

Forging Ireland: German Travel Writing from 1785-1850

Leesa Wheatley

IRISH-GERMAN STUDIES
DEUTSCH-IRISCHE STUDIEN
LÉANN NA GEARMÁINE AGUS NA hÉIREANN

10

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Postfach 4005, 54230 Trier

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Tel. (0651) 41503, Fax 41504

Internet: www.wvttrier.de

E-mail: wvt@wvttrier.de



Figure 1: ‘Wilson’s Karte von Irland, verbessert von Heinrich Meidinger, Februar 1828’ [Wilson’s Map of Ireland, updated and improved by Heinrich Meidinger, February 1828], from Heinrich Meidinger’s *Reisen durch Großbritannien und Irland, vorzüglich in topographischer, kommerzieller und statistischer Hinsicht, 1828*

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Abbreviations

- ASI** – ‘Auszug aus einem Schreiben aus Irland’. In: *Göttingisches historisches Magazin*, 1 (1787), pp. 155-159.
- CO** – Carl Otto: *Reise durch die Schweiz, Italien, Frankreich, Großbritannien und Holland: mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Spitäler, Heilmethoden und den übrigen medicinischen Zustand dieser Länder*. Hamburg: Campe, 1825, pp. 359-424.
- CvV** – Caspar von Voght: ‘Schilderung von Irland. Bruchstücke aus dem Tagebuche eines Reisenden. Im Herbst 1794’. In: *Der Genius der Zeit. Ein Journal*, 8 (1796), pp. 566-635.
- DGZI** – Anonymous: *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland. Von einem mehrjährigen Beobachter*. In: Eduard Widenmann and Hermann Hauff (eds): *Reisen und Länderbeschreibungen der älteren und neusten Zeit*. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1835.
- EH** – Eduard Heusinger: *Europäische Bilder aus den Land- und Seefahrten eines Britischen Militärs während der Kreuzzüge gegen den Kaiser Napoleon und nach denselben. Bilder aus Deutschland, Helgoland, England, Irland*. Jena: Bran, 1841.
- FC** – Franz A. Cöllen: *Reise-Album vom 15. bis zum 22. Lebensjahr*. Bonn: n.p., 1849.
- FLvW** – Friedrich Ludwig von Wachholtz: *Aus dem Tagebuch des Generals Fr. L. von Wachholtz. Zur Geschichte der früheren Zustände der preußischen Armee und besonders des Feldzugs des Herzogs Friedrich Wilhelm von Braunschweig-Dels im Jahre 1809*. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von C. Fr. von Vechelde. Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1843, pp. 441-450.
- FvR1 (= Volume 1) / FvR2 (= Volume 2)** – Friedrich von Raumer: *England im Jahre 1835*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1836.
- FWvO** – Friedrich Wilhelm von Oppenheim: ‘Darstellung der Heilanstalten Dublin’s’. In: *Magazin der ausländischen Literatur der gesammten Heilkunde*, 12 (1826), pp. 24-95.
- HB** – Heinrich Brockhaus: *Aus den Tagebüchern von Heinrich Brockhaus*. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1884.
- HM1** – Heinrich Meidinger: *Briefe von einer Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland im Frühjahr und Sommer 1820*. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1821.
- HM2** – Heinrich Meidinger: *Reisen durch Großbritannien und Irland, vorzüglich in topographischer, kommerzieller und statistischer Hinsicht. Neuestes Handbuch für Reisende durch die 3 vereinigten Königreiche England, Schottland und Irland*, vol. 2: *Schottland und Irland, mit zwei Karten*. Frankfurt/Main: Brönnner, 1828.

HvPM – Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau: *Reisebriefe aus Irland* (1830), ed. by Therese Erler, 2nd edn. Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1979.

IvHH – Ida von Hahn-Hahn: *Von Babylon nach Jerusalem*. Mainz: Kirchheim und Schott, 1851.

JFH – Johann Friedrich Hering: *Erinnerungen eines Legionärs, oder Nachrichten von den Zügen der Deutschen Legion des Königs (von England) in England, Irland, Dänemark, der Pyrenäischen Halbinsel, Malta, Sicilien und Italien in Auszügen aus dem vollständigen Tagebuche eines Gefährten derselben*. Hanover: Helwing, 1826.

JGKL – Johann Georg Kohl: *Land und Leute der britischen Inseln. Beiträge zur Charakteristik Englands und der Engländer*, vol. 1. Dresden and Leipzig: Arnold, 1844, pp. 141-238.

JGKR1 (= Volume 1) / **JGKR2** (= Volume 2): Johann Georg Kohl: *Reisen in Irland*. 2 vols. Dresden and Leipzig: Arnold, 1843.

JML – Johann Martin Lappenberg: ‘Irland’. In: J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber: *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaft und Künste in alphabetischer Folge von genannten Schriftstellern*. Zweite Section H-N, 24. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1844, pp. 1-103.

JMvD – Johann Meerman Freyherr van Dalem: *Nachrichten von Großbritannien und Irland*. Nuremberg and Altdorf: Monath, 1789.

JV1 (= Volume 1) / **JV2** (= Volume 2) – Jakob Venedey: *Irland*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1844.

KGK – Karl Gottlob Küttner: *Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund, den Herausgeber*. Leipzig: Haug, 1785.

KJC – Knut Jungbohn Clement: *Reisen in Irland oder Irland in historischer, statistischer, politischer und socialer Beziehung*. Kiel: Bünsow, 1845.

KvH – Karl von Hailbronner: *Cartons aus der Reisemappe eines deutschen Touristen. Erstes Bändchen*. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1837, pp. 276-307.

MH – Moritz Hartmann: ‘Briefe aus Dublin’ (1850). In: *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 3. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1873, pp. 1-56.

MvD – Magdalena von Dobeneck: *Briefe und Tagebücher aus Frankreich, Irland und Italien, mit einem kleinen Anhang von Compositionen und Gedichten*. Nuremberg: Raw, 1843, pp. 40-88.

PAN – Philipp Andreas Nemnich: *Neuste Reisen durch England, Schottland und Irland, hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Produkte, Fabriken und Handlung*. Tübingen: Cotta, 1807.

SaI – Anonymous: *Skizzen aus Irland – oder Bilder aus Irlands Vergangenheit und Gegenwart von einem Wanderer*. In: Eduard Widenmann and Hermann Hauff (eds): *Reisen und Länderbeschreibungen der älteren und neusten Zeit*. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1838.

WvH – Wilhelm von Horn: *Reise durch Deutschland, Ungarn, Holland, Italien, Frankreich, Großbritannien und Irland: in Rücksicht auf medicinische und naturwissenschaftliche Institute, Armenpflege u.s.w.* Vol. 3: *Großbritannien und Irland*. Berlin: Enslin, 1832.

WW – Wilhelm Wagner: *Ueber die Medizinal-Anstalten und den jetzigen Zustand der Heilkunde in Grossbritannien und Irland; mit elf Abbildungen*. Berlin: Reimer, 1825, pp. 259-290.

1 Visiting Ireland: Introduction

Ireland as a travel destination did not come to the attention of German travellers until relatively late in the eighteenth century. Karl Gottlob Küttner's *Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund, den Herausgeber*, published in 1785, form the first book-length autoptic German travel narrative on Ireland, i.e. it is an account which was written based on an actual visit to the country and is not a translation or compilation of existing travel narratives. By way of comparison, Germans had been visiting and writing about their travels to England since the fifteenth century,¹ while Scotland and Wales, much like Ireland, remained outside the scope of German travellers' itineraries until the late eighteenth century.² By 1850, however, around thirty first-hand German-language travel accounts on Ireland had appeared in print, a considerable number given there had been none just over six decades previously. The majority and the most comprehensive of these appeared between 1830 and 1850. This poses the question as to why could Ireland not excite the interest of German travellers until the late eighteenth century and what contributed to such an increase in attention between 1830 and 1850.

The role England played in shaping and influencing German perceptions of Ireland until well into the nineteenth century should not be underestimated. Every single German travel writer who visited Ireland between 1775 and 1850 visited England first. Indeed, for many a trip to Ireland occurred almost by chance, as a kind of supplement to the intended travel account.³ At this time, Ireland was part of

1 See for example W. D. Robson-Scott: *German Travellers in England, 1400-1800*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1953.

2 See for example Tobias Zabel: *Nach Schottland also! Schottlandwahrnehmungen und Deutungen deutscher Reisender zwischen Romantik und Sachlichkeit von 1800-1870*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 2013; Alison Hiley: 'German-speaking Travellers in Scotland, 1800-1860, and Their Place in the History of European Travel Literature'. 3 vols. PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1985; for the Welsh context see Michael Maurer (ed.): *Wales. Die Entdeckung einer Landschaft und eines Volkes durch deutsche Reisende (1780-1860)*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 2014, as well as the collaborative project 'European Travellers to Wales' between Bangor University, University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, and Swansea University. This project looks primarily at German and French travel writing on Wales from 1750 - the present day: <http://etw.bangor.ac.uk/welcome#sthash.EhxUtHgN.dpuf> [accessed on 15 April 2015].

3 Cf. Eda Sagarra: 'Die 'grüne Insel' in der deutschen Reiseliteratur. Deutsche Irlandreisende von Karl Gottlob Küttner bis Heinrich Böll'. In: Hans-Wolf Jäger (ed.): *Europäisches Reisen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1992, pp. 182-195, here p. 183. To some extent, the same also applies to German visitors to Scotland, especially in the eighteenth century. Alison Hiley states that "many tours of Scotland were incorporated into tours of the British Isles, sometimes almost as an afterthought. For some the visit to Scotland was a recreational two or three weeks

Great Britain, and since the Act of Union in 1801 the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and visitors would probably have expected Ireland to be a microcosm of conditions in Britain. It was, after all, England which captured the attention of many German travel writers and intellectuals. England symbolised “the best form of government, the most progressive economic policies, the best international posture, the most interesting literature, and even the most admirable human characteristics that one can justifiably speak of ‘Anglomania’”.⁴ German political and economic life, on the other hand, was characterised by ‘Kleinstaaterei’, i.e. territorial fragmentation, which prohibited the flourishing of trade and industry as well as national integration for which England was lauded.⁵ For centuries Ireland was therefore viewed through an English lens, as a colonial appendage of Britain.⁶ This is reflected in eighteenth-century German encyclopaedias, as well as entries in ‘Staatsbeschreibungen’, ‘Universalhistorien’ and ‘Reisehandbücher’ where, if they exist at all, accounts of Ireland are embedded into accounts of ‘Großbritannien’. Usually, Ireland is dealt with on a few pages, almost like an addendum to the main article. This is evident in Anton Friedrich Büsching’s *Neue Erdbeschreibung* of 1760, for example, where the section on Ireland (although some fifteen pages) comes at the very end of a 176-page description of Great Britain, or indeed Matthias Christian Sprengel’s *Grundriss der Staatenkunde der vornehmsten europäischen Reiche* in which Ireland is dealt with on two pages within an article on Great Britain of about eighty pages.⁷ These accounts of Ireland drew their information from English and French sources. They usually take the form of a compilation of facts, figures, place names and statistics. Even well into the nineteenth century accounts

within the context of a more serious British tour”, ‘German-speaking Travellers in Scotland, 1800-1860’, vol. 1, p. 54. According to Michael Maurer, Wales, meanwhile, was often only visited in passing on the way to Ireland, or as an interesting sidetrip on the way back from Scotland to London. See: Maurer: ‘Einleitung: Wales. Die Entdeckung einer Landschaft und eines Volkes durch deutsche Reisende (1780-1860)’. In: Michael Maurer (ed.): *Wales*, pp. 7-22, here pp. 8-9.

4 Charles E. McClelland: *The German Historians and England. A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 4.

5 Cf. McClelland: *The German Historians and England*, p. 4.

6 Cf. Andreas Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1991, p. 32.

7 Anton Friedrich Büsching: *Neue Erdbeschreibung*, vol. 2: *Italien und Großbritannien*. Hamburg: Boyn, 1760, pp. 1308-1322; Mathias Christian Sprengel: *Grundriss der Staatenkunde der vornehmsten europäischen Reiche*. Halle: Hemmerde und Schwetschke, 1793, pp. 106-180; ‘Irrland’, pp. 116-117. For more examples see Gottlob Friedrich Krebel: *Die vornehmsten Europäischen Reisen [...] J. Vierter Theil, welcher Reisen durch England, Schottland, Irrland, Spanien und Portugal enthält*. Hamburg: Herold, 1791.