the private collections of the Marquis of Breadalbane, Sir Archibald Campbell at Garscube, the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Belhaven at Wishaw, the Earl of Hopetoun, Lord Wemyss at Gosford, Sir Hugh Hume Campbell at Marchmont House, Lord Elgin at Broom Hall, Lord Kinnaird at Rossie Priory, William Stirling at Keir and various others. Waagen also visited Dalkeith Palace and galleries and collections, both private and public, in Edinburgh and Glasgow. In addition he made a short trip to the Trossachs. As indicated in the Preface above, he gives both a critical list of the paintings he found in each location and also contributes a few additional comments.
Heinrich Friedrich Ludwig Rellstab was born on 13th April, 1799, the son of the well known Berlin musician, Johann Karl Friedrich Rellstab (1759-1813). The latter, as composer, pianist, teacher at Zelter's Singakademie, and owner of a music shop and lending library, decided from the outset that his children should follow a career in music. One daughter, Karoline, complied and was to become a popular singer in the Breslauer Theater, but Ludwig, who later wrote "das Musikstudium steht als eine harte Qual vor mir" (Rellstab, Aus meinem Leben, vol. I, p.25), stubbornly objected. Although he performed works of C.P.E.Bach, J.S.Bach and Mozart with orchestral accompaniment in a concert at the age of nine, and thus must surely have attained an unusually high level of proficiency, his father realised that it was useless to force him and allowed him to give up his music studies two or three years later. Nonetheless, so much music was made in the Rellstab household, which was a meeting place for many prominent musicians, that the young Ludwig could never fully escape it and indeed his musical knowledge was to stand him in good stead later in his career.

If Rellstab as a young boy could not share his father's passion for music, he could well share the latter's love of Nature: "der unmittelbare Trunk der Erquickung, den mir die Natur reicht, geht mir Uber Alles" (ibid., vol. I, p.19). Every summer the family went into the country, but Rellstab also relates in his autobiography that some of his fondest early memories are of climbing the trees in the Tiergarten in Berlin. The city boy loved to get away:

Was mich noch heut beglückt, beseligt im einsamen Walde unter den hohen sanft rauschenden Bäumen zu liegen, den Lauten der Vögel zu horchen, dem Spiel der Sonne in den Wipfeln, dem Zug der Wolken zuzuschauen, mich in weiter, weiter Ferne von dem Gewirr und Getriebe der Welt zu dunken; das erweckte auch schon in der Seele eines Kindes ahnungsvolle Erregungen, dunkle
Träume, wiegten sie in süße, halbbewusste Entzückungen. Und nirgend erwacht mir meine Jugend und ihr seliges Glück lebendiger, in tiefster innerster Brust, als wenn ich heut die Zustände wiederhole, unter denen das bewusstlose Kind aufwuchs.

(ibid., vol.I, p.21)

When Rellstab was still very young his father's sister was widowed and four years later, in 1806, she and her two children came to live with the Rellstabs in Berlin. The daughter died a few years later, but the son, a year older than Rellstab himself, was to become "einer der stetigsten Genossen dieser Kinderfreuden" (ibid., vol.I, p.20) - "es ist der rühmlich gekannte Schriftsteller Willibald Alexis, ..." (ibid., vol.I, p.62). Although they were constant companions, Rellstab and his cousin, Wilhelm Häring, were also rivals. Häring, who started in a lower class than Rellstab in the Gymnasium, was a model pupil and finished a class higher:


(ibid., vol.I, pp.245-6)

But if Häring outshone Rellstab in most ways, Rellstab was blessed with a finer memory and was also physically the stronger. Despite

Rellstab was not a good school pupil, though this was partly due no doubt to his uncorrected short sightedness. He was first taught at home by his mother and thanks to her learnt much poetry by heart and became a good reciter, which perhaps partly compensated for his inability to write well. The French and English he learnt from his mother he never forgot:

\[\text{Das Englische wurde mir doch mindestens schon früh so geläufig, dass ich Bücher in dieser Sprache mit geringer Schwierigkeit las.} \]


Later, however, in his Sommernächten, he admits that it was French rather than English in which he was more fluent and in which he preferred to converse while in Britain (Rellstab, Sommernächten, vol. II, p. 232). His older sisters, too, helped in his lessons at home, although in 1804 he was sent to Dr. Messow's school and then to the Joachimsthaler Gymnasium and finally, in 1810, to the Werdersche Gymnasium. Here Rellstab, who harboured vivid idealised memories of the events surrounding the Battle of Austerlitz in December 1805, neglected all those subjects which would not help to further his one ardent desire, to be a soldier; he thus concentrated almost solely on mathematics, for which he showed a great aptitude.

Meanwhile, in 1806, his father's printing business (which he had reluctantly inherited from his own father) went bankrupt and in 1813 he suffered an unexpected stroke and died. Rellstab was now free, however misguidedly, to fulfil his wish. He went to join up on 1st April, 1815, and despite being under 16 and so short-sighted, he was accepted into the Husarenregiment. He was also issued for the first time in his life with a pair of spectacles! In the frenzy of the Napoleonic Wars many young boys volunteered and Haring, too, was amongst them. Rellstab entered the Kriegsakademie and even though only an ensign (Fähnrich) was soon ordered to teach mathematics and history in the Brigadeschule. His enthusiasm for
mathematics had also caused him to join the Artilleriebrigade, and in 1818 he became an officer. During this time he kept in contact with the artistic world; the theatre, and in particular the actor, Ludwig Devrient (1784-1832), exerted a considerable influence on him, as did the composers, Ludwig Berger and Bernhard Klein, for whom he began to compose poetry. Together with these two musicians, and with Zelter as honorary member, Rellstab founded a 'Liedertafel' in 1819; apart from Zelter's own 'Liedertafel' it was the only such group in Berlin and enjoyed the support of more established names such as E.T.A. Hoffmann and Gottfried Körner. That year, too, Rellstab made his first journey of any length, travelling for six weeks with two friends; they visited Carl Maria von Weber in Dresden, and hoped to see Goethe in Weimar, but the latter was away. They travelled on to Prague where they visited the popular writer, Wolfgang Adolph Gerle. 37 1819 was also the year of the death of Rellstab's mother. By the spring of 1820 his dissatisfaction with military life had grown so much that he resigned.

In May 1821 Rellstab moved to Frankfurt/Oder to catch up on his neglected studies and devote his life to literature. Here he was taught Classics by the brother of the historian, Leopold von Ranke; he was to regret his earlier neglect of the subject even more when Jean Paul assured him that the Classics were the necessary foundation on which Romanticism should build. He also wrote some poetry at this time, some of which, although of little literary merit, has been immortalised in the musical settings of Franz Schubert. 38 He sent some of these early poems and an opera libretto, 'Dido', to Jean Paul in Bayreuth, who answered encouragingly, inviting Rellstab to visit. Rellstab, who, true to his day, considered the top three German men of letters to be Goethe, Jean Paul and Tieck, was all too eager to accept and in August 1821 he journeyed to Dresden en route for Bayreuth. He visited Tieck and showed his 'Dido' libretto to Weber, who received him warmly. He then moved on to Bayreuth, where he stayed some time, associating closely with Jean Paul, enjoying discussions with him on literary topics, including Voss' Shakespeare translations (Rellstab, Aus meinem Leben, vol. II, p. 83); 39
Ich befragte Jean Paul um seine Meinung über Walter Scott; er ging kurz darüber hin, lobte im Allgemeinen und verwies auf ein gedrucktes Urteil von ihm, das ich nicht gelesen, und leider bis heute nicht. Von Lord Byron sagte er, seine Stellung in der Welt verderbe seine Stellung in der Kunst.

(Ibid, vol. II, p. 97)

In September Rollstab moved on to Weimar, where he stayed until February 1822, enjoying the company of the composer, Hummel, and the poet, Wilhelm Müller. Goethe was away at first, but


(Ibid, vol. II, pp. 120 -21)

However disparagingly he professed his distaste for women writers, Rollstab was glad to take up the Schopenhauers' introduction to the Intendant of the Dresdener Theater, Könneritz, who accepted a tragedy he had written. Like so many other aspiring poets, he sent Goethe some of his poems; they were sent back unread by his daughter-in-law, Frau von Goethe. Armed with an introduction to Goethe from Zelter, Rollstab nonetheless several times visited the house of Frau von Goethe and it was she who invited him to be present when Zelter brought the twelve-year-old Mendelssohn to play to Goethe. As a Berliner, Rollstab recognised the young prodigy, and he relates how the boy was ignored by the assembled company until he performed, since, with the exception of Rollstab and Zelter, nobody knew his talents. He gives a lively description of the occasion (Ibid, vol. II, ch. 11, pp. 135 - 148). After returning to Berlin, Rollstab travelled once more to Frankfurt and to
Dresden, where he read his tragedy to Tieck and visited Weber again; he then attended the university of Heidelberg for a short while and wrote and published 'Griechenlieder', before moving on, in the spring of 1823, to Luxembourg and Bonn. In Bonn, where he attended further lectures, including those given by Moritz Arndt, recommendations from Tieck and Goethe secured him a welcome from August Wilhelm von Schlegel. He then travelled to Switzerland and Italy, visiting Jean Paul and Goethe en route. In Vienna in 1825 he met Czerny, Friedrich von Schlegel and Grillparzer. Thanks to recommendations from Zelter and Weber, the highpoint of this visit was, however, the meeting with Beethoven, with whom he made close friends (see Ibid, ch. 22, pp. 224 - 266).

By 1826, when Rellstab returned to Berlin, he had already made a name for himself, if more through reflected glory from the famous figures with whom he had associated than through any personal merit. That year he became editor of the 'Vossische Zeitung', a post which he held for 34 years. In this capacity he earned a considerable reputation as a music critic, whose harsh and exacting words soon came to be much feared. His biting attacks also got him into trouble, however, and he had to serve some months' imprisonment on account of his harshly satirical (censored) novel of 1827, Henriette die schöne Sängerin, which attacked the singer, Henriette Sontag. His particularly vitriolic attacks on the unpopular conductor of the Königliche Oper, Spontini, a polemic which lasted twelve years, did little to enhance his reputation and also led to imprisonment. From 1830 to 1841 he edited a musical journal, 'Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst', and it was through this that he made his name as one of Germany's foremost, albeit also one of the most reactionary, music critics. He also wrote some political articles for the paper and pursued his own private career as an author, writing prolifically, both verse and prose. His Gesammelte Schriften when first published, 1843-48, comprised twenty volumes, and a later edition (1843 - 60), 24 volumes. As a writer Rellstab is now forgotten, but a contemporary critic, in Lorck, indicates that his novels were widely read in their day; at the same time Lorck does not hesitate to state that much of Rellstab's work was of little merit even then and, further, that he made himself
exceedingly unpopular in many quarters and lost much of his earlier following through his unnecessarily personal and biased attacks. Krüger states that Rellstab's historical novel, *1812* (1834), on the other hand, continued to enjoy many editions throughout the century, and one of his songs, 'Ich hab einen mutigen Reiter gekannt', was also immensely popular in his day. If nothing else, one should admire Rellstab for his diverse diligence, which allowed him to work as a critic, poet, dramatist, novelist and translator to the end of his active life. Rellstab, who, when not travelling, spent his summers in his country house at Tegel, died on 27th November, 1860 in Berlin.

It is almost unanimously agreed that Rellstab's poetic and fictional works do not deserve to be remembered. Like his friend Wilhelm Müller, he is one of those minor poets who owe any reputation they enjoy to the unforgettable musical settings of Schubert. His many novels and *Novellen* are likewise best forgotten, and in many ways his Sommermährchen, too, bears little if any literary merit, the content being for the most part shallow and superficial and the language full of tiresome clichés, tediously verbose. Nonetheless, parts of his travel works do contain interesting and witty social criticism and as such make interesting reading. The value of the Sommermährchen lies in its social historical interest; it is of literary interest only as evidence of the extremes to which sentimental and so-called 'Romanticism' can be taken. One doubts whether Rellstab himself had the perspicacity to foresee that it would be for his contribution to the history of music rather than literature for which he is remembered; and, moreover, that this contribution should be a negative one. In no way could Rellstab be seen as a modernist, since he never outgrew the school into which he was born, and, rather like Goethe in his attitude towards Zelter, could not see beyond his close friends, Klein and Berger. Anything beyond Beethoven was dismissed. At one stage Rellstab even decried the arias in Bach's *Johannespassion* for being contrived and outmoded. He launched attacks on the new music of Rossini, Meyerbeer and Liszt. 'Iris' was his weapon and in it he attacked Chopin but, above all, Schumann:
Wie schwer es R. wurde, zu einer freieren Anschauung zu kommen, zeigt auch sein Verhalten zu Mendelssohn: kaum eines der wunderbar frischen Erstlingswerke dieses Meisters bleibt ohne Tadel. Die prachtvoll bewegte Ouvertüre zur Fingalshöhle findet R. matt; die doch so energisch einsetzende Hauptfigur, gleichsam eine wildschaumende See darstellend, ist ihm "weder neu noch eben hervorragend schön oder eigenthümlich. Neu ist sie nicht, weil sie zu nahe verwandt ist mit der Figur, die Beethoven im ersten Satz der Pastoralsymphonie gebraucht!" .... Trotz all solcher Pedanterie, trotz seiner einseitigen Stellung muss R. doch als Musikschriftsteller hoch geschätzt werden; seine in angenehmem Stil vorgetragenen Urtheile zeigen in ihrer Begründung doch immer den durchgebildeten Musiker und haben eben darum, wie wenig auch man ihnen Überall zustimmen wird, für die Geschichte der Musik und des Musiklebens seiner Epoche bleibenden Werth.

(ADB, vol. XXVIII, p. 784)

Perhaps by the time of his visit to Britain in 1851 he had mellowed; he describes how moved and how proud he was to hear a performance of Mendelssohn's 'Elijah' in Exeter Hall in London (Rellstab, Aus meinem Leben, ch. 40, vol. II, pp. 246 ff.).

Chapters 15 - 24 of Rellstab's Sommermärchen in Reisebildern deal with his visit to Scotland in September 1851. Armed with Bradshaw and Black's Economical Tourist, he travelled by train up from London via Newcastle to Edinburgh, made a journey from there to Melrose, Abbotsford and Galashiels and then travelled on from Edinburgh to Stirling, taking the steamer from Granton along the Forth. From Stirling he travelled by stage coach via Doune and Callander to Loch Katrine. He stayed in the Trossachs over a weekend (13th-14th September), before boarding the steamer to journey down Loch Lomond to Tarbet and Balloch and then travelling on by train to Dumbarton and back up the Clyde by boat to Glasgow. After seeing the sights of Glasgow, he journeyed on by train to Carlisle. His decision to visit Scotland had been hastily made while he was in London (see Sommermärchen, ch. 13, vol. I, p. 155, Mon. 8th Sept.); the weather was so good that the thought of seeing oncoming autumn in the Highlands was too great a temptation to resist. Due to inconvenient excursion schedules, he abandoned both a visit to Staffa and to the Falls of the Clyde.
Ernst Joachim Förster, painter and art critic, was born in Münchengösserstadt (Saale) on 8th April, 1800, the younger brother of the poet and historian, Friedrich Christoph Förster (1791 - 1868), who, from 1829, as custodian of the 'Kgl. Kunstmuseum' in Berlin, worked alongside Gustav Friedrich Waagen (see Kruger, p. 105). (Their father, Karl Christoph Förster, was a pastor and soon after Förster's birth moved to Langenlauba, by Altenburg.) He studied Theology, Philosophy and Natural Sciences at the university of Jena in 1818 and moved to Berlin the following year, staying there until 1822. While on a walking tour in Tirol with the young Fürst von Schwarzenberg (1800 - 52), and Graf Colleredo-Mannsfeld, he was unjustly arrested on the charge that his papers were not in order. Despite the intervention of his aristocratic companions Förster was chained to a common criminal and marched in appalling conditions to Innsbruck. Even though he was released in Innsbruck, he was dangerously ill by the time he struggled to safety in Munich, where he spent many weeks convalescing and where he finally settled. It was in Munich that he came into contact with the historical painter, Peter von Cornelius (1783 - 1867), who persuaded him to give up academia for painting. It was with Cornelius that Förster travelled to Weimar in 1825, where he visited Goethe and drew a portrait of the poet. In the autumn of 1826, after his first Italian 'Kunstreise', Förster married Emma, eldest daughter of Jean Paul Friedrich Richter; he was later to become well known as Jean Paul's biographer (Wahrheit aus Jean Pauls Leben (4 vols., 1827 - 33) and Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben von Jean Paul Fr. Richter (4 vols., 1863)) and the editor of his posthumous works. He was also to write the biography of Cornelius (published by G. Reimer, Berlin, 1874). Förster was a lively and popular speaker and lecturer: "durch seine Rede ging immer ein äginetischer Schwung, sein Geist erwärmte und zündete" (ADB, vol. XVIII, p. 660). He was married three times and outlived all three wives and many of his numerous children. He died in Munich on 29th April, 1885.

Although he began his career as an historical and allegorical painter, working on many large frescoes in Munich and elsewhere, Förster gradually devoted more and more time to critical writing...
as an art historian. His first major work, *Beiträge zur neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1835), earned him an honorary doctorate from the University of Tübingen in 1836. The following year, 1837, he travelled in the company of Graf Raczynski to Italy, where he had been four years previously; he was to become highly respected in Italy for his works on European, but especially Italian, painting. In Italy he devoted much time and care to rediscovering and restoring major works of art, sometimes working on his own, but often in the service of the Kings Max of Bavaria, Friedrich August of Saxony and Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia. Of his best known works one can name the following: *Briefe über Malerei* (1838), *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (1851 - 60), *Geschichte der italischen Kunst* (1869 - 78), *Denkmale der deutschen Kunst* (1853 - 69) and *Denkmale der italischen Kunst* (1870 - 82). In addition Förster wrote many articles for the 'Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung' and the 'Stuttgarter Kunstblatt', of which he was coeditor from 1842 to 1849. In 1854 he published *Gedichte*.

Förster's contribution to the literature of travel is of secondary importance to his critical writing, yet it was his artistic work which took him across Europe, most often to Italy:

[er] war mit den Besten seiner Zeit in mannigfache Berührung gekommen, hatte auf fortwährenden Reisen viele Lande und alle Fachgenossen persönlich kennen gelernt, an allen hervorragenden Erscheinungen und Zeitfragen theilgenommen.


In 1865 he published his *Reise durch Belgien nach Paris und Burgund* (Leipzig, 1865).

Eine frühere Reise hatte F. durch Frankreich nach England geführt, wo er auf den Schlössern und Edelsitzen der stolzesten Aristokratie offene Aufnahme fand und als Kunstexpert berathen wurde.

(Ibid, vol. XVIII, p. 659)

This earlier journey was undertaken in 1851 and Förster's account of it and earlier travels to Italy, *Reisen in Italien, England und Schottland*, was published in 1862 (Vermischte Schriften, vol.I). It was after his return from this 1851 tour that Förster published three travel guides which were to become standard works for visitors. He realised the potential of a cultural guide to the ever expanding
148.

"Kunststadt" of Munich and the result, München, ein Handbuch für Fremde und Einheimische (1852), was followed by Handbuch für Reisende in Deutschland (1852) and Handbuch für Reisende in Italien (1853, 8th edition, 1865).

The Kleine Wanderungen in England und Schottland im Sommer 1851 comprise nearly 100 pages, seven chapters in all, whose headings speak for themselves: I. "Der Landsitz von S.C. Hall bei London", II. "Das Haus eines Quäkers. Mäßigkeitsvereine", III. "Unionhouse. Römische und normannische Baudenkmale", IV. "Reise nach York. Eisenbahnbauten. Temperance-Hôtel", V. "Von York nach Edinburgh. Edinburgh.", VI. "Zwei Tage in den schottischen Hochlanden", and VII. "Von Edinburgh nach Liverpool. Chatsworth. S. Leonards". Each chapter is an entity on its own and Förster thus does not give any itinerary as such, although chapters IV - VII do follow the route he took north to Scotland and back south to St. Leonards on Sea. In August, having had his fill of the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, he took the train to Edinburgh, stopping in York. After, apparently, several days in Edinburgh, he journeyed by rail to Glasgow and on foot to Buchanan, to the home of the minister, Mr. Mackintosh, where he stayed the night of 15th August. Next day he took the steamer on Loch Lomond and travelled by coach along Loch Katrine to Stirling, where he was forced to spend the next day, it being the Sabbath. On Monday he returned to Edinburgh. Having said his farewells, he travelled through the Borders to Gretna and on through the Lake District to Liverpool, Chester, Derby and Chatsworth, returning briefly to London before finally visiting his friends, "die Familie W.", in St. Leonards on Sea. He arrived there on 24th August and, after a week's visit, left the country on 1st September.
Alexander Ziegler was born on 20th January, 1822 in Ruhla, Thüringen, the son of a wealthy factory owner. From an early age he expressed a burning desire to travel and accordingly studied geography and related subjects avidly. He was educated at the 'Salmann'sche Erziehungsanstalt' in Schnepfenthal and then at the Gymnasium in Eisenach. From 1839 to 1841 he studied Staatswissenschaft und Cameralia at the University of Jena. His father, who intended him to enter the business world, then sent him to breweries in Nuremberg and Munich to learn the trade of beer brewing.

Ziegler's wish to see the world had never abated, however, and in May 1846 he embarked from Bremen on his first major journey, fortunate in having the financial backing of his wealthy family. He returned to Germany in the autumn of 1847, having traversed the eastern United States, travelled from the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico and by sea from Cuba back to New York. In 1848 he published Skizzen einer Reise durch Nordamerika und Westindien (2 vols., Dresden & Leipzig, 1848). His main concern while in the United States had been for the plight of German settlers, who had far from encountered their ideal in the New World. In the hopes of avoiding in future the hardships they had unnecessarily endured, Ziegler spoke out in the Frankfurter Parlament of 1848 in favour of state control on emigration. In this connection he published Republikanische Licht- und Schattenseiten (Dresden & Leipzig, 1848) and Der deutsche Auswanderer nach den vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika (Leipzig, 1849). In 1853 he was commissioned by the Leipzig publisher Weber to write a guide for German emigrants; this was published in 1856 under the title Der Geleitmann. Katechismus für Auswanderer nach Nord-, Mittel- und Süd-Amerika, Australien, Algerien, etc. In these writings, true to the mood of the times, Ziegler showed himself to be a keen supporter of radical democracy.

Ziegler's travels also took him across Europe. From 1850 to 1851 he visited Spain and Morocco and returned to the Mediterranean lands in 1854 and 1855, travelling through Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and Greece. In 1856 he attended the coronation of Tsar Alexander II in Moscow; he travelled north
through Sweden, Norway, Lapland and Finland. The following year, on 18th November, he gained his doctorate from the University of Jena and shortly afterwards embarked on a journey to the British Isles, visiting primarily Orkney and Shetland. Ziegler published his findings from these travels in several volumes, *Reise in Spanien. Mit Berücksichtigung der national-ökonomischen Interessen* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1852), *Meine Reise im Orient* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1855) and *Meine Reise im Norden* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1860). He had also visited Scotland in the summer of 1851, when he had travelled to both Iona and Staffa and also to the Orkney and Shetland Isles. In 1867 he was to return to Spain, also touring Andorra and France. He spent most of 1868 in Italy and he was present at the opening of the Suez Canal the following year in 1869.

On his return to Germany, Ziegler moved from Dresden to his native Ruhla. Here he was to prove tireless in assisting the displaced and wounded during the Franco-Prussian War and he was awarded a medal for these services. After the end of the war in 1871, he embarked on extensive tours of his native Thüringen, at much the same time, therefore, as Theodor Fontane was combing the Mark Brandenburg. Ziegler's *Reisehandbuch für Thüringen* (Hildburghausen, 1864), which he had written in collaboration with Heinrich Schwerdt, was republished in 1871 and was to enjoy several further editions, as did the many articles and papers he wrote in the cause of the 'Schillerlotterie'. In Dresden in 1859 he had been a leading light in the founding of the 'Schiller-stiftung', which had been set up to support aspiring German writers; for his work Ziegler was elected to the board of trustees for the 'Schiller-lotterie', the history of which he published in 1864. Earlier, in 1853, he had published *Taschenbuch der bayerischen Bierbrauerei*, from his experiences in the breweries in the 1840's.

Ziegler was the author of several further geographical and historical writings, "die zwar zur Orientierung gute Dienste leisten, aber ein tiefer eindringendes Quellenstudium vermissen lassen" (ADB, vol. ILV, pp. 45 and 162). He concerned himself in particular with the 15th century German scientists, the cosmographer Martin Behaim and the astronomer Regiomontanus. The service he paid his native Thüringen was indisputable. In addition to the *Reisehandbuch*
he published many works on the history, geography and industry of
the area, amongst them several concerned solely with his native
Ruhla. Many of these works, too, went through several editions.
Ziegler did much to improve the district socially and aesthetically,
erecting memorials to former inhabitants of note, clearing beauty
spots and view-points, restoring the Ruhla church, founding a
committee to extend the railway network, supplying the schools
with libraries, and founding clubs and societies to promote educa-
tion and learning and, finally, a 'Ziegler-Stiftung' to support the
elderly and poor of the community.

Ziegler was a great friend of the historical novelist, Ludwig
Storch (1803 - 1881), who was also a native of Ruhla, and edited
his posthumous writings. Locally he was a figure of some import-
ance and was given the freedom of many towns as well as honorary
membership of countless organisations. In 1861 he was created
grossherzoglich Sachsen-Weimarischer Hofrath, the King of Prussia
conferred on him the Kronenorden III. Classe, and in 1867 the
Grossherzog von Weimar added the Ritterkreuz I. Classe des Ordens
vom Weissen Falken to his distinctions. He never married. In
the words of Berbig:

Als Mensch war Z. von grosser Liebens-
würdigkeit, aber auch — eine leicht-
verzeihliche Schwäche — von ausserordent-
licher Eitelkeit. In seiner Heimath
erfreute er sich der allgemeinsten
Verehrung.  

(ADB, vol. LV, p. 423)

Regardless of whether or not his work brought him fame further
afield than Thüringen, it earned him the epithet "Weltreisender
und Reiseschriftsteller" (Ibid, vol. LV, p. 421) and as such
Ziegler was one of the few German visitors to Scotland who was by
profession a traveller and travel writer. He died on the 8th/9th
April, 1887 in Wiesbaden.

Ziegler's 'Bilder aus Schottland' appeared in the Leipzig
'Illustrierte Zeitung' in the issues dated 13.3.1852 (No. 454), 3.4.
1852 (No. 457) and 1.5.1852 (No. 461). The second and third
'Bilder' were dated "Oban, Juli 1851" and "Lerwick, Mitte Juli 1851",
while an article entitled 'Die Shetland-Inseln' was printed in the
edition of 4.12.1858 (No. 805), as a preview of his 'Nordische Reisen', which was soon to be published (see editor's note), Meine Reise im Norden (Leipzig, Weber, 1860) deals with his travels to Norway, Orkney, Shetland, Lapland and Sweden in the summer of 1851 and also the winter of 1857 - 58. In the foreword he writes:

Auf meinen, in vier Welttheilen unternommenen Reisen, habe ich zuletzt auch den höchsten Norden Europas bis zum siebzigsten Breitengrade durchforscht und eine so allseitige Bereicherung meiner Kunde von Land und Leuten mit ihren Verhältnissen und Zuständen mit heimgenommen, dass ich mich glücklich schätzen würde, wenn deren Veröffentlichung auch nur zum kleinsten Theile die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums erregen und zur Verbreitung einer genaueren Kenntniss von diesen verhältnissmässig weniger bekannten Erdtheilen etwas beitragen sollte.

(Ziegler, Meine Reise im Norden, p. vi)

Ziegler had travelled to the North, conscious that few Germans had done so before him, at least few travel writers. Much of the material from the 'Illustrirte Zeitung' is transferred almost verbatim into Meine Reise im Norden. In addition to visiting the Orkney and Shetland Isles, Ziegler's first article in the 'Illustrirte Zeitung' describes his visit to the estate of Kingcausie, outside Aberdeen, owned by a Mr. Boswell, and the boat trip from Aberdeen to Wick before the crossing of the Pentland Firth. In the second article he also describes a steamer trip to Iona and Staffa, presumably also undertaken in that summer of 1851.
WICHMANN

I have made little headway with ascertaining any biographical information concerning Rudolph Wichmann, whose Wanderungen in Schottland 1851 - 1852 was published in Braunschweig by H. Neuhoff & Comp. in 1862. The title page of the book reveals that it was printed in Hamburg and that its author bore the title 'Dr. phil.' From its contents there are a few further facts to be learnt.

Wichmann was two years absent from Germany, where he had been a student in Bonn (p. 7); the first year he spent between Switzerland and France (p. 96), where he attended the Sorbonne and traversed much of both countries on foot (p. 32). From Paris he travelled to England for the Great Exhibition of 1851 and from London he visited Scotland, giving in to an irresistible urge to see the romantic land of the Picts and Scots, Scott, Burns and William Wallace (p. 7). He stayed in Scotland for a year, working through the winter as a modern language teacher in the school in Musselburgh (p. 51), while attending classes at Edinburgh University. From the lectures he mentions one might presume that his main interest lay with the sciences; he writes of the excellence of the medical lectures he attended and he also heard lectures on the History of Literature, Geology and Physics (p. 53). Having attended one Latin class, he was so put off by the unnecessarily authoritarian discipline of the professor that he never again returned. He left Scotland at the end of May 1852 and travelled through the Lake District and Wales to Ireland (pp. 87ff.), returning to London from Dublin and continuing from there home to Germany to resume his studies in Bonn. The 'Vorwort' to his Wanderungen in Schottland is dated Braunschweig, 1st May, 1862.

Two further works by Rudolph Wichmann are recorded, both in the British Museum Catalogue and in Hinrich's Bücher-Katalog 1851 - 65 (Part 2, p. 452), namely Die Entwicklung der Philosophie, Eine Abhandlung (Berlin, Dümmler, 1853) Die Britisch-Deutsche Legion 1855-57 (Braunschweig, Neuhoff, 1861), the former also being entered in Heinsius' Bücher-Lexicon 1852 - 56 (Part 2, p. 478). One might assume, therefore, that Wichmann was resident in the Braunschweig...
area by the time of the two works, published by Neuhoff in 1861 and 1862. He must surely also have had some connection with the "British-Deutsche Legion".

In addition to the works mentioned above, the National Union Catalog includes a work by a Rudolph Wichmann entitled Über Kreistheilungen. This is a mathematical treatise and is also to be found in Catalogue Dissert. Philosoph. (University of Göttingen Library) as part of a 'Schulprogramm' in the Programme der Provinz Sachsen 1867. The title page reads as follows:

Programm, mit welchem zu der Dienstag den 9. April stattfindenden öffentlichen Prüfung der Zöglinge des Gymnasiums zu Salzwedel im Namen des Lehrer-Collegiums ehrenbietigst und ergebenst einladet Dr. Fr. Wentrup.

Direktor.

Inhalt: 1. Über Kreistheilungen. Von Dr. Rudolph Wichmann
2. Schulnachrichten. Vom Direktor
   Berlin, Buchdruckerei von Gustav Lange und
   Salzwedel, Königl. Hof-Steindruckerei und Buchdruckerei von Chr. Robolsky
   1867

In the Direktor's report we read that Dr. Wichmann teaches "Mathematik und Physik" to the "Prima", "Mathematik" to the "Secunda" and "Quarta", "Mathematik und Naturgeschichte" to the "Tertia", "Rechnen" to the "Quinta" and "Turnunterricht" to the "Sexta" (A. 'Allgemeine Lehrverfassung', pp. 25 - 8). The 'Chronik des Gymnasiums' (C., pp. 32 -33) reveals that Herr Doktor Wichmann fills the 2. Lehrerstelle and that though illness kept him away from the end of February, he will run the "Ferienschule" with the Oberlehrer. Finally, in 'Statistische Nachrichten' (D., pp. 34 - 5) it is reported that Dr. Wichmann teaches 22 lessons, is ranked sixth amongst the teaching staff of eleven, as "2. ord. Lehrer" in a school of 228 pupils.

Although pure speculation, it is conceivable that Wichmann was returning to his home area in taking a job in Salzwedel. If so, he might well have first matriculated at the largest university near to Braunschweig and Salzwedel, namely Göttingen, moving on soon to Bonn. In the University of Göttingen matriculation records (Georgia Augusta, Die Matrikel der Georg-August Universität zu Göttingen, 1837 -
1900) there is a sole entry under the name of Rudolph Wichmann, a student of philosophy, Rudolph Heinr. Franz Wichmann, who had been educated at the 'Carolinum' in Braunschweig, where his father was jeweller and pawnbroker, and who matriculated in 1849 (p.125, No. 43, 168; 41). Another entry for Wichmann (with first name Rudolf) is recorded for October 1857 (p.122, No. 46, 698; 20); this particular student had also been educated in Braunschweig and was the son of a 'Particulier' in Schöppenstedt. It is possible that the Rudolph Wichmann in question had moved to Göttingen from Bonn to complete his doctorate and had then taken a teaching post in the area.

It should be emphasised that the preceding two paragraphs contain no foundation in fact, but are instead based on speculation arising firstly from the proximity of both Salzwedel and Göttingen to Braunschweig, the place of publication of two of Wichmann's works in 1861 and 1862, and apparently the place of his own residence at that time, and secondly, from the uncommonness of the name Wichmann, more particularly Rudolph Wichmann.

The title of Wichmann's tour of Scotland is apt, for he did indeed undertake his "Wanderungen" on foot, with the genuine aim "um Land und Leute kennenzulernen" (p. 83). It is with this fact and the length of his stay that he justifies the work's publication in the 'Vorwort', which is dated "Braunschweig, den 1. Mai 1862"; he hopes an old fashioned walking tour might produce plenty of material to entertain his readers in an age of ever expanding rail networks. He finishes:


(Wichmann, Wanderungen, 'Vorwort')

Wichmann arrived in England in 1851, travelling to Scotland some time that year — presumably spring or early summer — and arriving in Leith by boat. At the end of August he was invited to stay with a family near Appin in Argyll, and he travelled there before setting out on his first extensive "Wanderung". A Scots theology student
accompanied him on the steamer to Fort William and together they climbed Ben Nevis. Wichmann then carried on alone, taking the steamer to Inverness and walking across the wilds of Wester Ross from Dingwall to Loch Carron. From Fort Augustus he made his way back to Fort William and Appin. It was by now the end of September. He spent the winter in Musselburgh, teaching part time at the school there (a lucky break had assured him of this necessary income) and attending lectures at the University in Edinburgh part time. After lectures were over in the spring of 1852, he toured the Trossachs, both by steamer and on foot, completing this expedition with a search for the Roman Wall by Falkirk (Graham's Dyke'). Back in Edinburgh, his companion up Ben Nevis invited him to stay with his family in Lanarkshire, where his father was minister in Leadhills. Together they crossed the Pentlands on foot and visited the Falls of Clyde. Wichmann then continued on foot to Peebles, following the Tweed to Melrose and Jedburgh. He was then joined by a young American and with him he visited Kelso and Berwick. From Berwick they took the train back to Edinburgh. Before finally leaving Edinburgh he also visited Roslin. At the end of May 1852 Wichmann started on his return journey, travelling by train down the West coast through the Lake District and Wales, from where he visited Ireland. From Dublin he returned to London and then left for Germany. The account is entertaining, lively and very readable.
KALCKSTEIN

It has been difficult to confirm any facts beyond authorship concerning Moritz von Kalckstein, whose tour of England and Scotland was published in Berlin in 1854 by F. Schneider und Comp. under the title Erinnerungen an England und Schottland; ein Beitrag zur Reiseliteratur über jene Länder und zum praktischen Gebrauch für Besucher derselben. Even from its title one can deduce that Kalckstein was concerned for the practical rather than the sentimental or artistic value of the work. The book itself reveals little about its author, however. Kalckstein evidently lived in Berlin (the 'Vorbemerkungen' are dated "Berlin, im September 1854", p. viii) and more than once he compares aspects of British life and culture with those of Berlin. One can assume, too, that he was born in Prussia; he writes of childhood memories of holidays on the Baltic coast (p.218) and meets "ein preussischer Landsmann" in London (p. 279). He apparently had some knowledge of philosophy, discussing Hegel with the latter, a Berlin merchant settled in Leith, before sailing back to Germany (pp.280 - 281). He was a Beethoven admirer (p. 50), who thought little of British music (pp. 49 - 50), art (pp. 54 - 6), and theatre (pp. 68ff.), and compared the London ballet unfavourably with that of Berlin (p. 107); on the whole, however, he was impressed with British architecture. As an admirer of the abolitionist, Thomas Fowell Buxton (p.101), he was presumably of liberal outlook. With the help of a letter of introduction from the Prussian Embassy, he visited Bedlam, though since the hospital was already one of London's 'sights', this does not necessarily point to any particular interest in the care of the mentally ill. But a letter of introduction to the geographer, Petermann, in Camden Street, implies that Kalckstein's own profession was closely linked with Petermann's and records of his works support this.

In the British Museum Catalogue (vol.120) three works are listed: Erinnerungen an England und Schottland, Lehrbuch für Géographie für höhere Lehranstalten insbesondere Militaireschulen wie zur Selbstbelehrung denkender Freunde der Erdkunde (Berlin, 1850), and Rom und die Campagna. Eine Skizze (Berlin, Charlottenburg, 1860). Heinsius' Bücher-Katalog
(1852 - 56) lists three works also, the Erinnerungen an England und Schottland and two editions of Grundlinien einer physikalischen Erdbeschreibung zum Selbststudium und zum Gebrauch für höhere Lehranstalten insbesondere Militärschulen (Schneider, Berlin, 1852 and 2nd enlarged edn., Schneider, Berlin, 1856). Hinrich's Bücher-Katalog lists five works by Kalckstein, the four mentioned above (the second editions of both the Grundlinien einer physikalischen Erdbeschreibung and the Lehrbuch der Geographie, both published 1856, though the publisher is given as Weber, not Schneider), and in addition Leitf. f. d. Unterr. in d. Geog. (2 vols., Berlin), Oro- u. Hydrogr. u. polit. Geog. (1862) and Mathemat. u. physik. Geogr. (1863).

In the 'Vorbemerkungen' to the Erinnerungen an England und Schottland, Kalckstein writes of the encouragement he had received through the reception of the works he had hitherto published:


(Kalckstein, Erinnerungen an England u. Schottland, pp. iii- viii)

Later he attests the popularity of his England und Schottland in the introduction to his Rom und die Campagna of 1860:

Schon durch meine 1854 erschienenen, von den bedeutendsten Organen critisch-wissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften in
anerkennender Weise gewürdigten "Erinnerungen an England und Schottland" in
großeren Lesekreisen bekannt, reiße ich
dieser meiner ersten Arbeit im Gebiete
der Reiseliteratur eine zweite kleinere
an, welche die Eindrücke einer in den
Herbstmonaten 1858 unternommenen größeren
Reise, in Bezugnahme auf Rom und die
Campagna, zum Inhalt hat.

(Kalckstein, Rom und die Campagna)

On the back cover of the Italian tour there is an advertisement,
signed by the publisher, Ferdinand Schneider, for both the
Grundlinien einer physikalischen Erdbeschreibung und Erinnerungen
an England und Schottland. It continues:

Unter den vielen durchweg anerkennenden
Beurtheilungen höherer critischer Organe:
"Grenzboten", "Deutsches Museum", Gutzkows
"Unterhaltungsblätter", mehrerer Berliner
und auswärtigen Tagesblätter u. s. w. haben
wir aus einer detaillirten Beurtheilung
von Alexander Jung in der Ostpreussischen
Zeitung Folgendes hervor:

"In der mannigfaltigsten Weise wird unser
Interesse angeregt in Hinblick auf gross-
artige Naturscenen und einen Menschenverkehr,
wie ihn die beiden Glanzpunkte der Fahrt
London und Edinburg darbieten; auf Religion,
Wissenschaft, Kunst, Technik, Industrie, mit
trefflichen, historischen Durchsichten in die
Vergangenheit. Manche dieser Darstellungen
werden zu Gemälden, die uns im frischesten
Colorit, in wirklichkeitsgetreuem Lichte das
Erlebte noch einmal schauen lassen. Auch
zeigt sich der Verfasser überall als ein
denkender Beobachter, der zu grossem Gewinn
Studien in der Philosophie gemacht hat, der
daher auch in Sachen der Kunst sein eignes
reifes Urtheil hat und uns nicht selten in
tief motivirten Critiken mit ganz neuen
Gesichtspunkten höchst dankenswerth bereichert.
Jeder, der das vorliegende Reisehandbuch
liest, wird sich für eine Reise in die
geschilderten Länder auf's Beste vorbereitet
haben."

Auch in Sammlungen von Musterdarstellungen
im Gebiet der Länder- und Völkerkunde, unter
andern in W. Crabel's Geographischen Character-
bildern. Siebente Auflage. 1858 haben
einzelne Capitel: "Ueber den Tunnel und die
Londoner Docks", sowie in Feuilletons:
"Ueber die Londoner italienische Oper, den
Moritz von Kalckstein, therefore, was a geographer, whose educational text books were specifically designed for use in the military educational establishments, he was possibly also in military service. As to more about the Kalckstein family from which he came, there is little information to be found beyond the fact that it was a Prussian family, many of whose members had been military men. The *Neue Deutsche Biographie* reads:


(NDB, vol. XI, p. 53)

Moritz von Kalckstein evidently came from the Prussian branch of the family. The spelling 'Kalkstein' is more commonly referred to: the *Neues Preussisches Adels-Lexicon* (4 vols., Gebr. Reichenbach, Leipzig, 1836-7, vol. 3, pp. 59-62), includes "Die Herren von Kalkstein" and names them one of the oldest families in Prussia, branches of which were to be found in the Lausitz (Bohemia) and in Poland. It is of course possible that the spelling is of little significance and the following may have been closely connected to Moritz von Kalckstein, who presumably was born some time in the first three decades of the nineteenth century:


Moritz von Kalckstein's military connection could also be related to an entry in the list of deaths for 1903 in *Biographisches Jahrbuch und Deutscher Nekrolog* (Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin, vol. 8, p. 57): a Walter von Kalckstein, a Prussian General Major, died that year in Königsberg in his 63rd year. Another von Kalckstein (Carl, born 1845), whose works were published in Leipzig and Königsberg, is entered in the *National Union Catalog* (vol. 268).
One thing is certain, namely that both spellings, Kalckstein and Kalkstein, are names much connected with the Prussian military. The Neues Allgemeines Deutsches Adels-Lexicon (A. H. Kneschke, 1973, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, New York, vol. V, pp. 4 - 5) lists both names together as an ancient family belonging to the nobility of both East and West Prussia, which also owned estates in the Lausitz, Schlesien and Poland and bore various additional surnames.

Kalckstein arrived in Scotland on 16th July, 1852, having travelled from Berlin to Hamburg, sailing from Hamburg on 2nd July and arriving in London on 5th. He stayed in London till 15th July and then took the train up the West coast via Carlisle, arriving in Edinburgh next day. He left for Stirling and the Trossachs on 20th July, reaching Glasgow the following day, having toured Loch Katrine and Loch Lomond. From Edinburgh he returned to London on 22nd July, travelling down the East coast through Berwick. After two more days in London, he crossed the Channel by night, arriving in Ostende at 7 p.m. on 25th July. He travelled alone.
Titus Ullrich was born in Schlesien on 22nd August, 1813, the son of a farmer in Habelschwerdt, near Glatz. His mother had moved to the area to escape the war, since it was here that her father, the Habelschwerdt Bürgermeister, lived, and it was this grandfather who gave Ullrich his first tuition. He received a strictly Catholic upbringing and from 1825 attended the Catholic Gymnasium in Glatz. In 1832 he began his university studies of philosophy and philology at Breslau, moving to Berlin the following year. Shy and retiring throughout his life, he was an assiduous student:

"Philosophie und Alterthumswissenschaften fesselten den feinen, schier unmerklich aber stetig arbeitenden Geist des untersetzten, schmächtigen Studenten ..." (ADS, vol. XXXIX, p. 201)

Ullrich gained his doctorate in 1836. Since his father's death dashed all hopes of devoting his life to academic research, he was forced to become a house tutor to earn his keep. Despite the extreme modesty of his character, he had his place in Berlin's intellectual society during the years leading up to 1848. He associated closely with the 'Jung-Hegelianer', in particular with their leader, Bruno Bauer and with Max Stirner, and was also a prominent member of one of the literary clubs of aspiring writers and poets, "Rütli". From 1848 Ullrich worked for the newly founded 'Nationalzeitung' as art, theatre and literary critic, a job he carried out "mit viel Lust und Liebe, Unvoreingenommenheit und Gründlichkeit" (ADB, vol. XXXIX, p. 202). In 1854 he travelled to Italy, where he stayed for some time, and in 1857, he was amongst the many critics and journalists, Fontane included, to visit the great Manchester Art Exhibition. It was from Manchester that he toured Scotland, returning to Berlin via Belgium and France. His Reise-Studien aus Italien, England und Schottland appeared for the most part in instalments in the 'Nationalzeitung', though many of the Italian sketches in particular were in fact written some years after his visit. An edited version of the Reise-Studien
was published posthumously in 1893, edited by Dr. Rudolph Genée (Berlin, Allgemeiner Verein für deutsche Litteratur), and Kritische Aufsätze Über Kunst, Literatur und Theater followed in 1894. In the late 1850's Ullrich married Emilie Ribbeck and together they enjoyed a long and happy marriage, spending summer vacations in the Bavarian Alps. She was later to edit his writings. In 1860 Ullrich was made Sekretär and Dramaturg bei der königlichen Generalintendantur in Berlin, a post he held until his retirement, as Geheimer Intendanturath, on 1st July, 1887. As Intendantsekretär he was in constant contact with the stage, with both actors and playwrights, established and aspiring alike; he played a significant part in the choice of plays during these years and is reputed to have painstakingly examined and read over 8,000 works, mostly hand-written, which were submitted to him. He never misused his authority and power of veto, and remained true to his fair and modest nature, with the result that the service he did the theatre remained for the most part unacknowledged in public. As regards Ullrich's own creative work, Genée writes:

Als der bescheiden und auszeichnete Mann in seinem 79. Lebensjahre starb wusste man in den grösseren Kreisen des gebildeten Publikums nicht mehr viel von seiner einstigen Bedeutung als Dichter und Kunst-Aesthetiker (Genée, 'Vorwort', p. vii)

It was during the 1840's that Ullrich had first published some of his own compositions, though he had had to wait long before a publisher accepted the first work, a didactic epic poem entitled 'Das Hohe Lied':


The earlier work enjoyed some success and earned Ullrich a few
genuine admirers. As for Victor, it was imbued with enough of the spirit of the Vormärz to be praised by the radical critics such as Theodor Mundt, on the one hand, and condemned by the reactionary camp, Wolfgang Menzel in particular, on the other (see ADB, vol. XXXIX, p. 202). An appraisal of the two works is to be found in the contemporary Schütze, who calls the author "ein gedankenreicher Dichter":

Während das erstere den Gottmenschen, und zwar als die dauernde Erscheinung des Göttlichen im Menschlichen in erhabenen feierlichen Hymnen besingt, so nimmt das letztere die vormärzlichen Zustände zum Thema und lässt die Gedanken im Sturmschritt der Freiheit vorüberziehen.

(Schütze, p.459)

Only on vacation and later in his retirement did Ullrich return to poetry after 1848 and shortly before his death he is recorded to have written to a friend:


Eine trübe Erkenntniss!

(Quoted in ADB, vol. XXXIX, p. 203)

It was at this time that he did finally publish some of the poems he had written since 1868, under the title Dichtungen (Berlin, G. Schenck, 1890). Further poems were published posthumously in 1893 in the monthly 'Nord und Süd'. Ullrich died in Berlin on 17th December, 1891 and was survived by his wife.

In the 'Vorwort' to Ullrich's Reise-Studien aus Italien, England und Schottland, Genée writes that as editor he had felt it necessary to omit some of the material available which was no longer of topical interest; nonetheless, he is confident that the edited work forms a complete whole, thanks to the author's fine style:

Wenn seine Schilderungen aus Italien, die Früchte seiner Reise im Jahre 1854, sowohl
durch seine feine Beobachtungsgabe wie durch die schöne Vortragsweise, in den höchst anschaulichen Schilderungen des Landschaftlichen, wie in den Kunsturtheilen, einen hohen Reiz haben und dauernden Werth beanspruchen dürfen, so hatte er in seinen Berichten über die epochemachende klassische Kunstausstellung in Manchester 1857 seine ausserordentlichen Kenntnisse der klassischen Malerschulen so Überzeugend darthun können, dass diese in der Nationalzeitung erschienenen Berichte damals ein gewisses Aufsehen machten. (Genée, 'Vorwort', p.ix)

Of the Scottish tour, Genée goes on to say:

Wenn in den italienischen Studien neben der so anschaulichen Schilderung der landschaftlichen Reize immer auch der Kunstästhetiker das Wort hat, so tritt in dem Ausfluge nach Schottland daneben besonders das Interesse für die an das Landschaftliche sich knüpfenden historischen Rückblicke in den Vordergrund, während er zugleich die grossen Dichter des Landes, Ossian, Walter Scott und Robert Burns durch die Landschaft selbst wieder lebendig werden lässt. Es ist die universale Bildung Ullrichs, welche durch die Verbindung des bloss beschreibenden Theils mit jenen Reflexen auf Geschichte und Dichtung eine Harmonie in der Gesammtdarstellung erreicht, die diesen Studien ihren hohen künstlerischen Werth verleiht. (Ibid, p.x)

Ullrich arrived in Scotland in mid-July 1857, having visited the Manchester Art Exhibition. He travelled by train through the Lake District to Glasgow, moving on next morning by steamer to Bowling, where he caught the train for Loch Lomond. Having toured the loch on the steamer, he continued by coach to Fort William from Inverarnan. From Banavie he took the steamer up to Aberchalder, returning to Corpach in the late afternoon to travel on again by steamer to Oban. From Oban he visited Staffa and Iona, travelling on next day in a primitive open coach to Taynuilt, Dalmally and Inveraray. From Inveraray he travelled by the far more satisfactory regular coach to Stirling, stopping in Tarbet and crossing Loch Lomond to Inversnaid and Loch Katrine. Having seen the Trossachs and Stirling, he caught the train on to Edinburgh, from where he returned by rail to England.
LEPEL AND FONTANE

a) LEPEL

Bernhard Freiherr von Lepel was born in Meppen on 27th May, 1818.50 His father, who had been in Hanoverian military service during the Napoleonic Wars, from 1813 - 15,51 but who came originally from Pomerania, resigned from active service in 1819 and bought an estate on the island of Rügen (vividly evoked by Fontane in the dedication of Jenseit des Tweed). Bernhard lost his mother when he was only four and was put in the care of a country pastor while his father was in Italy. On the latter's return they moved to Stralsund, where Lepel attended the Gymnasium for 1825 - 6. In 1827 they moved again to Mannheim and the following year Lepel accompanied his father on a journey to Rome, where his father's older brother, Generalmajor Friedrich Wilhelm von Lepel, had lived since 1816, having accompanied King Friedrich Wilhelm III's brother, Prince Heinrich, to his exile in Italy. It was here in Italy that Lapel's desire to become an artist was first roused, and the deep influence Italy had on him can be directly compared to Fontane's lasting preoccupation with Scotland. Twice he ran away from home to fulfil this desire, once in Mannheim in 1832, and then in 1835 in Berlin, where he had moved with his father in 1833. As a result he was sent to the Papagogium in Züllichau. At the age of 18 he joined the army and was to serve as lieutenant in the Kaiser-Franz-Garde-Grenadier-Regiment. He attempted to alleviate the military drudgery through artistic pursuits. On 1st December, 1839 he joined the 'Berliner Sonntagsverein', the literary club, 'Der Tunnel über der Spree', and it was shortly after this, in 1840, that he met Theodor Fontane. From this time on Lepel's friendship, as that of a military officer and member of the nobility, was vital to Fontane, but more importantly he acted as a friendly critic and mentor, "der der wichtigste und treueste Begleiter seiner Jugend werden sollte" (Nürnberger, Der frühe Fontane, p. 91). In 1840 Lepel visited his English aunt in Rome52 and this second Italian journey had a great effect on him and his work. Back in Berlin, he worked on the poems of anti-Roman-Catholic sentiment which were to appear as Lieder aus Rom (Berlin, Duncker, 1846); Fontane calls this period, 1844 - 46, "seine glücklichste Zeit"
From 1844 he had attended the Kriegsakademie, but in the autumn of 1846 he was granted six months' leave, which he spent once more with his aunt in Italy. They visited Sicily — where Lepel's poetic idol, Platen, was buried — and stayed also in Sorrento. The British heritage of his aunt, Frances Agnew, cannot have been without influence on Lepel and, furthermore, they were accompanied on the Sicilian journey by two young British girls, the first a niece of his aunt, Miss Brown, and the second a Scottish friend of the latter, the vivacious and intelligently receptive Susan Douglas Atkins. In Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig Fontane tells with affection and humour the tale of Lepel's unfulfilled love for the less interesting Miss Brown, but it is contrasted by his account of the sad mistake Lepel made in marrying his young cousin, Hedwig von Lepel, in October 1847. The marriage was unsuccessful from the start (and not helped by Miss Brown's appearance in Berlin that year) and ended in divorce. Fontane saw Lepel's continuing preoccupation with the poets Herwegh and Platen as indicative of the inevitability of this failure. Although Lepel's artistic inclinations were all geared to Italy, attention can be drawn to the fact that he also knew two other Scots ladies in Berlin, namely Miss Arthur and Miss MacPherson. The two young women, whom Fontane and Lepel had met in 1858 on their Scottish tour, arrived later that year in Berlin to learn German. Lepel wrote to Emilie Fontana of his plans to read 'The Lady of the Lake' with 'Miss Mac F.', an exercise through which both hoped to improve their proficiency in the other's language. Having served in the Danish War in the spring of 1848, Lepel resigned from the army and went to live on his now deceased father's estate by Köpenick, Schloss Bellevue. Apart from two spells of renewed active service, in 1850–51 and 1866, he devoted his time to writing poetry and drama. He remarried in 1873, Anna von Heydebreck (1834–99). He was to serve in Berlin in the offices of the Landwehrbezirk-commando and became Hauptmann der Provinzial-Invalidencompagnie in Prenzlau, where he moved in 1879. He died in Prenzlau as 'Major a. D.' on 17th May, 1885. Theodor Fontane wrote his obituary for the 'Vossische Zeitung'.
The most complete picture of Lepel comes via Fontane, firstly in Fontane's portrait of his friend in chapter eight of the 'Tunnel' section of Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig, and, secondly, in the two friends' correspondence, published in 1940. The latter reveals how highly the young Fontane valued Lepel's friendship and how in many respects Lepel acted as his mentor. Lepel was no great poet and Fontane himself was quick to recognise this, but he had an artistic flair which, if inconsistent, was undeniable: "Lepel, wie die meisten Tunnelianer, hatte kein rechtes Kompositions-talent; er hatte den dichterischen Ehrgeiz und auch die Kraft, ganz vorzügliche Strophen im einzelnen zu bilden, aber der Aufbau des Ganzen liess in den meisten Fällen allerlei zu wünschen übrig" (Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig, p. 279). Lepel's Gedichte appeared in 1866 (Berlin, Hertz); the sole edition ran to 600 copies. His poetry was admired in certain circles and Fontane himself was happy to review it favourably in 1865, while Lepel was still writing. To another contemporary reviewer, however, Lepel's poetry paled before Fontane's own, but Lepel himself would have surely admitted this. Their difference in attitude to ballad material with Scottish subject matter (albeit contemporary) can be detected in Fontane's account of his incensed reaction to Lepel's reading of his topical poem, 'Jessie Brown', in the 'Tunnel' in 1859. Fontane's indignation was fierce but genuine: Lepel's heroine was too ordinary; a mere Jessie Brown instead of Fontane's idealised conception of "das Mädchen von Lucknow", she lacked the poetry Fontane demanded of a ballad figure, and this demand indicates the gulf between Lepel, the enthusiastic dilettante, and Fontane, the true poet. It is to the credit of both of them that their friendship survived this gulf. Above all, Fontane evidently enjoyed Lepel's company: "Er war ein wirklicher Humorist, von jener feinsten Art, die meist gar nicht verstanden oder wohl gar missverstanden wird" (Ibid, p. 274). Yet Fontane also felt that Lepel's life had been "ein zwar interessantes und zeitweilig auch glückliches, im ganzen aber doch ein verfehltes" (Ibid, p. 288); since the age of 30 he had had neither profession nor vocation, and his true talents - "ein verbindliches und doch zugleich dezidiertes
Auftreten, Stattlichkeit der Erscheinung, natürliche Klugheit, Wohlwollen, Erzähler- und Rednergabe, Sprachkenntnis und vor allem die Gabe, Festlichkeiten mit Kunst und Geschmack zu inszenie-
ren" (Ibid, p. 289) — had been wasted. Knowledge of this side of his character, however, aids greatly in forming an accurate picture of the Scottish journey of 1858. The way in which Lepel's company was so valuable to Fontane is hinted at in the last letter Lepel wrote before joining his friend in London. In no way does he feel prepared for the tour, yet for the sake of Fontane, to whom Scotland meant so much, he is more than willing to forget that he would have preferred the originally proposed vacation in Salzbrunn:

Jetzt komm' ich fast als Jungfrau nach Schottland, — dann ich weiss von gar nichts; — aber an Deiner Seite werd ich hoffentlich bald mein Kränzlein ver-
liehen; indess nicht um ein anderes dafür zu gewinnen. Die Sachen, wie sehr sie mich interessiren werden, liegen mir doch zu fern, als das ich mir dort was herholen sollte. Ich würde Dir in's Gehege kommen, u. das will ich nicht. Mit Dir auf die Jagd gehn und sehn welch ein Wildpret Dir in den Schuss kommt, das soll mein Vergnügen sein. Wirft die Sache für mich ein Paar Reise-Briefe ab, so mag es sein u. Irus (63) hat mir die Spencerschen Spalten schon zu öffnen versprochen.

(Lepel to Fontane, end July 1858. F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 2, p. 228)

The letters for 'Spenerische Zeitung' never materialised, but Lepel very evidently allowed Fontane to enjoy his rôle as guide in Scotland to the full. It was no mere whim which prompted Fontane to dedicate Jenseit des Tweed to "seinem lieben Freunde und Reise-
gefährten Bernhard von Lepel".

Lapel's own artistic interpretation of the Scottish visit, expressed in fine landscape sketches, some of which have been successfully included in editions of Jenseit des Tweed, add a valuable dimension to Fontane's work. From a letter dated 30th July, 1859 it is clear that Lepel himself was more than agreeable to the idea that his illustrations should be included in an edition of Fontane's Scottish letters. In his next letter,
however, he reveals that the idea had not been his, but Mathilde von Rohr's, and that without her prompting he would have hesitated to suggest it, fearing that Fontane himself would have found the proposal inappropriate. Now, having heard Fontane's reaction, he continues:


(Lepel to Fontane, 6 - 28. 6. 1859. Ibid, p.262)

The fact that Lepel was genuinely attached to his sketches, and indeed to their subject matter, is evident from a letter which he wrote to Emilie Fontane after his return to Berlin:


(Lepel to Emilie, 4.11.1858. Ibid, p. 242)
The last point is debatable, or at least dependent on the personal interpretation of the phrases "gewissenlos" and "sehr treu". Lepel's sketches cannot be said to be more "true to life" than the illustrations in Black's Guide, but their hazy "wash" effect is unmistakably a Lepel hallmark and a product of his personal viewpoint. Lepel was never to revisit Scotland and the above mentioned album remained unsupplemented. The "Dame" to whom he gave the album was, predictably, Mathilde von Rohr who, after his death, was to pass the sketches on to Fontane. It was on receipt of this gift that Fontane was to write of the Scottish journey of thirty years previously as "eine der schönsten in meinem Leben, jedenfalls die poetischste, poetischer als Schweiz, Frankreich, Italien und alles, was ich später sah" (Fontane, letter to Mathilde von Rohr, 16.5.1888). Surely Lepel played a considerable part in this.


b) FONTANE

The life and career of Theodor Fontane have been documented and discussed at length elsewhere. It is only of relevance here to mention those aspects of his life and work which pertain to Scotland and the Scottish visit and also to provide a review of the critical research to date. In the course of such an approach a select bibliography on the subject of 'Fontane and Scotland' emerges. In addition, a review of the contemporary reception of his Scottish writings contributes towards putting Jenseit des Tweed in its place as a Scottish travel account; hitherto critics have tended to concentrate on the book from the perspective of Fontane's complete works, as an essential link between his ballad writing and
journalism on the one hand and the Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg and his novels on the other.

A brief outline of Fontane's life, concentrating on the years preceding the Scottish visit of 1858, serves as a reminder of the background to the Scottish influences experienced by Fontane. He was born Henri Théodor Fontane on 30th December, 1819 in Neuruppin and was the son of Louis Henri Fontane (1796 - 1867) and Emilie (née Labry, 1797 - 1869), both of French Huguenot extraction. In June 1827 the family moved to the Baltic port of Swinemünde, and in 1832 Fontane returned to Neuruppin to attend the Gymnasium for a year. From 1833 he attended Klöden's Gewerbeschule in Berlin and from 1836 until the end of 1839 served his apprenticeship in his father's profession as pharmacist; he was to qualify as "Apotheker erster Klasse" in 1847. It was during the 1830's in Berlin that he began to publish poems and ballads in the 'Berliner Figaro' and attended meetings of literary clubs. He moved on to Leipzig at the end of March 1841 and was to become an active member of the 'Herwegh-Klub'. The following year he worked in Dresden for several months; it was at this time, true to his liberal pre-Revolution sympathies, that he began work on the writings of contemporary English worker poets and 'Anti-Cornlaw-Rhymers'. He left Leipzig in the autumn of 1843 and from April 1844 served his year of military service as a volunteer in Lepel's regiment, during which time he was given leave to accompany a school friend on a two week holiday to England, from 25th May to 10th June. On 30th July, 1843 Lepel had introduced him as a guest to the literary club, 'Der Tunnel über der Spree', and on 29th September, 1844 Fontane was accepted as a member. A little over a year later he became engaged to Emilie Rouanet-Kummer (1824 - 1902), whom he had met in Berlin as early as 1835. They married in 1850. He gave up his career in pharmacy in 1849 and from then on worked as a full time writer and journalist; this was to prove an endless struggle, both financially and morally. In November 1851, thanks to Wilhelm von Merckel, who had secured him a post as Lektor for the Manteuffel administration the previous year, Fontane was engaged by the Prussian government in the 'Centralstelle für Presseangelegenheiten' and the next years were stamped by the
restrictions this imposed on him as a journalist. From April to September 1852 he worked in London as the correspondent of the 'Preussische- (Adler) -Zeitung'. After his return to Berlin he published, in July 1854, *Ein Sommer in London*. 1854 was also the year of his most famous ballad 'Archibald Douglas', and that year he worked on co-editing the journal 'Argo', in which much of his work on the ballad appeared. In September 1855 he was again sent to London. It was mostly an unhappy and lonely time; as a press attaché of an unpopular government, Fontane found the large German emigré community in London wary and unwelcoming, while access to English social circles seemed equally closed to him. Even the liberal Prussian ambassador, von Bunsen, though sympathetic to Fontane personally, was unable to assist him professionally, since he opposed the Manteuffel authorities for whom Fontane worked. Fontane's journalistic energies were concentrated on a series of articles and reports on British art, theatre and the press.

Moreover, Fontane's family was only with him in London for part of the time, from January to March 1856 and again from July 1857. It was only in 1857 that Fontane's salary was raised to a reasonable level; in March 1856 he gave up working for the 'Deutsch-Englische Korrespondenz' and at the end of 1857 he became a "freier Mitarbeiter" for three very different papers, the 'Kreuz-Zeitung', 'Die Zeit' and the 'Vossische Zeitung'. This at last afforded him some measure of professional leeway. (It is interesting to note that it was in the company of Gustav Friedrich Waagen, who had by then visited Scotland, that Fontane travelled to Manchester in 1857 to report on the Art Exhibition.66) Set against this background, the journey to Scotland with Lepel in August 1858 was welcome relief, an escape from the hard reality of life in London. On 15th January, 1859 Fontane returned to Berlin and began work on the *Wanderungen* (the first volume of which appeared in 1862). One year later, every Wednesday from 11th January to 14th March, he delivered the ten British lectures in Arnims Hotel unter den Linden.67 1860 and 1861 saw the publication of the last of the works pertaining directly to his time in Britain; *Aus England* and *Jenseit des Tweed* and the lecture, 'Das schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner', appeared in 1860 as did
the collection of Balladen (though the latter was dated 1861). "Die alten englischen und schottischen Balladen" was published in 1861, the lecture 'Oxford und die englischen Universitäten' the same year, the 'Shakespeare-Rede' in 1864, and in 1865 Fontane attended his last 'Tunnel' meeting. Four years later he gave up writing for the 'Kreuz-Zeitung' and from 1870 - 89 he served as theatre critic for the 'Vossische-Zeitung', a post for which his earlier familiarity with English Shakespeare productions was to prove very advantageous. In 1871 and 1873 he wrote his essays on Scott and Alexis, in 1880 the poem 'Die Brück' am Tay', 1894 Meine Kinderjahre and 1898, the year of his death, Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig. Finally, reference can be made to the 'curricula vitae' which he himself compiled at various stages of his life, from 1850 to 1884. Fontane died in Berlin on 20th September, 1898.

**FONTANE AND SCOTLAND**

Scotland occupies an interesting place in any study of Fontane's relations with Britain, since his views of the country remained essentially the same throughout his life. His attitude to England, however, changed markedly, from his early days of pro-Revolution liberal enthusiasm and historical passion to his later mood of ambivalence, caught between sharp criticism and open praise, and finally to his position in old age, as revealed especially in his correspondence with James Morris, in which he emerges as an astute and often radical commentator on dramatically changing British and Prussian world politics. In contrast Scotland remained a different world for him, evocative, exciting, even escapist, and his much quoted words to Hans Hertz on 15.4.1891, "Ich bin mit Maria Stuart zu Bett gegangen und mit Archibald Douglas aufgestanden", were never to lose their validity. Despite his French forbears, Fontane was a self-confessed "Nordlandsmensch". From the early days in Swinemünde, when he read his father's favourite Scott novels and listened to the stories of Macdonald, "mein besonderer Gönner" (Meine Kinderjahre, p. 54), the old Scots engineer from the British dredger, Scotland had earned a special place in Fontane's imagination.
Indeed, Fontane's childhood in the outward-looking Baltic port, some of whose residents were Scots who had settled at the turn of the century, can be directly compared with the early years of Johann Georg Kohl in Bremen: both boys were fascinated by the many stories of foreign lands which concerned the lives of the people around them. Had Fontane been brought up in any inland provincial town of the Mark Brandenburg, he would have experienced few, if any, contacts with abroad. A further Swinemünde link with Scotland was to present itself in the person of Frau Beda's younger son, A.W. Beda, whom Fontane was to meet again in Scotland in 1858, where he served as Prussian Consul in Leith. In the early 1840's Fontane occupied himself with the writings of the English worker poets and these included the young radical, Robert Nicoll (1814 – 1837), the Scottish born editor of the 'Leeds Times'. In the 'John Prince' essay Fontane writes of Nicoll's humble beginnings on a Highland croft; this is perhaps the only occasion prior to the appearance of 'Das Schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner' in 1860 that Fontane publicly admits to knowledge of social conditions in Scotland. When, a couple of years later, he saw his first "piece of Scotland" in the form of the Stone of Destiny in Westminster Abbey, such thoughts on the "real" Scotland were far from his mind in the face of tangible evidence of Scotland's romantic history.

Fontane's most active years as a 'Tunnel' member were marked by two Scottish influences, the first being Maria Stuart, over whose portrait he had enthused at Hampton Court, and the second Sir Walter Scott. Mary Queen of Scots had excited his imagination from an early age. In Fontane's portrait of his fellow 'Tunnel' member, Hugo von Blomberg, he writes of their shared special interest in "das Schottische, vor allem Maria Stuart" (Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig. p. 227), and Fontane's Mary Queen of Scots ballad cycle is proof of this, while Gordon-Leslie's reflections on the Mary portraits in Cécile merely underline the fact that Fontane's interest in the Scottish queen never waned. The year 1848 was to be of immense significance to Fontane, not only because it coincided with his "discovery" of Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry and Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, "Zwei Bücher, die auf Jahre
hin meine Richtung und meinen Geschmack bestimmten" (Ibid, p.163),
and which "übten unter allem den grössten Einfluss auf mich" (Die
Besten Bücher', p. 498). Fontane was no different from his con-
temporaries in his preoccupation - some might say obsession -
with Scott on the one hand and Mary Queen of Scots on the other.
As such he was a child of his time. Yet one can point to two
distinctions that can be made between Fontane and other German
Scotland enthusiasts. Firstly, while Ossian had excited the young
Fontane for a brief period - evidence of which is to be found in
his poem 'Ein Amphitheater', which Kohler describes as "der erste
und letzte Ausflug Fontanes in die Welt Ossians" (Kohler, Die
Balladendichtung im 'Tunnel', p. 171) - he soon outgrew this and
concentrated his thoughts and emotions on the characters and events
of more recent Scottish history, as presented by Shakespeare in
Macbeth, by Percy and by Scott. Secondly, Fontane's familiarity
with Scottish history (at least as portrayed in the above works)78
was far above average. He had not merely read the Waverley novels
and the Tales of a Grandfather, he had truly absorbed them, and on
the Scottish visit can scarcely have needed recourse to the copy
of Black's Guide, which Lepel had brought with him,79 to remind
him of their contents.

The Scottish visit can be seen as a major turning point in
Fontane's life. From one point of view he need never have visited
the country in person, for he expressly did not wish to see the
realities of Scotland of 1858 (which he nonetheless knew to exist)
and he needed no external stimulus to keep his "romantic" interests
alive. In other ways, however, the visit was of great significance.
Firstly, it was of undeniable journalistic use to him as potential
subject matter for a saleable publication: as early as 1851 he had
planned a Scottish visit and hoped, after his return, "Schottland
und meinen Aufenthalt daselbst zur Milchkuh für mich zu machen"
(Fontane to Lepel, 29.8.1851. F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 1, p. 366).80
Secondly, it can be seen as a convenient "farewell" to Britain, a
positive rather than negative memory of years which had brought
Fontane much that was good and bad. Thirdly, it coincided with
a turning point in Prussian history, and as such heralded new personal
circumstances for Fontane as a Prussian, just as, from a literary
point of view, Jenseit des Tweed can be seen as a transition to the
Wanderungen on the one hand and the novels on the other. The parallels are perhaps not entirely coincidental: the illness of Friedrich Wilhelm IV led to his brother, Prinz Wilhelm, the future Kaiser, taking over the regency in 1858, the year of Fontane's Scottish visit, and decision to return to a "new" life in Berlin. In 1861, when Wilhelm succeeded to the throne, Fontane published his last work directly pertaining to his years of involvement with England and Scotland, 'Die alten englischen und schottischen Balladen'. In 1862, the year of Bismarck's appointment as Chancellor, the first volume of the Wanderungen was published and Fontane's main energies from now on were concentrated on his native Mark Brandenburg and Berlin; Britain had long enjoyed political supremacy, but Prussia was now coming into its own.

As Otto Drude points out, Fontane and Lepel covered over 1,300 kilometres in fourteen days on their tour of Scotland. However enterprising, this was not unusual at the height of the summer tourist season (their holiday lasted from 9th to 24th August). Having travelled up the east coast by train, they arrived in Edinburgh and from there visited Melrose, Abbotsford and Flodden. They then travelled on by steamer up the Forth to Stirling, took a trip into the Trossachs to see Loch Katrine and, having returned to Stirling, travelled on by rail to Perth, and from there by the mail coach to Inverness. Having visited Culloden, they made their way south again via the Caledonian Canal to Fort William and Oban, visited Staffa and Iona and returned to Oban to catch the steamer to Glasgow. Before returning to Edinburgh they visited Loch Lomond and from Edinburgh they made one further day trip to Loch Leven, travelling on the newly opened railway to Kinross.
**B. FONTANE AND SCOTLAND**

**REVIEW OF THE CRITICAL RESEARCH TO DATE**

The importance of Britain to Fontane provides an almost inexhaustible topic. Quite apart from the British subject-matter of so much of his critical and literary output, Fontane himself recorded his debt to Britain in numerous references in personal correspondence and in his autobiographical works, *Meine Kinderjahre* and *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig*. Charlotte Jolles was the first to draw major critical attention to this fact in her thesis, *Theodor Fontane and England* (1947); Herbert Knorr elaborated on the subject in his thesis, *Theodor Fontane und England* (1961); much of Helmuth Nürnberg's study, *Der frühe Fontane* (1967) is naturally devoted to the influence of Britain on the writer, since it concerns the years during which all three of Fontane's visits took place; finally, Hans-Heinrich Reuter's select compilation of Fontane's writings on Britain and British affairs, *Theodor Fontane. Wanderungen durch England und Schottland* (1979 - 80), has provided a basis for continuing interest in the subject. It may be noted in passing that the subject has attracted comparatively little English criticism.

For present purposes the field of study, 'Theodor Fontane and Britain' can be divided conveniently into three: firstly, the subject, 'Theodor Fontane and England' (by which, however, many German critics mean 'Theodor Fontane and Britain'), secondly, 'Theodor Fontane and Scotland', and thirdly, 'Theodor Fontane and the Ballad'. The fact that Fontane first entered the public eye as a ballad writer and translator is perhaps the reason for the latter subject having already received the full attention of critics early in this century, while the former subjects have only received gradual attention within the last forty years. 'Theodor Fontane and England' will only be referred to here in passing, or in those instances where 'England' may be read as 'Britain' and seen to be relevant to the Scottish visit.
It is beneficial to look first at selective contemporary articles and reviews alluding to the Scottish influence on Fontane. I am indebted to the 'Theodor-Fontane-Archiv' in Potsdam for access to their collection of this critical material, which provides a valuable guide to Fontane reception. Early reviews deal with Fontane's ballad poetry. Theodor Storm, in an article on Fontane in the 'Literaturheft des deutschen Kunstblattes', of 18.10.1855, assesses Fontane's ballad art; he stresses that Fontane's ballads are "mehr Bearbeitungen als Uebersetzungen" (Op. cit., p. 86) and that, regardless of whether or not it is desirable in such an art form, Fontane's own personality and poetic sense clearly emerge from his ballads. The undeniable popularity of Fontane's ballads is attested by the critic of the 'Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland' of 19.12.1857 who, in reviewing the work of both Lepel and Fontane in 'Argo', writes of the superiority of Fontane as a poet: "er hat einen eigenthümlichen Balladen-schwung, eine Art von Balladenmelodie, die uns gewinnen und ergreifen muss" (Op. cit., p.813). The 'Bremer Sonntagsblatt' of 2.12.1860 carried a three-page article by P. J. Willatzen entitled 'Theodor Fontane als Balladendichter', a review of Fontane's collection which appeared that year. Having expressed the general public concern over the apparent lack of great writers in contemporary Germany, the critic is nonetheless full of praise for Fontane's "poetische Natur" and "die ihm innewohnende Gestaltungskraft" (Op. cit., p. 388). He praises, too, the publisher's choice of elegant octavo format for a work, "welches wahrlich keine Nippsächelchen bringt und nicht allein auf dem Büchertische der Damen einen Platz verdient und finden wird" (Ibid), a view which perhaps reflects more of the critic's own character and the contemporary attitude to the ballad form than the nature of Fontane's verse. In examining Fontane's collection more closely, he finds fault with some of the rhyme and scansion, but his overall conclusion is that Germany should be proud of such a son.

As regards Jenseit des Tweed, it is helpful to give a brief resumé of the publication history of the work. In January 1859,
in Berlin, Fontane delivered six of the chapters in lecture form, and throughout 1859 and 1860 the individual chapters of the work were published in a variety of papers and journals. Chapters I - X of the 1860 first edition appeared in the 'Vossische Zeitung' as 'Bilder und Briefe aus Schottland', chapter XII in the 'Berliner Revue', chapters XIII - XVI and XXI - XXV in Cotta's 'Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser', in Stuttgart, as 'Eine Reise ins schottische Hochland', chapters XVII - XX in the 'Neue Preussische (Kreuz-) Zeitung' as 'Das Macbeth-Land' (the title Lapel was to suggest for the whole work), chapters XXVI - XXVII likewise in the 'Kreuz-Zeitung' as 'Aus Süd-Schottland', 'Lochleven-Castle', which was mistakenly excluded from the first edition, in 'Die Presse' in Vienna, and finally the lecture, 'Das schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner', in Lewald's 'Europa - Chronik der gebildeten Welt'. It was only after considerable difficulty that Fontane found a publisher prepared to accept the work. It was published (in one edition only) by Julius Springer in Berlin in 1860, after having been refused by both Hertz and Costenoble. As regards the title Fontane finally chose, with deliberate use of the archaic form of "jenseit", it may be said that numerous critics down the years have misquoted it as 'Jenseit des Tweed'. Knowledge that Fontane expressly wanted to use the older form as being "ein bisschen apart, ohne prätentiös zu sein", does add to an understanding of the artistic intentions behind the work.

The 'Bremer Sonntagsblatt' of 6.3.1859 carried a report of one of Fontane's lectures, but the article entitled 'Stätten der Erinnerung an Maria Stuart', gives little indication of the reception of the lecture, since it is a report rather than a critique of Fontane's representation of Linlithgow, Holyrood, Edinburgh Castle and Loch Leven, and retells the stories of Rizzio's murder and Willy Douglas' part in Mary's escape from Loch Leven. The 'Vossische Zeitung' of Sunday, 8th January, 1860 carried the advertisement for Fontane's lecture series:

(Op. cit.)

If the promoter had expected information about Scotland's industrial cities, he was to be disappointed, for it was not forthcoming. It is notable that Fontane is here described as a "poetischer Führer", both a "Dichter" and a "Feuilletonist". This opinion was reiterated by the reviewer of the 'Deutsches Museum' the following year, in a review of Aus England and Balladen:

Von Theodor Fontane, einem Berliner Schriftsteller, der sich hauptsächlich durch seine Schilderungen Englands und des englischen Lebens vortheilhaft bekannt gemacht hat, liegen neuerdings zwei Werke vor ... Wie Theodor Fontane England seinen Ruf als Tourist, so verdankt er den 'Balladen', mit denen er überhaupt, wenn wir uns recht erinnern, zuerst vor die Öffentlichkeit trat, seinen Ruf als Dichter.


By the time of his return to Berlin, therefore, Fontane was not yet well known, but his skills as a travel writer and poet had already been recognised.

A few weeks earlier the 'Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland' of 19.1.1861 reviewed Jenseit des Tweed with great enthusiasm:

Je weniger wir in weitern Kreisen Schottland mit seinen landschaftlichen und culturhistorischen Eigenthümlichkeiten
und mit seinen geschichtlichen Überlieferungen und Erinnerungen kennen, um so mehr haben wir Grund, dieses Buch zur Lektüre zu empfehlen. Die hier zusammengestellten "Bilder und Briefe aus Schottland" sind von einer ungemein anziehenden Frische und Lebhaftigkeit der Auffassung, die, zugleich getragen von dem innigsten Interesse für das schottische Land, seine Romantik und seine Geschichte, den Leser besonders auch durch die lebendige, geistreiche, hin und wieder von seinem Humor belebte Darstellung fesselt und anregt. Es werden ihm hier neben einem guten Stück Landesgeschichte, die sich an einzelne vom Verfasser besuchte Orte anknüpft und, nicht selten in blutigen Zügen geschrieben, mit blutigen Erinnerungen noch heutzutage aus den Trümmern vergangener Herrlichkeit zu dem Wanderer spricht, theils anmutige romantische Bilder und culturgeschichtliche Scenen aus der Geschichte und aus dem Leben des Volkes, theils anziehende landschaftliche Schilderungen dargeboten, die reich an frischen Localfarben, zur Charakteristik des Landes dienen. Dabei unterlässt es der Verfasser auch nicht, gegenüber dem romantischen Interesse, welches die Geschichte des Volkes und das Land gewährt, auch die Kehrseiten gebührend zu beleuchten, was besonders auch in Ansehung der schottischen Sonntagsfeier der Fall ist.

(Op. cit.)

It is interesting that the critic should have singled out the Scottish Sabbath, and that he goes on to write of the accounts of Staffa and of Iona and the Early Church as especially noteworthy; none of these subjects was of particular personal interest to Fontane himself, who doubtless discussed them out of a sense of duty. Finally, the critic refers to Fontane's account of Abbotsford as being bound to disappoint "das romantische Interesse etwiger Verehrer W. Scott's" (Ibid.); the fact that it also disappointed Fontane, but did not otherwise deter him from his adulation of Scott, is scarcely appreciated. Thus the review can in some respects be seen to be more of a presentation of the work the critic would like to have read than of Fontane's Jenseit des Tweed.
Six months earlier Lepel had expressed his pleasure over the "sehr freundliche Besprechung" in the 'Vossische Zeitung' of 19.7.1860 (F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 2, p. 273). Petersen describes the said review as follows:

Die Besprechung ... erkennt die lebendige Anschaulichkeit an, in der sich von neuem die echte Dichternatur des liebenswürdigen Verfassers bewähre, und rühmt die Bevölkerung der denkwürdigen Plätze mit den grossen historischen Schatten der Vergangenheit.

(Ibid, note 312, p. 417)

Reviews of Jenseit des Tweed in 'Die Grenzboten' und 'Deutsches Museum' are discussed by Kurth-Voigt,90 and those which appeared in 'Europa', the 'Berlinerische Nachrichten vom Staats- und gelehrt en Sachen', the 'Köl nische Zeitung', Gutzkow's 'Unterhaltung am häuslichen Herd', Menzel's 'Literaturblatt' and the 'Abendblatt zur Neuen Münchener Zeitung' are dealt with by Drude.91 The articles in both the 'Deutsches Museum' and 'Europa' take the form of comparative reviews of Jenseit des Tweed and Karl Elze's Eine Frühlingsfahrt nach Edinburg.92

The posthumous publication, Aus England und Schottland, which comprises two parts, Ein Sommer in London and Jenseit des Tweed, and which appeared in Berlin in 1899, published by Fontane's son Friedrich, also attracted considerable critical attention. This fact invites speculation as to the probable success of the three volume work on Britain, the plan for which Fontane had conceived back in the 1850's but had never managed to sell.93 One can cite reviews which appeared all over the German-speaking world from December 1899 to December 1900, in 'Das literarische Echo', the 'Hamburgischer Correspondent' and the 'Hamburger Nachrichten', the 'Dresdner Journal', the 'Vossische Zeitung', the Fränkischer Kurier' in Wiesbaden, 'Die Zeit' and the 'Ostdeutsche Rundschau' in Vienna, the Frankfurter Zeitung', the 'Frankfurter Journal', 'Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte', the 'Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung', 'Der Bund' in Bern and the 'New-Yorker Staatszeitung'.

A few selective excerpts from the above reveal the mood of the German reading public at the time and the recognition, above all, of three facts: first, that while Fontane experienced the present
in England, he sought the past in Scotland, second, that awareness of this past led him to a renewed confirmation of his own country's heritage and his own patriotism, and third, that Jenseit des Tweed can be seen as the literary link to the Wanderungen, as manifested in the Forth/Havel passage of 'Von Edinburg bis Stirling'. In an article entitled 'Aus Theodor Fontanes Wanderungen', in 'Das Literarische Echo', Richard Sternfeld writes:

Da [in Jenseit des Tweed] kommt mehr das Gemüt Fontanes und seine dichterische Neigung zur Geltung, und deshalb ist der schottische Aufenthalt für seine spätere Entwicklung wichtiger, als der englische. Für eine ganze Reihe der schottischen Balladen, die ja in seiner Gedicht-Sammlung einen grossen Raum einnehmen, haben wir hier die Parallelen in Prosa; die Begeisterung für Maria Stuart, für die Douglas, für Scott und Burns, die einst so herrliche poetische Früchte tragen sollte, hat sich hier an der Liebe zur schottischen Natur, an dem Studium der schottischen Chroniken entzündet. Daher der hohe Reiz, der über diesen Schilderungen liegt, weil nicht die flüchtige Neugier des Reisenden, sondern das Herz des Poeten aus ihnen spricht. Wie hier die Beschreibung der Naturschönheiten Hand in Hand geht mit der Beobachtung der Menschen, die jetzt dies Land bewohnen, und der Vergegenwärtigung der Ereignisse, die sich einst darauf abgespielt haben – das konnte nur ein Schriftsteller geben, der, wie Fontane, in einziger Weise die Fähigkeiten des Dichters, Historikers und Realisten vereinigte.

(Op. cit., p. 400)

This assessment inclines more towards the modern view. Sternfeld makes one further important point, namely that the tendency is now to view "den ganzen Fontane", rather than seeing "the young Fontane" and "the old Fontane" as effectively separate writers.

The 'Dresdner Journal' of 30.12.1899 reads:

Immer und überall bewährt sich die jugendliche Empfänglichkeit und die frische Schilderungskunst des Verfassers ... Die Empfänglichkeit für den Zauber der Fremde hebt bei Fontane niemals die Heimatliebe und die Dankbarkeit für das Gute und Bessere der Heimat auf. Und so hat sich seine Entwicklung der Walter Scotts angeähert, von der er im Schlusskapitel
seiner schottischen Bilder sagt:
Was wäre der Ruhm Schottlands ohne die
Erscheinung Walter Scott's! ... Den
Unterschied der Zeiten in Anschlag
gebracht, gilt etwas ähnliches vom
Verhältnis Fontanes zur heimatlichen
Mark Brandenburg.

(Op. cit.)

These sentiments are echoed in the 'Vossische Zeitung' of the same
day, although the 'Vossische' critic does not imply that the Mark
is necessarily better:

Wenn er durch die alten Schlösser der
Douglas wanderte oder die Stelle suchte,
wo Fitzjames und Roderick Dhu mit ein-
der gekämpft haben, so schweiften seine
Gedanken in die ferne märkische Heimath,
und er rief sich ihre reiche Vergangen-
heit ins Gedächtniss zurück.

(Op. cit.)

Paul Seliger, in the 'Leipziger Zeitung' of 25.1.1900, stresses the
contrast between the English and Scottish sections of the book:

Herrschlt im ersten verständige, kühle
Prüfung und Abwägung vor, so kommt im
zweiten die Liebe zur Natur und zur
Vergangenheit des Volkes, wie sie sich
in Geschichte und Sage ausspricht, zu
ihrem vollen Rechte, und vielfach schon
klingen die Töne an, die er später
voller in seinen schottischen Balladen
angeschlagen hat.

(Op. cit.)

To-day the fact that most of the ballads were conceived before the
Scottish visit is considered of importance, but contemporary readers
received them as they were published, first Jenseit des Tweed, then
the Balladen.

Ernst von Wolzogen, in 'Die Zeit' of 17.3.1900, finds expression
in Jenseit des Tweed of the young Fontane, the Romantic:

Es ist der deutsche Romantiker, der sich
für seine Reise nicht etwa durch national-
ökonomische und politische, sondern durch
liebevolle geschichtliche Studien, durch
Lectura Walter Scotts und mehr noch der
alten Volksposse vorbereitet. ... Oft (besonders in den schottischen
Schilderungen) erhebt sich der Stil der
Darstellung zur Poesie, und wir hören


However, taking into account the fine irony which Fontane also displays in the work, the critic perceives evidence that this Romanticism was soon to be left behind. If Wolzogen had alluded to Fontane's brand of Romanticism, Karl Bienenstein, in a review entitled 'Ein deutscher Dichter über England', in the 'Ostdeutsche Rundschau' of 28.3.1900, is one of the first to fasten on to Fontane's controversial pronouncement that England is aristocratic, while Germany is democratic. In this light, however, Bienenstein finds little to say of Jenseit des Tweed, an attitude also adopted by Max Meyerfeld, in the 'Frankfurter Zeitung' of 29.4.1900, for whom the English section of the book is infinitely more important than the Scottish, since it deals with the vital subject, "der Mensch". The 'Leipziger Tageblatt' of 10 & 11.2.1900 detects the elements of Fontane's style which were to render him such a popular novelist in later years, while the critic of the 'Frankfurter Journal' exclaims in a manner Fontane himself might have adopted in his 1844 English diary:

Die schriftstellerischen Arbeiten eines grossen Dichters - Poesie - wider Willen!
Wie schön! Welch ein voller Akkord!
Wie tief wohlthuend! - Wie anspruchslos
und wie überreich!

(Op. cit.)

'Westermanns Illustrierte Monatshefte' notes the emergence of Fontane's Wanderungen style, "seine aussergewöhnliche Begabung für seelenvoll belebte, durch reiche historische Kenntnisse vertiefte, in leichter, anmutig plaudernder Form dargebotene Land- und Leuteschilderungen" (op. cit.). The reviewer goes on to point to a passage of which much has been made by more recent critics:

Von England und Schottland aber schlingt sich für ihn unmittelbar das Band hinüber nach Deutschland, in seine heissgeliebte Mark Brandenburg. In der schottischen Landschaft Kinross am Levensee war es, wo er sich der Wahrheit des Wortes: "Erst
die Fremde lehrt uns, was wir an der
Heimat besitzen". (Ibid.)

Above all, though much may be outdated, "der poetische Reiz, den
er den Menschen und Dingen zu geben wusste, bleibt unvergänglich"
(Ibid.). German readers should be proud that Fontane never lost
his love of his own home:

Auch aus den herrlichsten Schilderungen
englischer Geschichtsgrossen, auch aus
den schönsten Kapiteln über die land-
schaftlichen Reize des schottischen
Hochlandes klingt schon deutlich der
stolz-bescheidene Kehrreim: "Ich bin
ein Preusse", und nirgends begegnet man
jener würde- und kritiklosen Fremden-
begeisterung, der der Deutsche auf
Reisen auch heute noch so leicht ver-
fällt.

(Ibid.)

Finally, the critic of the 'Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung' of
13.12.1900 gives a more balanced view. He, too, stresses the
lasting worth of Fontane's writings, but from a poetic rather than
patriotic perspective:

Vor Allem die prächtigen und liebevollen
Schilderungen der englischen und schot-
tischen Natur, in denen gewissermassen
die Vorläufer für die 'Wanderungen durch
die Mark' gesehen werden können.
Natürlich ist es aber auch sehr
anziehend, Theodor Fontane, den wir
uns gewöhnt haben, als das Urbild eines
welterfahrenen Alten zu betrachten, hier
in frischer Jugendkraft zu sehen; wer
Augen hat zu sehen, der wird in diesem
jungen Manne bereits die Züge des Alten
erkennen, sicher aber wird jeder an dem
Bilde der tüchtigen, liebenswürdigen,
ernst strebenden Persönlichkeit die uns
in diesen Artikeln entgegentritt, seine
Freude haben.

(Op. cit.)

The significance of Scotland to Fontane as the pointer towards
the Mark, and of Jenseit des Tweed as a test for the Wanderungen,
has naturally been considered important ever since Fontane himself
alluded to it, first, in Jenseit des Tweed and shortly afterwards
in November 1861 in the foreword to the first volume of the
Wanderungen. Since this is seen as an established fact, criticism down the years has changed little in this respect. When Charlotte Jolles' edition of *Aus England und Schottland* appeared in 1963, the reviewer in the 'Stuttgarter Zeitung' of 22.2.1964, Hans-Ullrich Engel, was to come to an already familiar conclusion: "Im Lande 'Jenseits des Tweed' fand Fontane zu Deutschland" (Op.cit.).

b) RESEARCH FROM 1900

Fontane's career as a ballad writer was first studied by Carl Wegmann, whose *Theodor Fontane als Übersetzer Englischer und Schottischer Balladen* was published in 1910. This can be seen as a valuable compilation of facts concerning the history of Fontane's ballads; Wegmann provides an interpretation of each work and information on the textual sources and themes, also including facts concerning their composition, performance and reception in the 'Tunnel'. In addition, his study incorporates excerpts from the minutes of the 'Tunnel' meetings. Hans Rhyn, whose work, *Die Balladendichtung Theodor Fontanes*, followed in 1914, emphasizes the shortcomings in Wegmann's study, namely the lack of comment on Fontane's style, comparison of the ballad translations with the original ballads and, above all, a conclusion. He makes a clear distinction between Fontane's ballad translations and adaptations, and although he deals also with his original ballad-related verse, he concludes, firstly, that it was in the realm of the true ballad that Fontane shone, and secondly, that "den tiefsten Einfluss auf ihn übten doch unmittelbar die altenglischen und altschottischen Volksballaden aus. Hätte er nichts anderes gekannt als die Sammlungen von Percy und Scott, seine Meisterballaden wären wesentlich gleich geworden, wie sie geworden sind" (Rhyn, p. 207). Moreover, Rhyn sees Fontane as a herald of a new ballad form: "In der Behandlung alter Balladenstoffe ist er einer der grössten Vollender, in seinen modernen Balladen ein Bahnbrecher für Form und Inhalt" (Ibid, p. 208). Karl Meyer, in reviewing Rhyn's work, calls for a closer definition of Fontane's conception of "romantic" and this can be seen as a key factor in his attitude to Scotland and one which has occupied many
critics since. Although Münchhausen was to give a more detailed exposition of 'Archibald Douglas' in his Meisterballaden (1923) and Remak added notes on a further ballad in an article of 1938, it was Ernst Kohler's Die Balladendichtung im Berliner "Tunnel über der Spree" (1940) which finally put Fontana's ballad art in perspective. Kohler concentrates on "das glänzende Triumvirat" of the 1840's (Kohler, p. 25), Scherenberg, Strachwitz and Fontane, and shows that while Scherenberg and Strachwitz were already ballad writers when they entered the 'Tunnel', Fontane came to the ballad in the 'Tunnel' and, just as his greatest ballads would have been unthinkable without Percy and Scott, so their reception in the 'Tunnel' provided Fontane with vital encouragement and stimulus.

In discussing the influence of Britain on Fontane, Kohler comments on the fact that while the "englische Balladen" bear the least mark of Fontane's own personality, they brought him some of his greatest successes. He goes on to give an explanation of the "Romanzenzyklus 'Maria Stuart'", the three ballads of 1846, "Der sterbende Douglas", "Rizzio's Tod" and "Der irrende Bothwell", and the prologue of 1847, "Maria Stuarts Weihe". In his chapter on the 'Meisterballaden' - those written from 1848 - he stresses the importance of Percy and Scott and also of Fontane's own personal love of British history and poetry. He feels that neither Wegmann nor Rhyn are right in their apparent conclusions that all Fontane's alterations were necessarily for the better, but that Wandrey (in his Theodor Fontane of 1919) was also wrong to assume the reverse. Kohler recognises 'Archibald Douglas' (1854) as "die letzte der eigentlichen Tunnelballaden Fontanes" (Ibid, p.336), with which Fontane reached the zenith of his ballad writing career. The study also includes an appendix, providing a chronological list of Fontane's 'Tunnel' ballads and poems. There is one important ballad feature which Kohler sees to be lacking in Fontane's works, namely music. Gillian Rodger takes this point up in her article, 'Fontane's conception of the Folk Ballad' (1958), which was to be the first English study of Fontane's ballad art. She emphasises that Fontane's ballads are "folk ballads in mid-nineteenth-century dress", and doubts whether they truly belong to the ballad genre. In providing modern psychological depth they dispense with pure
narrative; moreover, Fontane played down the traditional themes of the supernatural in favour of those he himself preferred, namely the historical and tragic. But above all he ignored a vital aspect of true balladry, that of oral and musical performance. Kohler recalls that music was a folk element highly regarded by Herder. The question remains unanswered as to whether Fontane merely chose to dismiss it, or genuinely failed to appreciate its significance.

A recent study by Geoffrey Lackey, Some Aspects of Balladesque Art and their Relevance for the Novels of Theodor Fontane (1979), seeks to fill some of the remaining gaps. Although concentrating on the various interpretations of the word "balladesque" (a word commonly used in Fontane research, yet seldom with any attempt at definition), Lackey also examines the role played by the ballad in Fontane's literary development. He looks first at why Fontane came to the ballad in the first place and, in doing so, cites the influence of his father, whose love of story-telling and anecdote and remarkable memory served to rouse the young Fontane's already unusual interest in history. Lackey is the first critic to attempt objectively to come to terms with the reasons why Fontane joined the renownedly conservative 'Tunnel' during his years of strong liberal tendencies, a fact which has long proved a stumbling block for critics on both sides of the political fence. Lackey sees that Fontane had reluctantly realised that, despite his predilection for lyric poetry, he must leave it behind in order to discover that which was truly "his" art form:

It is our contention that we do not need to read an ideological shift to the right in Fontane's association with the "Tunnel", but that it is perfectly explicable by pure artistic motives: he had realised what he was not cut out for, was beginning to discover what he might be suited to, and here, offering itself to him, was a school in which to practise and to learn and to perfect himself; a school which, if not perfect, was certainly not without its merits either. If we accept this, and at the same time allow that he retained unchanged, but parallel to his artistic goals, his liberal politics, then we do not have to explain away some stubborn anomalies. (Lackey, p. 27)
Having ultimately achieved "virtuosity of technique: 'die Mache'" (Ibid, pp. 27f.), Fontane himself came to the realisation that the 'Tunnel' had offered him all it could and that he must move on. With this background established, Lackey proceeds to the main aim of his research, namely to ascertain which features of Fontane's ballads were borrowed (especially from Percy and Scott) and which were entirely original. In the course of this approach it becomes clear that the Scottish ballads did undoubtedly influence Fontane's later work and Leckey points to instances of the "balladesque" in the novels. Nonetheless, in the continued absence of a concise and satisfactory definition of "balladesque", critics should always distinguish between the two "balladesque" aspects of Fontane's novels, on the one hand those elements to be found in folk tradition and on the other those which are pure "Fontane". In all, Leckey establishes twenty-two different ballad features in Fontane's work; further, he considers that a major application of these findings to a detailed study of the novels still remains conspicuously wanting. Notwithstanding, since Kohler's thorough study and the more modern approach of both Rodger and Leckey, Fontane's debt to Scottish balladry has been well researched. With the exception of a more specialised study of the ballad by Gertrud Fischer, and Joachim Krüger's article, 'Der Tunnel über der Spree und sein Einfluss auf Theodor Fontane' (1978), the latter providing a concise survey of Fontane's dealings with the club during his twenty-one years of membership, most critics have concentrated on different aspects of the influence of Britain on Fontane.

Apart from the above detailed studies of Fontane's ballad writing, the works which preceded Joll's Theodor Fontane and England are few in number. Friedrich Schünemann was the first to contribute an article on 'Theodor Fontane and England' as early as 1915. He stresses Fontane's importance as a ballad writer and translator up to the year 1860 and writes of the influence on him of Percy, but above all of Scott. That this influence was to last a life-time is shown in the late poems, 'Walter Scotts Einzug in Abbotsford' and 'Walter Scott in WestministerAbtei'. In pointing to the references to Scott in Unwiederbringlich, Schünemann hints at the traceable influence of Scott throughout Fontane's narrative work. He underlines, too, the part Scott played in developing Fontane's style, in teaching him to create "die innige
Durchdringung von Landschaft und Begebenheit, von geschichtlichem Hintergrund und Charakter" (Schönemann, p. 670) and to find "den ausgesprochenen Sinn für die Poesie des Kulturgeschichtlichen" (Ibid.)

The fact that Jenseit des Tweed ends with a symbolic pilgrimage to Abbotsford is proof to Schönemann that Scott and Scotland were almost synonymous in Fontane's mind:

Scott hat neben mehrseitiger künstlerischer Anregung noch ein letztes für Fontane und die Deutschen seiner Zeit geleistet: 'he did the honours, for all Scotland'. (109) Auch für Fontane ist Schottland nicht ohne Scott denkbar, was seine schottischen Reisebriefe auf jeder Seite verraten.

(Ibid.)

Although Schönemann does refer to Fontane's Alexis essay, he does not seek to explore Fontane's conception of "romantisch" as expounded in that essay. Lambert Shears was to contribute to the Fontane-Scott research in 1922 with his thesis, The Influence of Walter Scott on the Novels of Theodor Fontane, but his method of drawing close parallels in plot and character between Fontane's and Scott's novels has been considered contrived by later critics. 110

S. D. Stirck, in his article, 'England and the English in the letters of Theodor Fontane' (1936), also stresses Fontane's love of Scott, especially the Tales of a Grandfather and The Heart of Midlothian and, like Schönemann, is of the opinion that although Fontane found some cause for criticism in Scott's work, his admiration for him remained.

Just as Stirck had drawn attention to Fontane's correspondence with Dr. James Morris 111 (who, incidentally, was of Scottish extraction and married to a Scotswoman), an important development in assessing Fontane's relations with Britain came in 1940 with the publication of the correspondence of Fontane and Lepel. 112 There is much reference to Scotland and matters Scottish in the letters, not only regarding its history and literature and Fontane's own works of Scottish subject-matter, but also more personal details as, for instance, Fontane's plan, expressed in a letter of 29th August, 1851, to visit Edinburgh for six months or more, 113 or Lepel's cry to Fontane: "Kommst Du denn nicht nach Schottland? Dort liegen ja Deine Stoffe!". 114

Charlotte Jolles' thesis, Theodor Fontane and England, remains
the first work to examine in any detail Fontana's relation to
Britain as a whole. To a greater or lesser extent those who have
followed her have elaborated on the points raised in her study.
She gives some valuable literary background, previously lacking in
criticisms on Fontana's writings on Britain, and makes clear that
Fontana's travel works belong in a definite tradition, while his
journalistic output in England was very much in the shadow of the
more successful Manteuffel opponents, Schlesinger and Kauffmann on
the one hand and Lothar Bucher on the other. As regards the
travel works, Jolles places Fontane in the context of his predecessors
in England, Heine and Pückler-Muskau, but more importantly in the light
of the present study, she refers to Fanny Lewald and quotes Emilie
Fontane's opinion of Lewald's recently published England und
Schottland, as expressed in a letter to her husband of 7th April,
1852. She expands, too, on the influences which urged
Fontane to visit Britain, from the North European contacts of Swine-
münde to the urge to learn in the land where Percy and Scott had
learned.

In discussing Fontane's accounts of Britain, Jolles examines
his conception of the words "realistic" and "romantic" as meaning
"modern" and "historical". While he was forced to report much
that was "realistic" in England, Fontane chose not to do so while
in Scotland, although he certainly recognised that the two can
coexist. By "romantic" Fontane also understood "poetic", and
"Scotland was for Fontane the highest expression of what he con-
sidered the poetical or the romantic in history" (Jolles, p. 82).
Jolles concludes that Jenseit des Tweed is not an "historic", but
a "poetic historic" work (Ibid, p. 91). As such she shares
Fontane's own view of Jenseit des Tweed as a companion volume
to the ballad translations and adaptations. Jolles elaborates on
Fontane's conception of "romantic" in her chapter on British litera-
ture and the stage; she later turns to Fontane's Alexis essay
and the since much quoted passage on the "falsche Romantik" of the
Romantic Movement set against the "gesunde Romantik" of Scott.
Fontane had much to learn from Scott's technique on the treatment
of history in the modern novel. Having gone on to discuss
the part played by Shakespeare in the making of Fontane as a writer,
Jolles then calls attention to the work of Willibald Alexis himself, and asks whether Scott's influence came directly from Scott or indirectly through his German imitator, Alexis. Either way, Scott was undeniably Fontane's guide through Scotland and the content of *Jenseit des Tweed* is ample proof of this. Thus Jolles forms an opinion as to the place of *Jenseit des Tweed* in Fontane's work as a whole. Echoing the views of early reviewers, she sees *Jenseit des Tweed* as complementary to *Ein Sommer in London*, since the latter is concerned primarily with the present, the former with the past, while they both look forward to the Wanderungen, in which both past and present combine. Moreover, while Fanny Lewald can find no inspiration in her own country's history, Fontane involuntarily thinks of the Mark as soon as he enters Scotland, and this is yet another pointer to the Wanderungen. It is only in Fontane's much later poem, 'Die Brück am Tay', that Jolles sees him "combining modern realism and old romantic elements" to great effect (Jolles, p. 149). Finally, having written of the 'Maria Stuart' poems and the Burns 'Jakobitenlieder', Jolles discusses some of the Scottish influences in Fontane's novels, from Effi's love of Scott novels in *Effi Briest*, to the character of Gordon-Leslie in *Cécile*, his Scottish origins, preoccupation with Mary Queen of Scots and evocation of Loch Leven ("behind it one of the most impressionable moments of Fontane's journey to Scotland", Ibid, p. 167). In conclusion Jolles writes that Fontane's Scottish journey "revived his poetical spirit with renewed vigour"; if England roused his sense of the "realistic", Scotland evoked his feeling for the "romantic" and "his essays on England and Scotland reveal clearly these two traits running parallel in Fontane's natural" (Ibid, p. 180).

The subject of the British influence on Fontane has occupied a number of critics since Jolles. In many ways Derrick Barlow's article, 'Fontane's English Journeys' (1953) acts as an antidote to the majority of the assessments of the positive influence Britain exerted on Fontane, since it takes the form of a defence of Britain in the face of Fontane's criticism. He writes of Fontane's contrasting attitudes to the Britain he encountered on his three visits, considering that he displayed "a total misappreciation of the economic development of Britain during the early days of the
Victorian era" (Barlow, p. 172). Despite many justified attacks on the hypocrisy and materialism of contemporary life in England, Barlow finds it strange that Fontane should show no apparent awareness of, for example, the religious revival of the Oxford Movement. One might extend this to include Fontane's lack of comment on the important developments in contemporary Scottish church affairs, yet at the same time Barlow fails to take into account the fact that on the one hand much of Fontane's commentary on England was cribbed from English sources (for instance the chapter of *Ein Sommer in London*, 'Das Goldne Kalb'), while on the other his commentary on church matters has since been lost. Barlow recognises that Fontane had to suffer considerable frustrations at work, especially in the first two years of his final visit, but that he did also provide a varied commentary on life in Britain and, furthermore, that he was later to come to appreciate the importance to him of the more picturesque aspects of British life. Nonetheless, his overall conclusion is that Fontane invites comparison with Heine, since both provided an "unrepresentative and much distorted picture of English life" (Ibid, p. 177). This view completely overlooks the artistry of the two writers and their very positive contribution to the genre of travel writing. As for Fontane's attitude to Scotland, Barlow writes of his early contact with Macdonald in Swinemünde, but he does not dwell on the influence of Percy and Scott, concentrating instead on the more superficial impact of the three journeys themselves. As such he detects a lack of originality in Fontane's accounts of his tours within Britain, and even though Fontane was more at home in Scotland, this was merely out of respect for the historical associations.

In contrast to Barlow's defensive stance, Herbert Knorr's detailed study, *Theodor Fontane und England*, examines in depth the poetic influences of Britain on Fontane, influences which had been further brought to light in Reuter's edition of Fontane's correspondence, *Von Dreissig bis Achtzig* (1959). Scotland features more prominently in Knorr's study, from the Swinemünde and family influences to the Percy and Scott year of 1848 and to the Scott and Alexis essays of 1871 and 1873. Knorr deals first with the three visits and the
works theyoccasioned, from journalistic to narrative, and second
with Fontane's knowledge and treatment of English literature, both
as a translator and adaptor and as a critic.\textsuperscript{125} In addition, he
draws attention to Fontane's opinion of America, to works pertaining
to Britain contained in his library—these include an edition of
Adolf Laun's translation of Burns' \textit{Lieder und Balladen} and J. S.
Moore's \textit{Pictorial Book of Ballads, Traditional and Romantic}, of
1847—and to the list of favourite books drawn up by Fontane in
1889.\textsuperscript{126} The latter list includes \textit{Macbeth}, Percy's \textit{Reliques},
Scott's \textit{Minstrelsy}, \textit{Waverley}, \textit{The Heart of Midlothian} and \textit{Quentin
Durward}, and two lives of Scott, by Felix Eberty and Karl Friedrich
Elze.\textsuperscript{127} Knorr also reproduces excerpts from various critical essays
hitherto unpublished.\textsuperscript{128}

There are various points raised by Knorr, pertaining to Fontane
and Scotland, which are new. He draws attention to two of
Fontane's letters to Lapel, which discuss his plans for writing a
Darnley tragedy (which Lapel was to discourage), and writes of the
letters mentioning the proposed visit to Edinburgh, where Fontane
hoped amongst other things to improve his English: \textsuperscript{129}

\begin{quote}
Es ist aufschlussreich, dass Fontane gerade nach Edinburg' gehen wollte. Hier wirkten
sich die in der Jugend empfangenen Lese-
eindrücke von Schottland aus, erneut ver-
stärkt durch die Beschäftigung mit dem
schottischen Volkslied- und Balladengut.
Der Plan eines Schottlandbesuches war
demnach schon gefasst, lange bevor Fontane
wirklich nach dort kam.
\end{quote}

(Knorr, Vol.1, p. 7.)

Knorr also writes of Fontane's plan at that time (1851) to give six
lectures on the subject of "englische Poesie" in order to secure
some welcome income; the first would concern 'Die Minstrels' and
the third Macpherson, Chatterton and Burns.\textsuperscript{130} Further, Knorr
stresses the fact that in 1860, the year Fontane delivered his
lectures on Scotland, his publications on Britain were still his
source of \textit{only} income. He also discusses Fontane's knowledge of the English
language. He considers it impossible to know whether Fontane read
English literature in English or German, though he quotes sources
stating that he definitely read Scott in the original and he points
out that Fontane also quoted Shakespeare in English.\textsuperscript{131}
With these points in mind it is interesting to quote the relevant passage concerning Edinburgh in the letter referred to above. Financially Fontane found himself in a precarious state at this time and felt a positive move was essential to escape the inadequacy of a "Bittstelle-Carrière":


(Fontane to Lepel, 29.8.1851. F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 1, pp. 365ff)

Neither obstacle was felt to be surmountable, however, and Fontane was to have to wait seven years for a mere two weeks in Scotland.

Knorr comes to terms with Fontane's tendency towards almost simultaneous praise and criticism in that he sees this as an innate feature of his character:

Fontane war aber kein Mensch des Entweder-Oder, und so liefen sein ganzes Leben hindurch positive und negative Bemerkungen über England nebeneinander her, oft innerhalb eines Satzes.

(Ibid, p. 37)
This leads him to Fontane's treatment of history and his attitude to Scotland. Landscape and history were to Fontane inextricably connected and in this respect Knorr sees the style of *Jenseit des Tweed* leading straight to that of the *Wanderungen*: "Landschaftsbeschreibung, stets gepaart mit historischen Anmerkungen, die gern ins Anekdotische ausgeweitet werden" (Ibid, p. 41). It is important too, that Knorr follows Jolles in pointing to certain contemporary German works on Britain with which Fontane's should be compared. Rather than claiming the similarities between Heine and Fontane, as Barlow had done, Knorr underlines their differences, and in discussing *Jenseit des Tweed*, he is the first to refer to the praise of the work in the contemporary reviews in 'Die Grenzboten' and 'Deutsches Museum', the comparison drawn with Elze's *Frühlingsfahrt nach Edinburg* and Fontane's evident knowledge of Ullrich's articles which were currently appearing in the 'Berliner Nationalzeitung' and which Fontane asked Lepel to bring with him on their holiday. Knorr emphasises the contrasting nature of Fontane's and Ullrich's accounts of Scotland. He also refers to the fact that many years later, in 1885, Fontane was still sufficiently preoccupied with Scotland to offer 'Westermans Illustrirte Monatshefte' an article on Loch Leven.

As regards the subjects of Fontane and Scott and Fontane and Scottish balladry, Knorr feels that there is little to add to existing research. He makes certain points, however, which should be noted here, for instance the differing attitudes to folk poetry of Herder and Fontane, the former's treatment of folk ballads being "Übersetzungen", while those of the latter are "Umdichtungen", whose stress is on the poetic rather than the literary historical side. He further hints at an indirect influence of the ballads in Fontane's novels, in theme, form and setting. This is also the conclusion he reaches concerning the influence of Scott on Fontane: while Fontane learnt much from Scott, the influence manifested itself in an indirect rather than a direct fashion.
dadurch Fontanes Originalität zu gefährden. Fontane wuchs an der Lektüre Scotts und wurde eigentlich dadurch erst zu dem, was er für uns in erster Linie ist: Zum Gestalter der preussischen Vergangenheit, zum Darsteller des preussischen Adels und bis zum gewissen Grade auch zum einladenden Plauderer in seinen Zeitromanen. (Ibid., vol. 1, p. 114)

Knorr devotes several pages first to Fontane's Scott essay and second to a comparison of the two writers, stressing Fontane's debt to the Tales of a Grandfather as well as the Minstrelsy and the Waverley novels and, most importantly, the fact that Scott played a vital rôle in forming Fontane's concept of "romantic".

Following Knorr's study Peter Demetz provided a detailed analysis of Fontane's debt to Scott's historical novels in his Formen des Realismus (1964). In viewing Fontane's narrative work comparatively, in the context of the contemporary European novel, the profound influence Scott had on the modern historical novel in general, and Fontane in particular, becomes all the more apparent. Demetz discusses Scott's narrative technique and theory of historicism, from both of which Fontane was to learn (and borrow) so much. He indicates features, typical of Scott, which are to be found in Fontane, for instance, the narrator's position as mediator, "die szenische Methode" of depicting character (by which the narrator takes on the rôle of dramatic commentator), the use of dialect, the presentation of "ein unvertrauter Ort" as the setting (a seemingly anachronistic world where folklore and legend, the unknown and the unexpected, predominate), the inclusion of the so-called "grüne Stellen" (the remarkable, obscure or uncanny), the neutrality of the narrator and the deliberate choice of a fictional "uncontaminated name" as a central figure, neither heroic nor historic, yet providing an essential vantage point for both narrator and reader. Fontane's perception of Scott's treatment of historical Scotland - "Scotts Schottland ist, historisch gesehen, der exemplarisch unvertraute Ort der neuen Romantradition" (Demetz, p. 34) - led him to a new perception of his own Mark Brandenburg and in this light
Demetz refers to the Loch Leven/Rheinsberg passage in the foreword to the *Wanderungen*. Demetz shows that Scott's treatment of history was complex and stylised; while he took care over meticulous documentation in his historical notes, believing this historical background to be essential explanation for character motivation, this reality is countered firstly by the Romantic elements (the "grüne Stellen" and "unvertrauter Ort") and secondly by the fictional "non-hero". Also the period in which Scott set his novels was for the most part carefully chosen, neither too distant nor too close in time. Although Demetz points to dissimilarities between Scott and Fontane in his evaluation of the individual novels, especially *Vor dem Sturm*, he sees Scott to be an undeniably vital influence on Fontane, who learnt much both from his technique and from his subject-matter, namely, Scotland.

Since Knorr's study and Demetz' examination of Fontane's debt to Scott's historical novels the subject has continued to attract attention, especially in the light of the two major Fontane studies of the 1960's, Helmuth Nürnberg's *Der frühe Fontane* (1967) and Hans-Heinrich Reuter's *Fontane* (1968). H. C. Sasse's study, in English, of Fontane's narrative work also appeared at this time (1968), as did a number of reviews he wrote for the 'Times Literary Supplement' concerning new Fontane publications. In *Victorian Visitor* (1964) Sasse writes of the importance of Scotland to Fontane: "Scotland, its landscape and its history was closest to Fontane's heart, and the pages from *Jenseit des Tweed* make up one of the finest travel books in German literature of the 19th Century" (*Op. cit.*). At a time when German interest in Fontane was reviving, he calls for more of Fontane's British writings to be translated into English. As if in answer to this, the first translation of *Jenseit des Tweed* appeared in 1965 as *Across the Tweed. Notes on Travel in Scotland, 1858*. Previously the only English translation had been Dorothy Haslam's *Journeys to England in Victoria's early days* by Theodor Fontane, 1844 - 1859 (1939); of the Scottish writings only 'The Scottish Highlands and their Inhabitants' had been included. Fontane's own unwillingness to contemplate the translation of his writings had been alluded to by Knorr. One third of *Ein Sommer in London* was admitted by
Fontane himself to be translation and, as Sir James Fergusson reveals in his introduction to Across the Tweed, much of Jenseit des Tweed was cribbed from either Scott or Robert Chambers. Having shown that Fontane's knowledge of Scottish history was inaccurate and that, furthermore, his portrayal of Scottish life was unreliable, Fergusson makes a relevant point in concluding that the work is not about Scotland, but about Fontane in Scotland and as such "it would be idle to complain that it is limited, as all travel books are, by the personality of its author" (Fergusson, p.xv). At the same time he recognises that although Fontane was in many ways true to his times as a tourist visiting the regular "romantic" sights of Scotland, the form of the work is not that of a common travel journal, such as the majority of his fellow tourists might have written, but instead a series of episodes. It was natural that Fergusson should have viewed the work from the angle of social history and it is to his credit that he also appreciates the effect of Fontane's special feuilleton style.

The studies of Nürnberg and Reuter added further valuable background information to the subject of Fontane and Scotland. In concentrating on Fontane's formative years, the subject of the British influence on the young writer naturally features predominantly in Nürnberg's work. He reviews the state of research - in his opinion overdue - and provides a useful bibliography. As regards Fontane's knowledge of contemporary German works on Britain, Nürnberg presumes that he knew Mundt's Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten as well as Pückler-Muskau and Lewald, but concludes that he knew neither Carus nor Engels, since he does not mention either writer. Besides those writers already referred to by others above, Nürnberg discusses Fontane's British writings in the light of the works of Johanna Schopenhauer, Raumer, Weerth, Rivinus, Rodenberg and others (including the emigres' 'Memoirenliteratur'), and later he is to view Ein Sommer in London with reference to the publications of Raumer, Heine, Karl Friedrich Heinrich Marx, Carus and Meyenbug.

Nürnberg agrees with Knorr that Fontane was eventually to become a true "Englandkenner". As regards Jenseit des Tweed, it
was deliberately romanticised, like the Shakespeare essay. ¹⁵³

Like Fergusson, Nürberger appreciates that the true significance of the Scottish journey lay in the intensity with which Fontane visited the scenes of history, rather than in the tourist route he followed. Fontane did not want direct experience, but fulfilment through the coming together of history and poetry. ¹⁵⁴ Finally, Nürberger also comments on the reception of Jenseit des Tweed in both Germany and Britain. ¹⁵⁵

The fact that three factors were of utmost importance in shaping Fontane's future during the 'Vormärz' years, namely the friendship with Lepel, the 'Tunnel' membership and the influence of Britain, is emphasised by Reuter. In the first book of his Fontane, ¹⁵⁶ Reuter brings together all the important Scottish literary influences, from the ballad to Shakespeare and Scott. He even refers to Fontane's admiration for Lermontov and the fact that the Russian was of Scottish extraction. Reuter examines Fontane's relations with Lepel at some length, ¹⁵⁷ showing how Lepel's stronger personality had a great effect on Fontane, whose true skills were only recognised by his friend in the 1850's. Later ¹⁵⁸ Reuter looks at Fontane's travel writings in the light of contemporary travel literature. He regards Fontane's work as presenting a marked contrast to other late Romantic travel literature through its level of impartiality, its "Unbefangenheit ... objektive Anschaulichkeit und realistische Dichte" (Reuter, Fontane, Vol. 1, p. 316). While this may not immediately seem to apply to Jenseit des Tweed, the point that Reuter goes on to make, namely that Fontane brought a new brand of subjectivity to travel literature, does apply to the Scottish tour. ¹⁵⁹ Fontane brings life to the dead and juxtaposes ballad and reality, anecdote and history and reveals his admiration for Scott's "gesunde Romantik".

Sasse's study adds nothing new as regards the influence of Scotland on Fontane's narrative work. Jolles had further examined the subject in an article the previous year, ¹⁶⁰ in which she had shown that Fontane's knowledge of Scotland is revealed in aspects of character and plot in Cécile, Allerlei Glück (for which Fontane had originally conceived the character of Fraude as being from an "englisch-schottischer Familie"), and even Der Stechlin (where Pastor Lorenzen pays homage to the achievements of James Watt). ¹⁶¹ In addition, Phillips' article on James Morris shows that Fontane discussed Scotland and Scott with the London doctor. ¹⁶²
The research since 1970 has shown that the major points have now been raised with regard to Fontane and Scotland. Three articles, by Derek Bowman, Lionel Thomas and Heide Grieve, deal with varying aspects of Scott's influence on Fontane. Bowman discussing the 1844 journey and its background and Thomas considering Fontane's position towards Alexis. Grieve stresses Fontane's fondness for Waverley, The Heart of Midlothian, The Antiquary and the Tales of a Grandfather; she also points to his ambivalent attitude to the Waverley novels and to his misinterpretation of certain aspects of Scott's treatment of history, in particular the relationship of fact and fiction in the recent 18th Century settings he portrayed in the above novels, which were to remain Fontane's favourites.

A 1976 study by Hadi, Die England-Reisen Theodor Fontanes, is of little relevance here, since its aim is to view Fontane's visits to Britain in the light of Marx and Engels, a comparison which proves awkward from many points of view.

A landmark in the history of Jenseit des Tweed arrived in 1974 with its first republication as a single volume, edited by Gotthard Erler. Four years later, in 1979, Otto Drude edited a facsimile edition of the first edition of 1860. Both editors have contributed useful introductions, the first to deal solely with Jenseit des Tweed, its conception and its effect as a literary entity. Erler reveals that the Loch Leven chapter had originally been intended for inclusion in the work and puts it in its intended place. Both editions also include the essay on the Highlands. As regards Fontane's original plan for including the latter in Jenseit des Tweed, Erler points out that Fontane was well aware that its lecture form rendered it very different from the rest of the text. Erler's essay consolidates much of what former critics had discussed regarding Fontane and Scotland, namely Fontane's thorough knowledge of Scottish culture and history, gained over decades of preoccupation with Maria Stuart, Macbeth, Scott and Ossian. This gave him a depth of knowledge seldom displayed by fellow tourists:
auch ihren Scott gelesen hatten und sich nun Jahr um Jahr durch Ruinen und Über Schlachtfelder führen liessen. Sein Wunsch, das Land Maria Stuarts, Macbeths und der Lady of the Lake von Angesicht zu sehen, war tiefer motiviert, und die Fahrt nach Edinburg wurde ihm zum Aufbruch in eine poetische Provinz.

(Erler, p. 377)

There is much truth in this and yet, as Fergusson had indicated, Fontane's knowledge of Scotland was not as thorough as it might seem superficially and did not really extend beyond the historical perspective presented by Scott and, to a lesser degree, Shakespeare and Schiller. He was certainly unusually familiar with this literary material (and his store of knowledge undoubtedly included an unaccustomed familiarity with Scott's historical notes), yet at the same time, whether he needed it or not, he did have access to additional source material during his journey. Lepel had not only brought the latest instalments of Ullrich's Reisestudien with him, but also Black's Guide to Scotland, and it is hard to believe that Fontane never once consulted the 'Picturesque Tourist' with its tempting wealth of ready romantic source material. Further, Ossian can scarcely be seen as an important influence on Fontane. Nonetheless, Erler is right to concentrate on the fact that from the outset Fontane wanted to visit one specific Scotland - the "romantic" Scotland - and since there were few visual remains of "his" Scotland, the only path open to him was to bring new life to the past. In other words, Fontane recreated a romantic Scotland in the fashion of Scott's "gesunde Romantik", and since he did so with poetic skill and imagination, he avoided the trap of sentimentality.

In commenting on the place of Jenseit des Tweed in Fontane's work as a whole, Erler sees it as "eine wichtige Fingerübung" for the Wanderungen (Ibid, p. 387), but in the light of Fontane's development as an historical journalist and writer of the 'Reisefeuilleton', Erler chooses to attach less importance to the passage in the chapter 'Von Edinburg bis Stirling', where Fontane draws the much quoted comparison between the Forth and Scotland and the Havel and the Mark, and more to the manifestation in Jenseit des Tweed of the development of Fontane's literary technique. He sees the
key passage in *Jenseit des Tweed* to be rather the point where Fontane admits to the Continental misconception of the "romantic" Scotland, in 'Ein Gang nach St. Anthony's Chapel'. Both Erler and Drude remark on Fontane's skillful use of comparison, Erler singling out Fontane's ability to extract "das Besondere, das Verborgene, das Unalltägliche" (Ibid, p. 389), and Drude commenting on the subtle mixture of description, anecdote and personal experience which Fontane uses to bring his subject matter close to his readers. Erler is anxious, too, to note that, despite his disappointments, Fontane does not completely ignore the present, but often assesses it with marked humour, thus enabling him to draw effective comparisons with history and legend all the more easily.

Drude emphasizes Fontane's debt to the existent tradition of travel literature, comparing *Jenseit des Tweed* with the works of Schopenhauer and Elze, but he also stresses the individual nature of the work. While a Scottish journey was "durchaus nicht mehr sensationell" in 1858 (Drude, p. 415), it was also natural that Fontane should want to exploit it journalistically, and a search for original style and presentation was prerequisite to this. Drude notes that although the Scottish visit can be seen as a wish-fulfilment for Fontane, his original plan for a holiday with Lepel in the summer of 1858 had been for a spa vacation at Salzbrunn, a plan which was only abandoned in favour of Scotland because of the expense.

Above all, Drude's comments add a useful historical dimension to research on *Jenseit des Tweed*. Evidently prompted by Fergusson's remarks, Drude is the first German critic to look at contemporary English travel accounts of Scotland and to see *Jenseit des Tweed* in the context of Defoe, Pennant, Gray, Johnson and Boswell, as well as in the light of the contemporary German works on Britain of Heine, Schopenhauer, Pückler and Rodenberg. He also provides a textual comparison of the treatment of the story of Lady Grange, as given first by Chambers and then by Fontane and Elze. Finally, Drude gathers information on the history of the publication and critical reception of *Jenseit des Tweed*, from the appearance of the individual chapters in 1859 to their first publication in book form in 1860, and from Friedrich Fontane's republication of the
work with *Ein Sommer in London* in 1900 to the first English translation by Brian Battershaw in 1965 and Erler's first separate German edition in 1974. As a reprint of the original 1860 publication, it is Drude's edition which has been used for the present study.

A few more recent publications also deserve mention. Joachim Krüger's article, 'Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Theodor Fontane und Fanny Lewald' (1980), offers valuable background information on aspects of the character of both writers and the importance of Lepel to Fontane, both as a friend and as a Berlin society man. Kurth-Voigt adds to the information on the publication history of *Jenseit des Tweed* in revealing the contents of a letter from Fontane to the publisher Costenoble who he hoped would accept the work. She also writes of the favourable critical reception of *Jenseit des Tweed* and notes Fontane's personal pleasure at how well his own work and Elze's complemented each other when reviewed together in the *Deutsches Museum*. Two years later, in 1983, George Gillespie's essay, 'Das Englandbild bei Fontane, Moltke und Engels', drew attention to a further German visitor to Scotland in the 1850's, Hermann Graf von Moltke.

The final contribution of true significance regarding Fontane and Scotland is Hans-Heinrich Reuter's edition of Fontane's British writings, *Wanderungen durch England und Schottland* (1979 - 80), whose second volume includes much Scottish material, namely, 'Das schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner', *Jenseit des Tweed*, certain letters relating to Scotland, the essays, 'John Prince', 'Die alten englischen und schottischen Balladen' and 'Walter Scott', and a selection of original verse and translations. In tribute to the convenience of this edition it is also used in this study as a textual source of reference. Reuter's introductory essay, while dealing with the wider subject of 'Fontane und England', gives full recognition to the importance of Scotland to Fontane. Of the Scottish visit Reuter writes: "sie wurde zu einem letzten Höhepunkt seiner Wanderjahre" (Reuter, *Wanderungen*, vol. 1, p. 6). He writes of the Swinemünde influences, Fontane's love of history, especially Mary Queen of Scots, the importance of Scott throughout
Fontane's life and work and his attraction to the ballads, the climax of the 'Tunnel' years being his success of 1854 with 'Archibald Douglas'; he comments, too, on Fontane's opinion that along with Copenhagen Edinburgh was the most beautiful city in Northern Europe. Furthermore, Reuter stresses the unusual situation in which Fontane found himself after he had given up his Manteuffel post in March 1856; he was writing for three quite different papers, the paper of the Centralstelle für Presseangelegenheiten, 'Die Zeit' (later 'Preussische Zeitung'), the liberal 'Vossische Zeitung' and the ultra-Conservative 'Neue Preussische (Kreuz-) Zeitung'. This fact alone shows the rôle which political tact had to play in Fontane's public journalistic activities at this time and it perhaps also serves to underline the release which the Scottish journey must have afforded him.

Two reviews of Reuter's publication, by Prawer and Jolles, add a final view. Jolles regrets the lack of Fontane's letters on British portrait painting and the press, in particular the letter on 'The Times', which was a vital source of Fontane's information at the time. Reminder of this fact serves to reassure the reader of Jenseit des Tweed that Fontane must indeed have been well aware of social conditions in Scotland, since the British press did not ignore the potato famines, the Clearances and the poverty. Prawer wishes Reuter had chosen a title approved by Fontane himself. Yet while he considers that the collection reveals the superficiality, discrepancies and plagiarisms of much of Fontane's pronouncements on Britain, he also approves the opportunity Reuter's collection affords the reader to trace Fontane's development. He welcomes the publication for three reasons; firstly, as a compilation of the views of an intelligent outsider, whatever his conclusions, secondly, as the evidence of the overwhelming significance of the past to Fontane, for whom travel was an inner adventure, and thirdly, as an important aid to understanding and appreciating the influences which shaped Fontane's mastery of the ballad on the one hand and the social novel on the other.

The above survey reveals that the extent of Fontane's debt to Scotland was not immediately evident to critics, who have only
gradually recognised that Scottish influences went beyond Fontane's direct literary links with the art forms of the ballad and the historical novel and that the Scottish visit itself played a vital part in shaping his artistic career. As the content of more and more of Fontane's hitherto unpublished writings has been revealed, this has become all the more evident. As regards Jenseit des Tweed, the aim of the present study is to place the work in the context both of contemporary German travel accounts of Scotland, hitherto mostly unresearched, and also of the wider socio-historical picture of Scotland as a tourist goal in the first six decades of the 19th Century. Neither of these aspects of Jenseit des Tweed has been fully examined in the above critical studies.
NOTES

1. Pseudonym Friedrich August Schulze.
2. Eg. Niemeyer p. 99, Meidinger Briefe, p. 198

3. The Brunonian system of medicine, according to which all diseases stem either from an excess of excitement or the opposite, was founded by the Scottish doctor John Brown (c. 1735 - 1788), who had served as assistant to Cullen in Edinburgh.

4. Some sources state 1806.
5. Cf. Thomas Mann's account of them in Lotte in Weimar.
7. The Valleyfield Paper Mill in Penicuik, which, from 1810 to 1814, was requisitioned by the Government and fitted up for the reception of 6,000 French prisoners - (see Groome's Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland).
9. August Gottlieb is mistakenly entered as Alfred's uncle in the Oxford Companion to German Literature (p. 581).
10. Widow of Lord William Russell (1767 - 1840), who had been murdered by his valet Courvoisier.
11. Not 1795 as given in ADB.
12. Consultation of the complete list of works given in Charlotte Moschaelis' biography of her husband reveals many of Scottish derivation or influence, viz:

All the above were published in Leipzig. In addition were two compositions without opus nos., Rondo Üb. eine bel. schottische Melodie & Six Ecossaises, both works for the piano.

13. In his England und Schottland im Jahre 1844 Carus reports on two instances when Mendelssohn featured during their stay in London; firstly at a royal dinner at Buckingham Palace, when Mendelssohn's music was played, and secondly at a Philharmonic Concert they attended at which Mendelssohn was conducting (Carus, chs. XI & XXI respectively). Later he was to describe Mendelssohn's brilliant improvisation in his Lebenserinnerungen (vol. 3, book 8, pp. 159 & 192 - 3).
14. This was written by Klingemann's son Karl in his book published 1909.
15. Friedrich Rosen, 1805 - 37, from 1828 professor of oriental languages at Kings College in London.
16. Pulszky, for instance, refers to the popularity of Raumer’s *Briefe in Meine Zeit mein Leben*, p. 149.

17. Carl Gustav Carus, incidentally, met Mrs. Austin when he was in London nine years later (see Carus, Part 1, ch. XXVIII).


19. The reference to Gistel refers to the biography of Hallberg-Broich, published in 1863, by J. Gistel.


22. She married Graf Hermann Wilhelm von Baudissin (1798 – 1891) in 1846 and her son was to become the Berlin theologian, Wilh. Friedr. Graf von Wolf.


24. He was to be delighted when his son was born on Shakespeare’s birthday, 23rd April, in 1817 and equally pleased, years later, when a grandson was born on Goethe’s birthday! (see *Lebenserinnerungen*, vol. I, p. 192).

25. G. von Kügelgen, the painter (1722 – 1820).

26. In his memoirs, while expounding the view that very few men can ever transcend their nationality, he cites Shakespeare as the sole British exception to the rule (Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen*, vol. IV, p. 52).

27. Edited by Dorothea Kuhn, Verlag Lambert Schneider, Heidelberg, 1972.


29. See bibliography in Steinhauer.

30. Steinhauer also mentions a similar refusal in 1837, to a clothier by name of Heide (Steinhauer, p. 8) – it is not clear from Fanny’s own account (Lewald, *Lebensgeschichte*, vol. II, Part 1, p. 244) whether these two incidents were in fact one and the same.

31. She gives a fine description of Mendelssohn in performance (see *Lebensgeschichte*, vol. III, pp. 201 – 2).

32. As a leader of the Democratic Left, Simon was forced to leave Germany after 1848.
34. See letter of 25.11.1851 from Johanna Kinkel to Fanny Lewald, quoted by Lewald in Zwölf Bilder nach dem Leben, pp. 13 - 14.
35. (1793 - 1865), who had translated Goethe's Zur Farbenlehre in 1840 and who became Director of the National Gallery in 1855.
36. Rellstab, too, occasionally wrote under a pseudonym - Freimund Zuschauer.
37. Wolfgang Adolph Gerle (1781 - 1846) was editor of the 'Prager Zeitung' when Rellstab visited him in 1819. He was known throughout the German-speaking world both as a journalist and as the prolific and entertaining author of many diverse works, from popular musical comedies to tragedies, fairy tales to novels, and historical and geographical fiction. Of particular interest here are his topographical and historical guides to Prague and Bohemia and above all his German translation of Georg Depping's tour of Great Britain, L'Angleterre, ou, Description Historique du Royaume Uni de la Grande-Bretagne ... Ornée de ... cartes et vues (6 vols. Paris, 1824), Grossbritannien und Irland, nach Depping (3 vols., Pesth, 1824). This work went through more than one edition and was widely read throughout the German-speaking world.
38. The first seven songs of Schubert's 'Schwanengesang' are settings of verse by Rellstab.
39. The whole of chapter 7 of volume 2 (pp. 63 - 112) deals with Jean Paul.
39a. Wilhelm Müller von Dessau (1794 - 1827), "Griechenmüller".
40. Possibly Karl der Kühne, which he had worked on in 1821 and which was published in 1824?
41. He was to translate Scott's Lives of the Novelists in 1826. (Über das Leben und die Werke der berühmtesten englischen Romandichter, 3 vols., Berlin.)
42. Empfindsame Reisen, Leipzig, 1836
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43. Although later, in October 1860, in the 'Vorwort' to Aus meinem Leben, he declared his intention to write (presumably favourably) of his association with the latter two composers in the third or fourth volumes of the autobiography, which, however, were never written, since he died the following month.
44. Later Austrian prime minister.
45. Later director of the Berlin Akademie from 1841.
46. August Petermann, from Gotha (1822 - 78).
47. There is specific mention of a Ludwig Karl von Kalckstein (1725 - 1800), Prussian General Field Mars_hal - possibly Moritz von Kalckstein's great-grandfather?
48. See Theodor Fontane, Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig, p.37. Fontane was also often together with Edgar Bauer while in England in the 1850's.

49. See Fontane, Christian Friedrich Scherenberg und das literarische Berlin von 1840 bis 1860 (Berlin, 1884).

50. Reference should be made here to a study, by Maria Riehemann, which I have unfortunately been unable to consult: Bernhard von Lepel. Sein Leben und seine Dichtungen (Diss., Münster, 1925). [Cited in Reuter, Theodor Fontane (reclam, 1969), p. 249].

51. He was wounded at Waterloo. See F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 2, p. 231.

52. She had married his uncle in 1834, only to be widowed in 1846, shortly before Lepel's visit that year.

53. Miss Atkins, who died in 1848, was later to marry the Prussian court painter Carl Ludwig Rundt. See Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig, note to p. 285. Also F/L Briefwechsel, vol.2, p. 229. Miss Brown was later to marry a British sea captain.

54. See Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig, pp. 409 - 413.

55. See F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 2, pp. 243 f., letter Lepel to Emilie of 4.11.1858, where Miss Macpherson is referred to as "Macferthon" - for ease of pronunciation by German tongues? Her name appears in the index as "Macferson".


60. See below, p. 179


62. Ibid, see note to p. 279 on differences between Fontane's and Lepel's ballad writing.

63. Irys: name taken by Wilhelm Lübke (1826 - 93) in club, 'Ellora'.


65. Especially Fontane as a novelist. See bibliographies in Jelles, Theodor Fontane (Metzler); Nürnberger, Theodor Fontane (rororo); and Reuter, Fontane (1968) and Theodor Fontana (reclam).
On the association of Fontane and Lepel with Waagen see further Fontane's letter to Lepel of 15.1.1850, on the possibility of Waagen joining the 'Tunnel' (F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 1, p. 240); also Lepel to Fontane, September 1847, in which he records meeting Waagen in Berlin (Ibid, p.80). It might be added that Lepel was also personally acquainted with Titus Ullrich (see Lepel to Fontane, December 1857, Ibid, vol. 2, p. 192) and Fanny Lewald; (see in addition to the numerous references to Lewald in F/L Briefwechsel, Krueger’s article on Lepel’s connections with Lewald, 'Fanny Lewalds Bekenntnis zur "Weltanschauung der Realität". Zu einem Brief Fanny Lewalds an Bernhard von Lepel' (in FB, vol. 4, pt. 5, 1979, pp. 392 - 9)).

See below, p. 179f. and Note 88.

Written in the years 1850, 51, 54, 62, 64, 72, 83 & 84. These are published with Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig as 'Autobiographisches' in FSW, vol. XV, pp. 430 -444.

See John Phillipps, 'James Morris, der unbekannte Freund Theodor Fontanes'.


Fontane to Ernst Gründler, 11.2.1896 (Briefe, Hanser vol.4, p. 531); letter to Hertz quoted above Ibid. pp. 112f).

See Meine Kinderjahre, p. 64, and note, p. 199.

The 'John Prince' essay was reproduced first by Knorr (Theodor Fontane and England, vol. 2, App. 2, pp. XXiff) and also included by Reuter in his 1980 publication (Reuter, Wanderungen, vol. 2, pp. 393ff).

See Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig, p.141.

Ibid, p. 137.

Cécile, ch. 16 (FSW, vol. 4, p. 219).

Of 1765 and 1802 - 3 respectively.

In addition Fontane had of course studied the historians Brodie and Hume in some depth. See esp. Fontane to Lepel, 22.11.1848, F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 1, p. 148 - 50.

See letter from Fontane to Lepel, of March 1860, in which he asks if he should return "den Black,einen Band Hume und die schöne Karte" (F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 2, p. 269).

See below, p.197

Drude, Jenseit des Tweed, p. 435.

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pp.398 - 401;
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[article entitled 'Fontanes England-Bild. Ein Modell für die "Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg"'].


85. See Erler, p. 390

86. On Fontane's correspondence with Costenoble see Kurth-Voigt, 'Zu Fontanes Jenseit des Tweed', pp. 666-8. Costenoble perhaps came to realise his mistake, for he was to bring out Richard Andrée's Vom Tweed zur Pentlandförde. Reisen in Schottland six years later.


88. See F/L Briefwechsel, vol. 2, pp. 415ff, note 302, on the British lectures and their reception.

89. See Nürnberg, Fontane (rororo), p.89.

90. Kurth-Voigt, pp.668ff. See also below, p. 206.

91. Drude, pp. 428 & 131 - 3

92. On Elze, see vol. 1. p. 104f.

93. See Fontane's letter to Henriette von Merckel of 3.4.1858, in which he outlines this plan. Volume one would contain "lauter kurze Skizzen, wie ich deren nachgerade so viele geschrieben habe"; entitled 'Bilderbuch aus England', volume two would concern the British press, art and theatre, and volume three 'Englische Balladen, alte und neue, Übersetzt von Th.F.' (Quoted in Reuter, Wanderungen, vol. I, p. 441.)
94. Also carried by the 'Düna Zeitung' of 1.3.1900.
95. See discussion in Reuter, Fontane, vol. 1, pp. 272f.
96. Opening words of the foreword to volume one of the first edition of the Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg.
97. Volume XVII of FSW.
98. See also Engel's review, 'Fontane und England', 'Stuttgarter Zeitung', 14.4.1962.
101. 'Fontane über seine Ballade "Die Jüdin"'.
102. See Kohler, ch. 4, pp. 239ff.
103. Ibid, pp. 244 - 252.
104. Ibid, pp. 263ff.
105. Ibid, see note 18, p. 270 (Conrad Wandrey, Theodor Fontane, München, 1919)
108. Spink discusses Fontane's misrepresentation of the facts in the latter poem in his article 'Fontane's Poem: "Walter Scott in Westminster-Abtei"'.
117. As expressed in a letter to Paul Heyse, 7.12.1859
(Quoted in Reuter, Wanderungen, vol. 2, p. 312).

118. On English-Scottish ballad poetry, see Jelles, pp. 97ff.,
on Walter Scott, Ibid, pp. 101ff. and on Shakespeare,
Ibid, pp. 120ff.

119. This subject has been examined above all by Demetz in his
Formen des Realismus. See below, p. 199ff.

120. Jelles, p.156.

121. Ibid, p.98.

122. Ibid, p.141.

123. Evidence that Fontane must have been well aware of the
Oxford Movement is to be found in references to it in
letters from Lepel (F/L Briefwechsel, vol.2, pp.155 & 271).

124. Theodor Fontane. Von Dreissig bis Achtzig. Sein Leben
in seinen Briefen (Leipzig, 1959, München, 1970). The
importance of Fontane's correspondence had been apparent
since the early editions of Otto Pniower and Paul Schlenther,
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an seine Freunde (2 vols. Fischer, Berlin, 1909). I have
been unable to obtain an article referred to by Knorr (vol.2
Biblio. II, p.LXXVII), namely, Ernst Schäffer, 'Auf Fontanes
Spuren in Schottland' (In: 'Welt und Wissen, Unterhaltungsbei-
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also quotes further studies of Fontane's relation with Britain
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Bertha Witt 'Fontane England und wir' (In. 'Nord und Süd' 172,
March 1920, pp. 298 - 305). [All quoted in Knorr vol. 2,
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and 'Wie Theodor Fontane das London von 1855 sah'
Also Schobess' own 'Theodor Fontane and England' (In:
'GOR Review', 1964, Heft 3, pp. 32 - 33).

125. See especially 'Fontane und die englisch-schottische
Volksdichtung', Knorr, vol.1, part II, Ac) pp. 74ff. and
'Fontane und Scott' Ibid, Bc) pp.100ff.

126. Ibid, Anhang 3, pp. LXVIIff. Later published in FSW vol.XXI/1,

127. Elze's work was published in 1864; a 2nd edn. of Eberty's
work appeared in Leipzig in 1871.
135. Ibid, pp. 46 - 7
137. This is in opposition to the view put forward by Adolf Paul in his study Der Einfluss Walter Scotts auf die epische Technik Theodor Fontanes (Breslau, 1934).
140. Demetz refers in particular to Waverley (with its telling subtitle, 'Tis Sixty Years Since') during this discussion. Heide Grieve was later to question the accuracy of Fontane's interpretation of this aspect of Scott's historicism in her article 'Scott und Fontane' (see below, p. 203).
141. Both works were followed by concise guides to Fontane's life and work by their respective authors, that by Nürnberger published by rororo in 1968, and that by Reuter published by reclam in 1969.
142. Theodor Fontane. An Introduction to the Novels and Novellen. [see below]
144. Translated by Brian Battershaw. The translation contains several inaccuracies.
146. See Knorr, vol. 1, p. 16 on Mr. Collins, whose offer to translate Ein Sommer in London was never taken up.
147. See Nürnberger, Der frühe Fontane, pp. 188f & note 33 to p. 189, referring to Fontane's letters to Emilie of 1.7.1852, 9.2. & 13.2. 1857.

142 cont. It has since been brought to my notice that this work was later withdrawn by the author and his publisher.

149. A point taken up later by Nürnberger, Fontane (rororo), p.87. In referring to Fontane's own statement to Lepel that *Jenseit des Tweed* was his "persönlichstes Buch", Nürnberger adds: "Persönlich insofern, als er ein schier unerschöpfliches historisches Detail- und Anekdotenwissen fast ohne Rücksicht auf die Vorkenntnisse und auf die Aufnahmefähigkeit der Leser ausbreitete". See also below pp. 203f.

150. See especially ch. 1 'Grundlagen und erster Befund. 1. England und englische Kultur in Fontanes Entwicklung und Weltbild. 2. Frühe Begegnungen mit Sage, Geschichte und Zeitgeschichte im Spiegel des autobiographischen Romans "Meine Kinderjahre" ... 4. Exkurs: Zum England-Bild der Deutschen und der Fontane-Literatur'; ch. 2 ... 4. 'Die erste Reise nach England ... 5... Der Weg zu Percy und Scott'; ch.4 'Die Zweite Englishe Reise ... 4 ...Weges zum Realismus unter dem Einfluss der altenglischen Balladen'; and ch.5 'Jahre in England ... 5. Vorgeschichte und Verlauf der Reise nach Schottland. "Jenseit des Tweed"'.

151. See ibid, pp. 81 – 84 on the contrasts between contemporary German writers on England and Fontane.

152. See ibid, pp. 186 – 192.


158. Ibid, Bk.2, ch.6, pp. 314ff.

159. On *Jenseit des Tweed* see ibid, pp.318 – 21.

160. Jolles, 'Und an der Themse wächst man sich anders aus als am Stechlin'. "Zum England-motiv in Fontanes Erzählwerk".

161. Ibid, pp. 177 & 187.

162. See Phillipps, p.440, in which he refers to Fontane's diary entries to that effect, dated 5.4.1855 & 20.9.1858.


164. See above, p. 199ff. Grieve sees many similarities between *Vor dem Sturm* and The Antiquary, which, as well as being Scott's most modern novel, was also one of his least successful. Nonetheless, it was important to Fontane as a bridge between the historical and the contemporary (see Grieve, pp. 305ff).

166. A phrase also used by Drude, p. 426.

167. Ibid., pp. 415 - 9 & 428 - 430.


169. See above, pp. 179ff. and notes 86 and 90.

170. Notes to vol. 2 by Regine Otto.


173. He points in particular to the letter to Henriette von Merckel referred to above, see note 93.
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