

A Study of the Life and Works of  
Blaze de Bury:  
A Counter-Narrative of a Transcultural  
Woman's Involvement in Nineteenth-  
Century European Politics

Rachel Margaret Egloff

This degree is awarded by Oxford Brookes University

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements of the award of Doctor of Philosophy

Submitted after examination in February 2020



## **Abstract**

This thesis presents evidence of female participation in nineteenth-century discourses on European international politics, using the case study of the writer Baroness Marie Pauline Rose Blaze de Bury (1813?–1894). It argues that examining Blaze de Bury's life and works, specifically through a transcultural lens, reveals a political stance which strives for an inclusive European identity politics whilst preserving individual cultural difference.

This thesis contributes to the expanding corpus of “forgotten” nineteenth-century texts and writers. It transcends a traditional national and gender scope by providing a counter-narrative to the discourse about women's involvement in nineteenth-century politics, focusing on the transcultural and gender-hybrid aspects of Blaze de Bury's European life and works. It includes findings from both primary archival research and historical contextualisation. Blaze de Bury's texts are placed in historical literary and non-literary contexts which reveal British perceptions of the European cultural and political atmosphere.

Furthermore, this thesis sets out a new impulse for the developing transcultural approach in Victorian literary studies, namely Blaze de Bury's engagement with politics within Europe. This study of a transcultural consciousness in Blaze de Bury's texts offers a timely contribution to the discussion of English/British/European identity by revealing her engagement with the tension between cultural homogeneity and difference within Europe. This endeavour incorporates a historical and theoretical engagement with the transcultural concept. Particular focus lies on genre-hybridity, and intertextual translation and multilingualism. This study presents not only a writer outside of the canon but also a transcultural female writer of “unfeminine” politics.



## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to Professor Nicole Pohl and Dr Tatiana Kontou for supervising this project and for offering their invaluable advice and support throughout. I am also indebted to Dr Caroline Jackson-Houlston for her encouragement and supervision at the beginning of this project.

Much inspiration for this thesis was gathered at conferences. My thanks therefore also go to the British Association for Victorian Studies, the Victorian Popular Fiction Association, and the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals.

I am grateful to the staff of the University College London special collections archives, the University of Newcastle special collections, the Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, the Western Manuscripts at the British Library, the National Portrait Gallery, the Rare Books and Manuscripts at Pennsylvania State University, the Browning Library at Baylor University, the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, the Pestalozzi Bibliotheken Zürich, and to Frank Teske of the Stadtarchiv Mainz.

I am indebted and most grateful to the Earl of Westmoreland for granting copy right permission for his ancestors' correspondence held at University College London special collections.

My thanks go to the always helpful library staff, to my supportive colleagues in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, and to the effective Graduate College at Oxford Brookes University - particularly my colleague Alison Baxter and John Eibner who kindly shared their ongoing research.

My thanks go to Dr Barbara Giroud (Oxford Brookes University) and Aurel Sieber (Hochschule der Künste Bern), who offered their expert advice on my French-to-English and German-to-English translations.

Further thanks go to my always supportive family and friends, without whose unwavering encouragement I would not have embarked on or completed this project. Florian, without all your brilliantly wonderful facets this thesis would not be what it is.

Thank you.

## **Table of Contents**

<i>Abstract</i> .....	<i>i</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i> .....	<i>iii</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i> .....	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Tables</i> .....	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Figures</i> .....	<i>v</i>
 <b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
a. Rose Blaze de Bury: ‘Eine der merkwürdigsten Persönlichkeiten’ .....	<b>1</b>
b. Transcultural Perspectives Conveyed by a Gender-Hybrid Voice .....	<b>6</b>
c. Aims, Methodology, Remarks, and Structure.....	<b>9</b>
<b>1. A Transcultural Approach and Gender Hybridity: Theory     and Terminology</b> .....	<b>21</b>
1.a. Terminology and Theory.....	<b>24</b>
1.a.i. National and Cultural .....	<b>25</b>
1.a.ii. Inter-/Multicultural, Globalism, Cosmopolitanism .....	<b>30</b>
1.a.iii. Comparative Literature and World Literature.....	<b>34</b>
1.a.iv. A Transcultural Approach and (Post-)Colonial Studies .....	<b>40</b>
1.b. The European Context .....	<b>46</b>
1.c. Women’s Writing and Gender Hybridity.....	<b>53</b>
<b>Part 1</b> .....	<b>62</b>
<b>2. Blaze de Bury: A European Political Life and Network</b> ....	<b>63</b>
2.a. Blaze de Bury: Life and Undertakings.....	<b>66</b>
2.b. Blaze de Bury: Network.....	<b>75</b>
2.c. National, Cultural, Transcultural?.....	<b>89</b>
2.c.i. British Perceptions of Germany and France .....	<b>90</b>
2.c.ii. A ‘Frenchified Englishwoman’? .....	<b>96</b>
<b>3. A ‘masculine female political <i>intrigante</i>’: The Reception of     Blaze de Bury</b> .....	<b>101</b>
3.a. Nineteenth-Century Publishing for Women.....	<b>102</b>
3.a.i Choosing Signatures: Anonymous, Pseudonymous, or Personal .....	<b>107</b>
3.b. The Reception of Blaze de Bury’s Work in the Press .....	<b>116</b>
3.b.i. Male Pseudonyms: Mildred Vernon and Léonie Vermont..	<b>118</b>
3.b.ii. Anonymous: ‘The Political Press: French, British and German’ and ‘The Austrian Empire in 1862’ .....	<b>131</b>
3.b.iii. Personal: Germania and Falkenburg .....	<b>135</b>
<b>Part 2</b> .....	<b>145</b>
<b>4. From Travel Fact to Travel Fiction: Genre Hybridity</b> .....	<b>146</b>
4.a. Blaze de Bury and Genre.....	<b>147</b>
4.a.i. Genre Hybridity .....	<b>149</b>
4.a.ii. Travel Writing and Genre Hybridity .....	<b>152</b>
4.a.iii. Women, Travel, and Genre.....	<b>154</b>
4.b. From Travel Fact to Travel Fiction?.....	<b>157</b>
4.b.i. Blaze de Bury in Germany: Travel Writing and Popular Fiction .....	<b>159</b>

4.b.ii. A Transcultural objective through Travel.....	168
<b>5. Transcultural European Texts?.....</b>	<b>178</b>
5.a. Novel of the Nation, Novel of Europe? .....	182
5.a.i. Views on the “English” Novel .....	183
5.a.ii. The “French” Novel in Britain .....	184
5.a.iii. The “German” Novel in Britain .....	188
5.a.iv. European and National Novels .....	191
5.b. Blaze de Bury’s Transcultural Novels.....	193
5.b.i. Intertextual Multilingualism and Translation in the Transcultural Novel.....	194
5.b.ii. Authorial Gender-Hybridity in the Transcultural Novel.....	203
<b>6. Britain and the Other – Britain as the Other .....</b>	<b>209</b>
6.a. Difference and Homogeneity in Europe and Empire .....	215
6.b. Fear of the Hybrid European.....	227
6.b.i. Gazing at the Oriental, the Animal, and the Supernatural Other.....	229
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>241</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>249</b>
Part 1: Blaze de Bury’s Bibliography .....	249
Part 2: Archival Resources .....	253
Part 3: General Bibliography.....	254
<i>Appendix A – Summary of Mildred Vernon.....</i>	<i>286</i>
<i>Appendix B – Summary of Léonie Vermont.....</i>	<i>288</i>
<i>Appendix C – Table of Contents of Germania.....</i>	<i>290</i>
<i>Appendix D – Summary of Falkenburg.....</i>	<i>292</i>
<i>Appendix E – Table of Blaze de Bury’s Network Corresponding to                     Figure 2.....</i>	<i>294</i>
<i>Appendix F – Further Documentation (Including Copyright                     Permissions).....</i>	<i>299</i>

### **List of Tables**

Table 1: List of Periodical Sources .....	14
Table 2: List of Archives.....	64
Table 3: List of Blaze de Bury’s French Publications and Signatures by Year of Publication .....	110
Table 4: List of Blaze de Bury’s English Publications and Signatures by Year of Publication .....	112
Table 5: Blaze’s publications for Bentley and Colburn 1846-1853 .....	116

### **List of Figures**

Figure 1: Blaze de Bury’s Movements.....	73
Figure 2: Blaze de Bury’s Network .....	78





*Von Madame Blaze de Bury muss ich sagen,  
dass Sie eine der merkwürdigsten  
Persönlichkeiten ist, welche ich während  
meines Lebens kennen gelernt habe.<sup>1</sup>*

## **Introduction**

### **a. Rose Blaze de Bury: ‘Eine der merkwürdigsten Persönlichkeiten’**

The above description was provided by Julius Fröbel, a German diplomat, journalist, and a contemporary of Blaze de Bury. Strange, charming, eccentric, versatile, meaningful, clever, unrestingly active, alarming, and remarkable are some of the multifarious adjectives used by Blaze de Bury’s acquaintances – both admirers and adversaries – to describe this extraordinary, understudied person. Little is known about Blaze de Bury’s life and works. Scholarship has neglected her. Hence, the following introductory pages will paint an initial picture of her life, work, and politics, before we engage with the transcultural and gender-hybrid aspects of her work (Introduction b), the argument (Introduction c), and the theoretical underpinning of this thesis (Chapter 1).

Baroness Marie Pauline Rose Stewart/Stuart was reportedly born in Oban, Scotland, in 1813, but next to nothing is known about her childhood and early adult life.<sup>2</sup> The rumour that she was the illegitimate child of Lord Henry Brougham, the remarkable Scottish-born liberal statesman, Lord Chancellor, and co-founder of the *Edinburgh Review* and University College London, shrouds her

---

<sup>1</sup> Julius Fröbel, *Ein Lebenslauf, Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: J. G. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1891), II, p. 93. Translation: ‘Of Madam Blaze de Bury I must say that she is one of the most remarkable\* characters I have met during my lifetime’. \*Merkwürdig, i.e. remarkable, could also be translated as strange or unusual. Translations, unless otherwise stated, are by the author (i.e. Egloff).

<sup>2</sup> Her maiden name appears in different variations including Stewart and Stuart. Rose was her preferred first name. Jacques Voisine, ‘La Baronne Blaze de Bury (1813(?) - 1894) et son rôle littéraire’, *Thesis* (Paris, Faculté des lettres de Paris, 1955), p. 10.

origins in mystery.<sup>3</sup> She first published essays in the literary and political magazines *Revue de Paris* in 1841 and *Revue des deux mondes* in 1843 under the distinctly British-sounding pseudonym Arthur Dudley.<sup>4</sup> Blaze de Bury further published five novels, travel writing, memoirs, and over fifty journal and newspaper articles, in English, French, and German.<sup>5</sup> This thesis includes the first extensive bibliography of her.<sup>6</sup> In 1844 Rose Stewart married the French musicologist Baron Henri Blaze de Bury, and adopted his name and title of nobility. Blaze de Bury travelled through Europe ceaselessly and mingled with political decision makers and literary figures right up until her death in 1894. Reports of her interventions as an agent for the English and the Austrian governments have yet to be substantiated or refuted.<sup>7</sup>

Blaze de Bury was heavily involved in politics. Commenting on this involvement, Fröbel continued his description of Blaze de Bury as follows:

[N]eben ihrer ganz ungewöhnlichen Befähigung zur Anregung und Betreibung großer Interessen im Gebiete der Politik und haute finance [fehlte es ihr] auch nicht an literarischen Talenten. Als ich eines Tages in Wien einem Ausbruch ihres Hasses gegen den Kaiser der Franzosen zuhörte und zusah – denn die Leidenschaft des Weibes machte sich nicht bloss in Worten Luft und ich habe an der Frau einen Gesichtsausdruck gesehen, der mich erschreckt hat, - sagte sie: ‘Man findet es unerklärlich, wie eine Frau

---

<sup>3</sup> Rachel Egloff, 'Blaze de Bury, Marie Pauline Rose (1813-1894)', in *The Companion to Victorian Popular Fiction*, ed. by Kevin Morrison (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2018), p. 29; Rachel Egloff, 'Blaze de Bury, Marie Pauline Rose (1813-1894)', in *Encyclopedia of Victorian Women Writers*, ed. by Lesa Scholl (London: Palgrave, forthcoming 2019).

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Meyer, *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*. 4 edn., 16 vols (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1885-1892), III, p. 681. Blaze also published in *La presse*, *Charpentier*, and *Le correspondant* in France (see Table 3).

<sup>5</sup> See Bibliography Section 1.

<sup>6</sup> There may be anonymous publications or pseudonyms, which are not yet attributed to her.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 1. Also, P. W. Clayden, *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, 2 vols (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1889), II, pp. 327-28; Fröbel, II, p. 205 and 209; Voisine, p. 126.

dazu kommt, mit Leidenschaft Politik zu treiben; aber die Leidenschaft ist persönlich! – Bei einer rechten Frau ist alles persönlich! – Persönlich jedoch oder nicht persönlich, steckte in der Frau mehr Willens- und Thatkraft, als ich in irgend einem österreichischen Staatsmanne habe entdecken [sic] können.<sup>8</sup>

With few exceptions Blaze de Bury's œuvre was political. Her journalism ranged from politically coloured to overtly political articles. Her novels, particularly her early ones, were also imbued with politics, from the politics of the family, to the local, and the international. Blaze's travel writing, too, was a loose camouflage for her political ideas. As well as utilising print to convey her politics, Blaze de Bury had direct political involvement. For example, in 1862, she turned up in Vienna, reportedly as a British agent to Lord Russell, and 'kommandierte [...] das kleine Korps' of like-minded British diplomats sent to sway Count Rechberg on the Italian Question.<sup>9</sup> Her mission was to support a strong Austria in central Europe (once reformed and allied with Britain) to counter Bismarck's policies of aggrandisement in Prussia, to oppose French-inspired revolution, and to keep an increasingly relevant Russia in check.<sup>10</sup> She travelled across Europe following a train of political meetings, and held the attention of various political decision

---

<sup>8</sup> Fröbel, II, pp. 93-94. Translation: 'Alongside her very unusual aptitude for initiating and executing great interests in the areas of politics and high finance, she did not lack literary talent. One day in Vienna I listened to and watched an outburst of her hatred towards the emperor of the French, – because the fervour of the woman did not merely vent itself in words and I saw an expression on the woman's face that alarmed me – she said: "One finds it inexplicable, how a woman can come to pursue politics with passion; but passion is personal! – With a true woman everything is personal!" – Whether personal or not, more willpower and drive for action was contained in the woman, than I have been able to detect in any Austrian statesman'.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 205, 209. Translation: 'commanded [...] a small corps'. The Italian Question is also known as the 'Roman Question' regarding papal rule over territories in the context of the *Risorgimento*.

<sup>10</sup> Jacques Droz, 'La baronne Blaze de Bury, observatrice de la politique autrichienne', in *Österreich und Europa: Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hermann Peichl and Heinrich Fichtenau (Graz, Wien, Köln: Styria Verlag, 1965), pp. 325-35 (p. 329).

makers.<sup>11</sup> Sarah Richardson posited that some political arenas ‘were exclusively masculine’.<sup>12</sup> Blaze de Bury was often in an outsider position as a British woman in a masculine hegemonic political arena in Europe. Nevertheless, she was well connected and well informed. Jaques Droz explained that

Elle a acquis grâce aux multiples relations qu’elle s’est faites en Europe, une autorité qui étonne à cette époque chez une femme: sous des traits purs et innocents se dissimule une volonté de fer, qui est servie, chez cette intrépide amazone et infatigable voyageuse, par une santé à toute épreuve.<sup>13</sup>

By further pursuing Droz’s assertion and querying Richardson’s statement, the ensuing thesis will present a counter-narrative, which claims that Blaze de Bury entered such exclusive arenas in person and in print, and had influence on European political topics perceived to be reserved for men.

Since her death in 1894 no substantial work about Blaze de Bury has been published in English.<sup>14</sup> One of the few to write about Blaze de Bury in French was Jacques Voisine who stated that ‘de cette famille, Rose Stuart, baronne Blaze de Bury, est le membre le moins connu et la personnalité la plus remarquable’.<sup>15</sup> Since then not much has changed. No full-length articles or books have examined her life or work in the English language. *The Times*, in its obituary of Blaze de Bury, wrote that:

---

<sup>11</sup> See Figure 1 in 2.a. For example, she went through Germany and Austria directly after the revolts of 1848. Also, in the 1860s she travelled between Vienna, Paris, and London in the build-up to the German unification.

<sup>12</sup> Sarah May Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Droz, p. 330. Translation: ‘She has acquired, thanks to the many relations that she has made in Europe, an authority that astonishes in a woman at this time: under pure and innocent traits is concealed a will of iron, which is aided by good health, in this fearless Amazon and indefatigable traveller’.

<sup>14</sup> For publications in French see section c in this Introduction.

<sup>15</sup> Voisine, p. 4. Translation: ‘In this family, Rose Stuart, baroness Blaze de Bury is the least well-known and the most remarkable character’.

It is impossible in this brief space to convey any satisfactory impression of the great qualities, the curiously varied acquirements, or the endowments of the highest order, which distinguished her from the women of heart and intellect of her generation. This impression has yet to be properly interpreted.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, to this day the ‘impression’ has still not been properly ‘interpreted’. Therefore, any work on this little-known author is inherently original – not least, as *The Times* suggested, because she was deemed unusual and distinct from other women in her own times. Fröbel concluded his remarks about Blaze de Bury as follows:

Durch ihre vorübergehende, aber eingreifende Beteiligung an der österreichischen Politik, [...] ist sie ein historischer Charakter geworden, auf welchen ich die Herren Geschichtsschreiber [sic] aufmerksam gemacht haben will.<sup>17</sup>

Whether intentionally or not, by specifically mentioning "Herren" Geschichtsschreiber instead of just Geschichtsschreiber the emphasis was on the men, who held the key to the canon. Furthermore, the description of Blaze de Bury as a ‘historischer Charakter’ underlines Fröbel’s admiration of her and could be read as a hint that he considered her worthy of inclusion in a male dominated field of political literature. However, since Fröbel’s assertion, few ‘writers of history’ or other scholars have been aware of this extraordinary literary and political figure. Therefore, Blaze de Bury merits recognition, not only as a surprising personality, or even as a writer outside the canon, but particularly as a female transcultural writer of perceived unfeminine European politics, as

---

<sup>16</sup> Paris Correspondent [Anon.], 'Obituary', *The Times*, 34173, 29 January 1894, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Fröbel, II, pp. 93-94. Translation: ‘Through her temporary but invasive participation in Austrian politics [...], she has become a historic character, of whom I want to have made the gentleman\* writers of history aware’. \*Herren does not entail the same social implications as gentleman in Britain.

will be shown in the following section. Having sketched out Blaze de Bury's biographical cornerstones and her reception as 'distinct' from other women of her day, let us turn to a snapshot of her transcultural written work, before laying out the argument of this thesis.

## **b. Transcultural Perspectives Conveyed by a Gender-Hybrid Voice**

Blaz journeyed outside of Britain, described other realities in her work, and, through her texts as well as her first-hand advocacy, brought these other worlds into Britain's homes, political circles, and intellectual spaces. In her preface to *Germania* (1850), Blaze wrote: 'It is daily more and more affirmed, that in England we care nothing for what passes upon the Continent'.<sup>18</sup> She went on to criticise this lack of interest on England's behalf and chastised the English reader for their perceived superiority:

that the more grave events become, the more we seem to find a sort of proud pleasure in announcing to the world our satisfaction at our own ignorance, and our utter indifference to whatever may happen to our neighbours.<sup>19</sup>

This passage struck right at the core of Blaze de Bury's concerns for Britain and Europe as a whole: namely a lack of mutual understanding within Europe, and imperial feelings of superiority in Britain.<sup>20</sup> This 'commitment to an open conversation with the Other's culture and the acknowledgement that cultures need to be dealt with and understood' lies at the heart of a transcultural attitude.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Blaze decentered national/cultural hierarchical

---

<sup>18</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850), I, p. ix.

<sup>19</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850), I, p. ix.

<sup>20</sup> Discussion of the terms England and Britain in l.c.

<sup>21</sup> Arianna Dagnino, *Transcultural Writers and Novels of in the Age of Global Mobility* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press 2015), p. 165.

perceptions by describing how England was different to the 'Continent', which in turn was different to the rest of the 'world'. Because England announced its feelings to the world, England was perhaps being portrayed as striking up more of an affinity with the world than with the Continent. However, according to Blaze, the Continent, as England's 'neighbour', should perhaps, due to geography and greater shared history, have been just as close, if not closer, to England than the rest of the world (i.e. the [British] Empire). This tension in the identity affiliation of Britain to other national/cultural entities foreshadows a recurring theme in much of Blaze's work.

The title of her first novel had two segments. The second segment described the setting, namely *A Tale of Parisian Life in the last Days of the Monarchy*, which suggested a book on France (i.e. Parisian life with French characters). However, this expectation was inverted by the first segment of the title, *Mildred Vernon*, the heroine of the story with an Anglo-Saxon name. Already in the title there was an unexpected and as yet unexplained apposition of Britain and France.<sup>22</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah warned against cultural relativism as it would render 'conversation between us [...] pointless'.<sup>23</sup> Avoiding cultural relativism, Blaze's juxtaposition underlined cultural difference, whilst at the same time uniting them in one heading. This exemplifies how Blaze recognised cultural differences but placed these two distinct nations/cultures into a new and related light, for her British reader.

Below the title, Blaze de Bury's epigraph to the novel read as follows:

You're not a moral people and you know it,

---

<sup>22</sup> This was further complicated by 'the Monarchy'. The question arises: which Monarchy? The two seemingly final days of the Bourbon monarchy in 1792 or March 1815? Or the more recent final days of Bourbon rule in 1830 or of Orléans' rule in February 1848? It turned out to be the latter.

<sup>23</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006), p. 31.

Without the aid of too sincere a poet.<sup>24</sup>

The lines were taken from Lord George Gordon Byron's satiric poem *Don Juan* (1819-24). The quote not only introduced two main themes of the novel, namely morality and the peoples of Europe, but also profiled a literary work known throughout Europe, based on the transnationally shared legend of Don Juan. Furthermore, the epic poem was one of international travel. Born in Seville, Don Juan sailed from Cadiz to Greece from whence he was shipped by pirates to Constantinople only to be sent to St Petersburg as a hero during the Russo-Turkish war, before finally settling in England. Cultures meet, in love and/or in conflict, but the reciprocal understanding between different cultures and religions is paramount to the tale.<sup>25</sup> In the preface to *Mildred Vernon*, Blaze declared: 'Let no one imagine that, [...] the lines I have chosen for my epigraph are addressed to the French nation'; they (like Byron's original) were an address to the British.<sup>26</sup> By quoting Byron's *Don Juan*, Blaze de Bury confronted British readers with their prejudices and feelings of moral superiority by inverting the expected cultural stereotypes of Britain and France.

Similarly, Blaze instrumentalised the epigraph to indicate another nonconforming inversion, namely that of gender roles. Byron's 'epic satire' did not use the standard version of the legend.<sup>27</sup> To a degree, the tale is reversed, so that Don Juan is not primarily a womaniser but instead is himself easily seduced by women. Furthermore, at one point Don Juan conceals himself from his

---

<sup>24</sup> George Gordon Byron, *Don Juan* (London: Penguin Books, 1973 [1819-1824]), p. 418. (Canto XI, stanza 87, line 7), quoted in Rose Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1848), I.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Stock, *The Shelley-Byron Circle and the Idea of Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Madeleine Callaghan, "'Forgive my Folly': Byron's Divided Nationality", in *Byron and Latin Culture: Selected Proceedings of the 37th International Byron Society Conference*, ed. by Peter Cochran (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 208-16; Charles Donelan, *Romanticism and Male Fantasy in Byron's Don Juan: A Marketable Vice* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 176-77.

<sup>26</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. i.

<sup>27</sup> Byron, p. 495. (Canto XIV, stanza 99, line 6).



pursuers in a harem disguised as a woman.<sup>28</sup> This partial inversion of gender expectations prefigured what would later be reflected in the novel *Mildred Vernon* as well as some of Blaze's other work, and also in her own personal experience.

Furthermore, the tale of Don Juan has been adapted into various genres including dramas, novels, poems, opera, ballet, painting, and more recently film. This genre hybridity and the translational nature of Don Juan exemplified such power strategies Blaze would use in many of her own texts.<sup>29</sup> She suggested, underlined by the epigraph, that there need not be an eliminating solution to competing identities of cultural or gender difference if an overarching transcultural and gender-hybrid view is adopted – for example through genre hybridity and translation. This message, which shines through in Blaze de Bury's texts as well as in her life, is considered in the following aims, objectives, and argument of this thesis.<sup>30</sup>

### **c. Aims, Methodology, Remarks, and Structure**

This thesis argues that examining the transcultural aspects of Blaze de Bury's life and works, reveals a political stance which strives for an inclusive European politics whilst preserving individual cultural difference. Examining this stance contributes to the timely discussions of English/British/European identity. Blaze's views on increased differentiation within Europe, and her advocacy of more introspection about Britishness, cannot eradicate, but can help mitigate, the ongoing tension between European cultural difference and homogeneity.

This thesis sets out a new focus for the developing field of transcultural approaches in Victorian literary studies, namely Blaze's engagement with politics amongst Europe's powerful

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. (Canto VI).

<sup>29</sup> *Germania*'s epigraph – an extract of a Juan Donoso Cortés speech – was printed both in Spanish and in English translation.

<sup>30</sup> From here on Baroness Marie Pauline Rose Blaze de Bury will also be referred to as Blaze.

nations. It uncovers her engagement with the tension between cultural homogeneity and difference within Europe; an engagement which can prevent the eradication of cultural difference. This entails a consideration of early- to mid-nineteenth-century political thought on European and cultural identity, and Blaze's place within it. It further demands an engagement with theories on transcultural writers and texts and a discussion of how this applies retrospectively to Blaze. Particular focus will lie on genre hybridity (in particular in travel reporting and in national literatures), and intertextual translation and multilingualism.<sup>31</sup>

Part 1 of this thesis poses the questions: Who was Blaze de Bury and what did she write? This thesis makes a new contribution to the expanding corpus of "forgotten" nineteenth-century texts and writers, and feeds into continuing efforts, championed by second-wave feminist literary critics in the 1970s, of re-canonising women writers.<sup>32</sup> However, this thesis also adopts an original contemporary recuperative lens.<sup>33</sup> One of the 'greatest challenges' in ongoing research on women's literature 'is to transcend the customary national scope and opt for a broader, international approach'.<sup>34</sup> This

---

<sup>31</sup> See 1.b. for a theoretical underpinning of these claims.

<sup>32</sup> The ground-breaking work of Elaine Showalter, and Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar spearheaded this movement. Particularly concerning nineteenth-century women writers. Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977); Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979). More recently Mario Valdés referred to this as the 'black holes' of literary history and Henriette Partzsch referred to this as 'salvaging' authors and texts from the 'garbage vortex' of literary history. Mario Valdés, 'Rethinking the History of Literary History', in *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory*, ed. by Linda Hutcheon and Mario Valdés (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 63-115 (p. 65); Henriette Partzsch, 'Danger, You Are Entering the Garbage Vortex!: Salvaging the History of Women's Participation in European Literary Culture', *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 25.4 (2017), 334-39. For this thesis' contemporary transcultural and gender-hybrid lens see Chapter 1.

<sup>33</sup> This contemporary de-familiarising lens avoids 'trying to fit our newly collected pieces into an already existing structure' (whilst nevertheless examining historical context and network links which happen to include canonised authors). Partzsch, p. 336.

<sup>34</sup> *Women Writing Back / Writing Women Back: Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era*, ed. by Anke Gilleir, Alicia C. Montoya, and Suzan van Dijk (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 3, which has a transnational focus.

thesis transcends the traditional national scope by providing a counter-narrative to the young and growing discourse about women's involvement in nineteenth-century European politics. It does so by focusing on the transcultural and gender-hybrid aspects of Blaze's life and works.<sup>35</sup> It presents a recuperative study of Blaze by concentrating on her life, her network, as well as her reception in the British press, within the mid-nineteenth-century context. This calls not only for textual analysis, but also for archival research and historical contextualisation.<sup>36</sup>

A second question emerges from working with these nineteenth-century contextual (press and archival) materials. Namely, what can the study of Blaze de Bury's texts in light of her transcultural views bring to the discussion of English/British/European identity? To answer this question, Part 2 of this thesis examines Blaze's published works. The central focus lies on four of her works: *Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy* (1848), *Léonie Vermont: A Story of the Present Time* (1849), *Germania: its Courts, Camps and People* (1850), and *Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine* (1851).<sup>37</sup> The rationale for selecting these texts is: 1) They are centred around relations between Britain and other European areas. 2) They are written and published within four years of one another (i.e. within similar historical contexts). 3) They include both fiction and non-fiction, enabling a broader insight into Blaze's transcultural awareness and gender hybridity. 4) The period in which they were written was a time of transition (both politically/ideologically in

---

<sup>35</sup> A recent contribution to recuperating women in international politics was *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, ed. by Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>36</sup> See Introduction section c. for methodology.

<sup>37</sup> These short titles will be used: *Mildred Vernon*, *Léonie Vermont*, *Germania*, and *Falkenburg*. Blaze did a French translation of *Germania* herself. Ludwig von Alvensleben did a German translation. Rose Blaze de Bury, Blaze de Bury to Richard Bentley, 29 January 1851, *Penn State University*, MS Special Collections: Blaze de Bury letters to Dear Sir, 1849-1851, 3453. (Penn State University Library dates this letter 'after 1851' but it must be in 1851 as the translation was published that year).

Europe and in the Victorian literary arena (i.e. rise of the novel; edging out women)). Should the reader be unfamiliar with the four central works under discussion, it is advised that they read the short summaries in Appendices A-D.

Chapter 1 will discuss the key terms – transcultural and gender-hybrid – on a definitional level, will elucidate how they were forged as theoretical constructs, and how they will be used in connection with Blaze’s texts. We will briefly consider late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century (political) thought on what we would call transcultural today. This will locate Blaze’s position within such debates, before moving on to consider the emergence of the transcultural concept, particularly in relation to the transnational concept, and (post-)colonial studies (1.a.), specifically in connection within a nineteenth-century European setting (1.b.), and in its contemporary usages when considering gender hybridity and women’s writing (section 1.c.).

The methodological rationale for the recuperative study in Part 1 is the lack of previous work on Blaze de Bury. No comprehensive works about either Blaze’s life or œuvre exists. In France, some selected information about her has been gathered and published. Blaze’s great-niece Marie-Louise Pailleron wrote a few short pieces in French about specific journeys the Blaze de Bury family took.<sup>38</sup> They are, however, lacking in documented evidence, as much is based on personal memory. A more scholarly and holistic attempt to document Blaze’s life in French was made in 1955 by Jacques Voisine, whilst Jacques Droz compiled a chapter on her, focusing particularly on her endeavours in Austria.<sup>39</sup> However, save a few

---

<sup>38</sup> Marie-Louise Pailleron, 'Les Blaze de Bury en l'autriche', *La revue de Paris*, (July 1922), 126-52; Marie-Louise Pailleron, *François Buloz et ses amis*, 4 vols (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), I; Marie-Louise Pailleron, 'François Buloz et ses amis au temps du Second Empire: Henri Blaze de Bury et la Baronne Rose', *Revue des deux mondes*, 5 (1921), 100-36.

<sup>39</sup> Although the title of Voisine’s doctoral thesis was *La Baronne Blaze de Bury (1813(?) – 1894) et son rôle littéraire*, the focus of his work was on the lives of both Blaze and her husband. His literary attention was on Blaze’s French fictional, travel, and political writing. Voisine seems to have been unaware of some of her

paragraphs in a small number of anthologies and indices, nothing substantial has been published in the English language about this fascinating woman.<sup>40</sup>

The combined focus on the life and works of Blaze calls for both textual and exploratory archival approaches. Blaze's texts will be framed by historical literary and non-literary contexts, or co-texts in Greenblatt's terminology, which describe the European cultural and political atmosphere.<sup>41</sup> This thesis focuses on four main texts. Three of them were published as novels and one as travel writing, although these genre labels are not entirely accurate. The following chapters will discuss genre hybridity with regard to individual texts, working with both fiction and non-fiction, novels, travel writing, political commentary, some (literary) journalism, and the often-blurred lines between them.

Periodical reviews of Blaze de Bury's work (Chapter 3) were considered for further analytical analysis if they were 50 words or more and if they included some evaluative criticism (i.e. if they were not just advertisements or summaries of Blaze's work).<sup>42</sup> The following sources were consulted and yielded results:

---

English publications (including the novel *Léonie Vermont*). Voisine; Droz; Jacques Voisine, 'La baronne Blaze de Bury (1813-1894) et ses amitiés cosmopolites. Avec des documents inédits', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 31 (1957), 229-53; *Le dernier Alfieri: Lettres inédites du Sénateur Carlo Alfieri di Sostegno à la Baronne Blaze de Bury 1889-1893*, ed. by Jacques Voisine and Felice Del Beccaro (Lille: Université de Lille, 1960).

<sup>40</sup> The author has previously published on Blaze: Rachel Egloff, 'Rose Blaze de Bury and the Nineteenth-Century World of Publishing', *Mesh: The Journal for Undergraduate Work Across English Studies*, 1.2 (2017), 2-15, <<https://www.integratingenglish.com/mesh-journal>> [accessed 1 September 2017]; Rachel Egloff, 'Blaze de Bury, Marie Pauline Rose (1813-1894)', in *The Companion to Victorian Popular Fiction*, ed. by Kevin Morrison (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2018), p. 29; Rachel Egloff, 'Rose Blaze de Bury and the 'Unfeminine' German and European Politics of Disunity', in *Union and Disunion in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by James Gregory and Daniel Grey (London: Routledge, forthcoming); Rachel Egloff, 'Blaze de Bury, Marie Pauline Rose (1813-1894)', in *Encyclopedia of Victorian Women Writers*, ed. by Lesa Scholl (London: Palgrave, forthcoming 2019).

<sup>41</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1980).

<sup>42</sup> The reviews were identified on four online databases: *Nineteenth Century British Newspapers*, *Nineteenth Century British Periodicals*, *Online Historical Newspapers* and *GAEL online*. Searches were conducted using Blaze's name, her known pseudonyms, and the titles of her texts. Additional databases, (e.g. *The*

Table 1: List of Periodical Sources

Daily Papers:	the <i>Daily News</i> the <i>Morning Chronicle</i> the <i>Morning Post</i> <i>The Times</i> the <i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> the <i>Standard</i>
Weekly/Monthly Journals:	the <i>Athenaeum</i> , <i>Bentley's Miscellany</i> the <i>Critic</i> the <i>Examiner</i> <i>Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country</i> <i>Girl's Own Paper</i> <i>John Bull</i> the <i>Leader and Saturday Analyst</i> the <i>Literary Gazette</i> the <i>Mirror Monthly Magazine</i> <i>Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion</i> the <i>New Monthly Magazine and Humorist</i> the <i>New Quarterly Review</i> <i>Digest of Current Literature, British, American, French and German</i> the <i>Observer</i> the <i>Rambler</i> the <i>Saturday Review</i> the <i>Spectator</i> the <i>Westminster Review</i>
Local Papers:	the <i>Dundee Courier &amp; Argus</i> the <i>Essex Standard and Eastern Counties Advertiser</i> the <i>Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle</i> <i>Sharpe's London Journal</i>

Just under two thousand items relating to Blaze or her work were retrieved.<sup>43</sup> Many of these items were advertisements for the forthcoming publication of one of her books, or were summaries of her work, usually only a few sentences long.<sup>44</sup>

Methodologically, the research and analysis of Part 1 guides the structuring of the rest of the thesis. In reviews of the four texts at

---

*Times Archive*), were used selectively. Searches for reviews were limited to a period of 12 months after each work was published.

<sup>43</sup> Comparing the reception of Blaze's works with other contemporaneous publications is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, for more on reviewing practices see Laurel Brake, 'Literary Criticism and the Victorian Periodicals', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 16 (1986), 92-116.

<sup>44</sup> In the late 1840s summary reviews of novels were common. '[T]he balance that literary reviewers struck between summary and evaluation did change [in favour of the latter] as the century wore on'. Furthermore, an increase of newly published books 'led to new discussions about literary merit and which books should be included' at all. Elizabeth Miller, 'Reading in Review: The Victorian Book Review in the New Media Moment', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 49.4 (2016), 626-42, (pp. 628-30).

that time (Chapter 3), the aspects of gender, nationality/culture, and genre were of particular interest to reviewers. Therefore, after detailing Blaze's position, biographically and in reviews, we focus in the remaining chapters on such aspects in her texts. The focus is on identifying Blaze's transcultural consciousness in her texts, whilst we are being gently guided by the points of interest and lines of enquiry that her contemporary reviewers implicitly or explicitly identified.

The Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 stipulates that any unpublished works have copyright protection until 2039, irrespective of when they were created and when their creators died.<sup>45</sup> Marie Pauline Rose Blaze de Bury's unpublished correspondence also falls under this law. However, in the case of unpublished letters written by Blaze, the current copyright holder could not be traced.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the writer of this thesis does not have the right to copy them directly. For this reason, most passages from the said letters have been appropriately paraphrased. However, a few lines have nevertheless been reproduced word for word from my own handwritten transcripts as they are of interest on a detailed linguistic level where a direct representation of Blaze's words is vital. To preserve copyright, in the electronic version of this thesis such passages have been redacted. In this thesis, letters by The Right Honourable Pricilla Anne Fane, Countess of Westmorland, and her son The Honourable Julian Henry Charles Fane were consulted. The

---

<sup>45</sup> The Government held a consultation about reducing the duration of copyright in unpublished works from October-December 2014. However, it did not change the current law. Intellectual Property Office, 'Government Response to the Consultation on Reducing the Duration of Copyright in Certain Unpublished Works', (gov.uk: Government Digital Service, 2015), <[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/399171/973\\_-\\_Gouvernement\\_Response\\_-\\_copyright\\_in\\_certain\\_unpublished\\_works.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/399171/973_-_Gouvernement_Response_-_copyright_in_certain_unpublished_works.pdf)> [accessed 3 February 2018].

<sup>46</sup> Extensive online ancestry traces yielded no conclusive evidence. If the copyright for her private correspondence went to one of her daughters (which is not evident), neither of them seem to have had any issue. Furthermore, French copyright law might apply to the majority of her letters written in France, even to those currently held in archives in the UK.

current copyright holder The Right Honourable Anthony David Francis Henry Fane, 16<sup>th</sup> Earl of Westmorland was kind enough to grant copyright permission to use the unpublished materials of his ancestors in the context of this thesis (see appendix E).

Some electronic online editions and resources are unpaginated, in line with the current data and copyright protection regulations of the online accessing system at the Oxford University Bodleian Libraries (OUBL) and further open source electronic resources.

To avoid getting lost in translation, and in the spirit of increased European-wide understanding, direct quotations which were originally written in German or French will be quoted in the original. Footnote translations by the author of this thesis are provided. These translations of French and German excerpts have been viewed and corroborated by native-speaking academic experts in French and German Literature (see acknowledgements).

All of the texts under discussion were written with a vocal first-person narrator. There is some overlap between Blaze's life and the autobiographical information presented by the narrator in the texts. Moreover, her preface statements bear a strong resemblance to her unpublished opinions. Therefore, whilst we remain alert to the difference between Blaze the person and Blaze the first-person narrator, for the sake of simplicity, the narrator of the four texts under discussion will be referred to as Blaze. Baroness Mary Pauline Rose Blaze de Bury born Stuart (or Stewart) will be mostly referred to as Blaze. Though Marie (or Mary) were sometimes used in connection with some of her publications, Blaze herself, as well as her husband, and some other acquaintances called her "Rose". Her husband and daughters are denoted with first and surnames (i.e. Henri Blaze, Yetta Blaze, and Fernande Blaze).

This Introduction has presented Rose Blaze de Bury as a nineteenth-century transcultural writer and political activist. In Chapter 1 we consider the term transcultural in relation to other terms and reflect



on the field of transcultural studies, focusing on the mid-nineteenth-century European context. The focus on gender, which recurs throughout the thesis, is cast in the form of gender hybridity. The structure of the rest of this thesis is based on the following rationale: Part 1 (Chapters 2 and 3) focuses on recuperating the life and the works of Blaze. Part 2 (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) focuses on analysing a selection of her mid-nineteenth-century texts.

Chapter 2 offers a biography of Blaze, focusing on her life and network. It also discusses her transcultural identity. The reason for providing an overview of Blaze's life in combination with a selection of her work is twofold. First, the lack of available and collated biographical data in the English language until now should be redressed, and will hopefully enable an easier access to future research on this little-studied writer. Second, her life experiences, particularly her travel and first-hand political agency, informed her published writing, and vice versa. Examining her texts without a biographical backdrop would leave too many questions only partially answered.

The focus of Chapter 3 lies on evaluating perceived gender and nationality of authorship. This is gauged on the basis of newspaper and journal reviewers' perceptions of Blaze's pseudonymous, anonymous, or personal publications.<sup>47</sup> We examine how pseudonymous and anonymous signatures harboured the potential for perceived gender-hybrid and cultural/national alteration, subverting normative gender and cultural identities of the author. This is achieved by exploring the reception of Blaze's work in a sample of the nineteenth-century British press.<sup>48</sup> Looking at her critical reception helps fill the void that the lack of other pre-existing critical examinations of her work has left. A brief overview of

---

<sup>47</sup> Literary criticism in the press was 'far more central to the development of print culture' than previous scholarship has accounted for. Michael Gavin, 'Writing Print Cultures Past: Literary Criticism and Book History', *Book History*, 15 (2012), 26-47, (p. 29).

<sup>48</sup> The 'book review, as a genre, demonstrates with particular clarity how the print medium was changing, and it suggests how nineteenth-century reading practices were adapting in conjunction with the medium'. See Miller, p. 626.

advertisements and reviews of Blaze's work provides an insight into the perceived importance and distribution of her works at the time, as well as how they sit with contemporary tastes and ideas on authorship and genre. Alongside the usefulness of this global understanding of Blaze's reception, individual critical reviews of specific texts will complement the analysis of her work later in this thesis. These reviews provide an overview of her importance, and of the breadth of interest in her. In addition, the global reception of her texts, for example overall positive or negative receptions, can be surmised. This research does not attempt to provide exact quantitative data, but rather to provide first, an overview of the reviews in general, and second, detailed textual analysis of a selection of reviews.

In Chapter 4 we focus on Blaze's "travel writing". The hybrid nature of this genre will be investigated, and how this genre hybridity and a transcultural approach work together in Blaze's texts. We consider how Blaze underscored her transcultural views of Europe, by emphasising questions surrounding fact versus fiction in the context of her travel and political writing. The conclusion of this chapter highlights the paradox between difference and homogeneity, national/cultural and transcultural, thus leading on to the next two chapters.

Chapter 5 considers the works under discussion in the context of the "European" text. Specifically, we discuss how Blaze harnessed the power of intertextual translation and multilingualism to increase the potential for cultural transfer and cross-gender authority when writing about transcultural Europe. We examine whether and to what degree Blaze's mid-nineteenth-century "truthful" stories (of the recent past) conveyed a sense of the English, French, German, or transcultural "novel". Specifically, we consider how, through intertextuality, Blaze's texts expressed transcultural as well as national tendencies.

In Chapter 6 we investigate how Blaze called into question prejudiced intra-European othering (without negating the existence

of cultural difference) and, in so doing, drew on more familiar images and allusions to othering in the context of global Empires. This leads to an ethical quandary which needs to be addressed. Namely, how can a writer sometimes criticise cultural othering within Europe, whilst drawing on and thus indirectly maintaining the concept of othering within Empire? There is no ethically comfortable way of overcoming this problem. Blaze shared no overt views on othering within the British Empire. She only referred to it in comparison to othering within Europe and, in so doing, implicitly criticised it. References to other European countries' colonial territories outside of Europe are scarce. Othering of territories within Europe which were controlled by a European Empire (e.g. Hungary under the Habsburg Empire) is discussed in connection with *Germania*. Blaze's criticism of cultural othering within Europe, whilst drawing on, and so upholding the concept of othering within Empire, is unprincipled. Largely uncritically, she drew on cultural othering within Empire as a universally known and therefore highly effective comparator to demonstrate her criticism of othering within Europe.

By the conclusion we will have established that examining the transcultural aspects of Blaze de Bury's life and works, reveals a political stance which strives for an inclusive European identity politics whilst preserving individual cultural difference. The conclusion consolidates the main contributions of this thesis. First, it re-highlights how this work on Blaze de Bury is a new addition to a growing corpus of "forgotten" women writers. Second, through its counter-narrative, it shines a light on a woman writer who participated in "hard" European politics and who is underrepresented in current nineteenth-century discourses on women writers. Third, it provides an innovative approach to the contemporary study of transcultural authors and gender hybridity which enriches the timely topic of transcultural approaches within Europe. The conclusion collates how Blaze de Bury's stance contributes to the discussions of English/British/European identity.

Furthermore, it considers other possible lines of inquiry which could fruitfully be pursued in further recuperating this fascinating individual's life and works.

*[O]f great import is that we should know them better and judge of them more justly.<sup>1</sup>*

## **1. A Transcultural Approach and Gender**

### **Hybridity: Theory and Terminology**

A transcultural orientation encompasses an inclusive approach to culture(s), which dismisses hierarchical dichotomised thinking and gives weight to convergences, overlapping, and exchange. From a transcultural standpoint, cultures, including one's own, are 'decentered'.<sup>2</sup> In Blaze's work a transcultural approach becomes apparent in her disruption of perceived cultural dichotomies by 'know[ing] them better', yet, without suggesting cultural sameness. Because the term *transcultural* is not associated with a particular sociopolitical interpretation, it is flexibly and creatively applicable, particularly when social or political issues have an 'aesthetical or imaginary dimension' like Blaze's (see Chapter 4).<sup>3</sup> Blaze's work is hard to categorise into a national canon (see Chapter 5). And, unlike some of the terms discussed in 1.a., the term *transcultural* is less likely to be 'transformed into a new ghettoizing category' for writers and works outside national canons or those that do not fit a postcolonial context.<sup>4</sup> The transcultural approach is therefore well suited to describe Blaze as an author and her written work.

The term *transnational* is also applied to texts and writers across national boundaries and canons. As Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim put it, there are 'immer mehr und schnell wachsende Gruppen, deren grundlegende Erfahrungen anders aufgebaut sind

---

<sup>1</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1848), I, p. x.

<sup>2</sup> Ellen Berry and Mikhail Epstein, 'In Place of a Conclusion: Transcultural Dialogue', in *Transcultural Experiments: Russian and American Models of Creative Communication*, ed. by Ellen Berry and Mikhail Epstein (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 302-322 (p. 312).

<sup>3</sup> Arianna Dagnino, *Transcultural Writers and Novels in the Age of Global Mobility* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press 2015), p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Dagnino, p. 16-17.

[als monokulturelle], nämlich zwischen *mehreren* Ländern, Kulturen und Zentren aufgespannt' in a 'transnationalen Koordinatensystem'.<sup>5</sup> Pramod Nayar argued that 'England's literary history is a legacy of its transnational linkages'.<sup>6</sup> He described the transnational in English literature as:

the space of intercultural, interracial encounter of England and Englishness made possible through the journey, by men and women, into various diverse and distant places on earth and those places arriving in some form in England's homes, streets and intellectual spaces.<sup>7</sup>

Blaze de Bury's texts are part of this transnational legacy in English literature. She journeyed outside of Britain, described other realities in her work, and, through her texts as well as her first-hand advocacy, brought these other worlds into Britain's homes, political circles, and intellectual spaces. The transnational perspective therefore has a dual focus, namely on other realities abroad, but also on the influence of those other realities on the "home" – in this case British identity. The term *transnational* often 'addresses issues facing deterritorialised cultures, and speaks for those in what [Azade Seyhan] call[s] "paranational" communities and alliances'.<sup>8</sup> In addition, transnational literature has often been read as intercultural, migrant, or minority literature.<sup>9</sup> But Blaze operated in the well-

---

<sup>5</sup> Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, *Wir und die Anderen: Vom Blick der Deutschen auf Migranten und Minderheiten* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), p. 17. Translation: transnational system of coordinates.

<sup>6</sup> Pramod Nayar, *The Transnational in English Literature: Shakespeare to the Modern*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), (unpaginated), in OUBL [accessed 25 September 2017].

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Azade Seyhan, *Writing Outside the Nation* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 10. Translation: there are always more and quicker growing groups whose foundational experiences are made up differently than monocultural ones, namely built between *multiple* countries, cultures, and centres in a transnational system of coordinates.

<sup>9</sup> Elke Sturm-Trigonakis, *Global Playing in der Literatur: Ein Versuch über die Neue Weltliteratur* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007), p. 13; See also Arif Dirlik, 'Asian on the Rim: Transnational Capital and Local Community in the Making of Contemporary Asian America', in *Amerasia Journal*, 22.3 (1996),

heeled multinational communities in the metropolises of Europe. The cultures of such cosmopolitan communities were, arguably, not linked directly to place. However, Blaze's transcultural stance revealed how such communities were not deterritorialised because of their insistence on prejudiced linking of behavior, ideology, culture, and nation. Furthermore, Blaze did not focus mainly on migrant or minority groups, nor did she identify as part of a national/cultural minority group herself. Although, in her texts, she often drew national comparisons, she showed signs of a transcultural condition – a 'precursor' of a contemporary 'transcultural sensibility'.<sup>10</sup>

Blaze wrote at a time of nation-centricity, and, at times, 'judge[d]' Others. Yet her work is marked by an overarching transcultural awareness of striving for better knowledge and understanding of perceived differences and appreciating new cultural phenomenon. Blaze's life and works are transcultural and transnational. She and her characters moved transnationally in Europe. Every transcultural consciousness is individual, as each person arrives and further develops their transcultural consciousness based on their background and experiences. Therefore, a transcultural consciousness is not necessarily (and according to some should not be) ideological or political.<sup>11</sup> Blaze's political ideas were often (though not consistently) founded in her transcultural understanding; she questioned perceived cultural difference and homogeneity in Europe, thereby decentering and destabilizing national and cultural paradigms. In this way, she advocated increased transcultural awareness, particularly in Britain. Yet inconsistencies in her transcultural messaging, and sometimes her own prejudices, render it impractical to label the translation of her

---

pp. 1-24; Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc, eds., *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (London: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> Dagnino, p. 178.

<sup>11</sup> Arianna Dagnino, 'Transculturalism and Transcultural Literature in the 21st Century', in *Transcultural Studies: A Series in Interdisciplinary Research*, 8 (2012), 1-14 (p. 13).

transcultural approach *transculturalism*. Instead, we shall term Blaze's call for increased transcultural awareness her *transcultural idea* or her *transcultural message*. A further terminological and theoretical consideration of these and related terms follows in the next section 1.a.

### 1.a. Terminology and Theory

The terms *transcultural* and *transnational* have been appropriated by many scholars in various disciplines. Their theoretical work has enabled more recent empirical research, focusing on ties specifically between 'women authors operating within different national contexts', which is particularly pertinent here.<sup>12</sup> Wolfgang Gippert, Petra Götte, and Elke Kleinau wrote that they a transnational and a transcultural approach focus on multifaceted 'soziale Beziehungen und Vernetzungen'.<sup>13</sup> A transnational approach strives to denationalise our view of history. A transcultural approach includes 'Offenheit, Heterogenität, Pluralität und Mobilität' – it questions homogeneity.<sup>14</sup>

In this thesis it is doubly difficult to define the terms in this thesis, because Blaze did not use them herself or have a consistent concept thereof throughout her extensive œuvre. Though she was addressing a primarily British audience, her own identity was not exclusively British – a mark of transcultural writers.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the foundations of the term in (post-)colonial studies complicates its application in this thesis, which deals with texts in an exclusively European context. To address this lack of consensus both in academia and in Blaze's work, this section contemplates what national and cultural (or nation and culture) mean. It then considers

---

<sup>12</sup> Gilleir, Montoya, and van Dijk, ed., p. 6. See section 1.c.

<sup>13</sup> Wolfgang Gippert, Petra Götte, and Elke Kleinau, eds., *Transkulturalität: Gender- und bildungshistorische Perspektiven* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2008), p. 9. Translation: 'social relationships and interconnectedness'.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 10. Translation: 'openness, heterogeneity, plurality, and mobility'.

<sup>15</sup> See 2.c.ii. Transcultural writers have gone through a process of transpatriation and (no longer) not hold one (national) identity. Dagnino, pp. 5-6 and 95.



the terms *transcultural* and *transnational* in relation to other associated and related concepts (inter-/multiculturalism, globalism, cosmopolitanism, comparative studies, and world literature), before focusing on a transcultural approach (given the nineteenth-century European context). In so doing, we provide the theoretical foundation from which the elusive transcultural idea in Blaze's work can emerge as a destabilising of different perceived European cultures without requiring or advocating sameness.

#### 1.a.i. National and Cultural

Though the concept of nation is not tied exclusively to markers such as governmental structure, it is often vernacularly equated with the political state. In the period in which Blaze wrote (i.e. 1840s to 1890s) the concepts of what constituted a nation-state politically within Europe underwent dramatic change.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the places Blaze wrote about (i.e. mainly Britain, France, and the German-speaking world) were not all clearly or stably classifiable into geographical nations with clear borders.<sup>17</sup> In light of this it is perhaps no surprise that Blaze considered cultural markers over national markers, though the two sometimes coincided and she was not consistent in her perceptions.<sup>18</sup> This idea harkens back to late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century thinkers, particularly Johann Gottlieb Fichte's and Johann Gottfried Herder's ideas on cultural nationhood.

Fichte's lecture series *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* in 1807-08 sketched out a new form of national education, which would encourage the formation of a German nation. Alain Renaut suggested that these lectures, given during the French occupation of Berlin, championed a cultural nationalism without leaning primarily

---

<sup>16</sup> France, for example, was at different points during that period a monarchy, a republic, an empire, and then a republic again.

<sup>17</sup> The German-speaking world is pertinent in this regard, as there was no German nation until 1871. Austria's (the Austrian Empire's) borders frequently changed. Some of Switzerland belonged to the German-speaking world but was never, with a few en- and ex-clave exceptions, part of either Germany or Austria.

<sup>18</sup> For Blaze's views on Europe and nations see 1.b.

on ethnicity for cohesion.<sup>19</sup> Herder posited that equality (*Gleichwertigkeit*) and diversity (*Mannigfaltigkeit*) defined the nation.<sup>20</sup> Herder famously defined the nation as

Ein grosser, ungejäteter Garten voll Kraut und Unkraut. Wer wollte sich dieses Sammelplatzes von Torheiten und Fehlern so wie von Vortrefflichkeit und Tugenden ohne Unterscheidung annehmen und [...] gegen andere Nationen den Speer brechen? [...] Offenbar ist die Anlage der Natur, dass wie Ein Mensch, so auch Ein Geschlecht, also auch Ein Volk von und mit dem anderen lerne [...] bis alle endlich die schwere Lektion gefasst haben: kein Volk ist ein von Gott einzig ausgewähltes Volk der Erde; die Wahrheit müsse von allen gesucht, der Garten des gemeinen Besten von allen gebauet [sic] warden [sic].<sup>21</sup>

According to Herder, different peoples were derived from one God-given source and had developed into culturally different peoples, for example through geographical influences, bound together not by ‘Verträge oder Verfassungen’, but by their ‘gemeinsamen kulturellen Traditionen und sprachlichen Wurzeln’.<sup>22</sup> Fichte and Herder were translated into English during their lifetimes and

---

<sup>19</sup> Alain Renaut, ‘Présentation’, in *Discours à la nation allemande*, ed. by Alain Renaut (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1992). Though Fichte’s picture of nationhood is not free from considerations of ethnicity, Renaut convincingly advocates untangling ethnicity and culture and focusing on the latter in Fichte’s understanding of nation.

<sup>20</sup> Anne Löchte, *Johann Gottfried Herder: Kulturtheorie und Humanitätsidee der Ideen, Humanitätsbriefe und Adrastea* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005), p. 81.

<sup>21</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder, *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität: 42. Brief*, 33 vols (Berlin: Bernhard Suphan, 1877 [1793]), XXVII, p. 211. Translation: ‘A large un-weeded garden full of plants and weeds. Who wanted to assume this assembly of foolishness and faults as well as excellence and virtue and [...] break the spear against other nations? Apparently, it is the way of nature that, like One human, and One family, One people also learns from and with the other [...] until, at last, all have grasped the hard lesson: no people is a God chosen exclusive people of the earth; the truth must be sought, the garden of common good must be built by all’.

<sup>22</sup> Löchte, p. 81. Granted, there were not many other ways to argue for a German nation at the time. Translation: bound together not by ‘contracts or constitutions’, but by their ‘common cultural traditions and language roots’.

influenced British political thinkers later in the nineteenth century, in particular Thomas Carlyle.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, as Arash Abizadeh pointed out, Fichte's ideas on cultural nationalism remained relatively obscure in Britain.<sup>24</sup> Though there is no evidence to suggest that Blaze knew Fichte or Herder's writings, her ideas reflect theirs (i.e. she does not negate the existence of different nation states but views peoples as cultural rather than national entities, and potentially avoids pathologies of ethnic nationalism). But according to Welsch, Herder's view of 'inner homogenization and outer separation' must be overhauled from a contemporary transcultural standpoint.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, Blaze wrote a few decades later than Herder and Fichte, after the initial failure of a more unified Germany (*Frankfurter Parlament*) and recent revolutionary uprisings across Europe. She also underlined the nonsensicality of rivalry between European nations, but was less idealistic than Fichte and Herder.<sup>26</sup> Her transcultural idea was underpinned more by the politics of her day. Furthermore, unlike Fichte and Herder, she wrote with a British reader in mind. So, though resonating with their earlier political transnational thought, her insights cannot be equated with theirs.

Though Blaze did not reject ethnic markers as national indicators, genealogy was not her primary criteria of belonging.<sup>27</sup> In twentieth-century scholarship, thanks to influential thinkers such as Benedict Anderson and Homi Bhabha, we are accustomed to

---

<sup>23</sup> See for example Charles Harrold, *Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1934). Since then, some have claimed that Fichte and Herder are the forefathers of German nationalism. For example, Hans Dahmen, *Die nationale Idee von Herder bis Hitler* (Köln: Schaffstein, 1934), p. 62.

<sup>24</sup> Arash Abizadeh, 'Was Fichte an Ethnic Nationalist? On Cultural Nationalism and its Double', *History of Political Thought*, 26.2 (Summer 2005), 335-59, (pp. 336-41). Per Curtis Bowman Fichte is unfairly 'seen as a mere transitional figure between Kant and Hegel' in English-language academia. Curtis Bowman, 'Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814)', (IEP: Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy), <<https://www.iep.utm.edu/fichtejg/>> [accessed 25 October 2018].

<sup>25</sup> Welsch, pp. 195-6.

<sup>26</sup> For Herder as an idealist, see Löchte, p. 82.

<sup>27</sup> Abizadeh distinguishes two kinds of ethnic nationalism, namely '*unmediated ethnic nationalism*', (i.e. a nation defined only and 'directly in genealogical terms'), and '*mediated or crypto-ethnic nationalism*', (i.e. a nation which initially conceives of itself in other terms, but 'whose nationalist politics in the final instance draws upon an ethnic supplement'). Abizadeh, p. 336. Original emphasis.

thinking of national identity as a function of culture, as much as of the facts of geography and race (see 1.a.iv.).<sup>28</sup> However, as Raymond Williams famously observed, '[c]ulture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language'.<sup>29</sup> The concept of culture is even less clear-cut and less defined than nation. Ulf Hannerz stated: 'Rather than being easily separated from one another [cultures] tend to overlap and mingle. While we understand them to be differently located in the social structure of the world, we also realise that the boundaries we draw around them are frequently rather arbitrary'.<sup>30</sup> Considering an increasing dissolvment of cultural boundaries, Bernd Fischer asked 'whether transculturalism – with its questioning of the dominance of group identity and its return to the individual as privileged site for cultural multiplicity – can offer guideposts for conceptualizing 'individual' diversity without underplaying the role of class, religion, and community', and followed that 'the question has not yet been answered'.<sup>31</sup> An individual's transcultural stance must also be viewed with a historical and political awareness, – in this case, the mid-nineteenth-century nation-centric and Arnoldian view, adhered to by many into the twentieth century, which was the conventional approach to Victorian literature.<sup>32</sup> In this sense, a transcultural approach 'cannot

---

<sup>28</sup> See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2 edn. (London: Verso, 2006); Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>29</sup> Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 76.

<sup>30</sup> Ulf Hannerz, 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7 (1990), 237-251 (p. 239).

<sup>31</sup> Bernd Fischer, *Transcultural Literary Studies: Politics, Theory, and Literary Analysis*, ed. by Bernd Fischer (Basel: First published in 2016 in 'Humanities' Special Issue, 2017), p. vii, <<https://doi.org/10.3390/h5040086>> [accessed 22 January 2017].

<sup>32</sup> For some scholars, the question remains how we can ascribe transcultural traits to literature which predates the development of the concept. The V21 Victorian Studies for the 21st Century Collective has discussed this. See 'V21: Victorian Studies for the 21st Century', <<http://v21collective.org/>> [accessed 07 February 2018]. For example Paul Jay, *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 17-18. Sebastian Lecourt recently reiterated how Victorian studies have still not been satisfactorily reconceptualised as a transcultural field. Sebastian Lecourt, 'The Untravell'd World: The Difficulties of Thinking Globally in Victorian Studies', *Literature Compass*, 13.2 (2016), 108-17.

escape operating in the midst of ideological and political minefields'.<sup>33</sup> Hence, we opt for a distinction between Blaze as a transcultural writer and her political transcultural idea. Blaze described distinctive cultures, and feelings of cultural belonging, at different levels, including the levels of shared language, nationality, ethnic descent, gender, age, education, art and literature, religion, topography or landscape, and history. She turned these transcultural observations into her political activity and advocacy. To Blaze there were often multiple cultures within cultures, allowing for transcultural exchange, crossings, and mixings of a transnational nature.

Moving on from this outline of national versus cultural entities, Blaze's transnational position and transcultural positioning within such debates, and how current research still struggles to define and work with the term transcultural, in the rest of the chapter we discuss concepts which are related to the term transcultural and can further help us to understand Blaze's life and works.<sup>34</sup> We focus on inter- and multiculturalism, globalism, and cosmopolitanism, before moving on to comparative and world literature. Then we will more closely examine the origins of the transcultural approach in (post-)colonial studies. This, in conjunction with 1.c, which discusses gender hybridity, lays the theoretical foundation and rationale for the later analysis of Blaze de Bury's texts in Part 2.

---

<sup>33</sup> Bernd Fischer, *Transcultural Literary Studies: Politics, Theory, and Literary Analysis*, ed. by Bernd Fischer (Basel: First published in 2016 in 'Humanities' Special Issue, 2017), p. vii, <<https://doi.org/10.3390/h5040086>> [accessed 22 January 2017].

<sup>34</sup> Several scholars have written about distinctions, overlaps, and intersections between related terms in the field. For example, *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, ed. by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009); Levine; Sharon Marcus, 'Same Difference? Transnationalism, Comparative Literature, and Victorian Studies', *Victorian Studies*, 45.4 (2003), 677-86.

### 1.a.ii. Inter-/Multicultural, Globalism, Cosmopolitanism

The term transcultural grew out of a further distinction from the words international, intercultural, and multicultural.<sup>35</sup> International and multinational connote having to do with more than one nation, while transcultural can connote being between or beyond culture(s).<sup>36</sup> A transcultural approach has the potential for breaking out of a nation-centric framework to be translational and transgressive, and does not deem cultures to be fenced off.<sup>37</sup> Though the term international might be aptly applied specifically to Blaze's free-trade and banking endeavours between Britain and Austria, and multicultural could explain some of her descriptions of Viennese society, her overall attitude toward Europe was transcultural and her broader political agency and goals were often guided by her transcultural idea.<sup>38</sup>

Ulrich Beck discussed the terms *Globalismus*, *Globalisierung*, and *Globalität*. According to him, during *Globalisierung* 'transnationale soziale Bindungen und Räume' are set up in which 'dritte Kulturen – "ein bisschen von dem, ein

---

<sup>35</sup> Written in 1780 (first published 1789), Bentham indicated that '[t]he word international, it must be acknowledged, is a new one'. Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, 2 edn. (London: W. Pickering, 1823), II, p. 260. The early usage relates to the growing transnationalism of economics. Julian Huxley wrote: 'The outstanding case of what we may call a transnational natural region – an industrial area cutting right across national boundaries – is the great concentration of industry in North-Western Europe'. Julian Huxley, *On Living in a Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1944), p. 144.

<sup>36</sup> In the political science discipline controversially termed "international relations", a transnational community suggests collaboration across borders to work on mutual goals. An international community suggests reference to 'states that make up the world' irrespective of how they interact or are related. *The Globalization of World Politics*, 7 edn., ed. by John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 27 and 490. Multicultural more often than not refers to parts of society within a nation or a part of a nation (e.g. particular city or region), rather than to a multi-nation entity like Europe.

<sup>37</sup> Steven Shankman, *Other Others: Levinas, Literature, Transcultural Studies* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010), p. 16. See also Kiran Patel, 'Transnationale Geschichte - ein neues Paradigma?', *A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists*, (2 February 2005), <[www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-573](http://www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-573)> [accessed 12 April 2017].

<sup>38</sup> Blaze advocated free-trade before the British Foreign Office started increasing its commercial treaties (Cobdenite Treaties) in Europe. For more on her influence on this policy see 2.b. See *Germania* for descriptions of Vienna.

bisschen von jenem“ are forged.<sup>39</sup> So globalism promotes a transnational stance. Globalism also suggest a highly mobile and heavily networked world, in which transcultural literature ‘may be considered a new member’ in a ‘cluster of literatures of mobility’ in ‘contemporary literature’.<sup>40</sup> Going beyond the transnational, often hyphenated, third cultures and ethnicities such as British-Caribbean or Asian-American, ever increasing mobility and communication enables identities to exist in ever increasing flux. Dagnino posited that ‘[t]ranscultural writers are able to capture the first still embryonic, still incoherent, still mostly unexpressed or intercepted symptoms and signals of a different emerging cultural mood/mode’.<sup>41</sup> So, arguably, mid-nineteenth century writers such as Blaze could develop alternative discourses and ‘oppositional critical consciousness’ destabilizing the status quo.<sup>42</sup>

In Saïd’s words: ‘[n]ew alignments made across borders, types, nations, and essences provoke and challenge the fundamentally static notion of identity that has been the core of cultural thought during the era of imperialism’.<sup>43</sup> Such an overcoming of traditional binaries is also inherent in the work of theorists who have revitalised an overhauled contemporary cosmopolitan approach.<sup>44</sup> Such ‘cosmopolitanism calls for new concepts of integration and identity that enable and affirm coexistence across borders, without requiring that distinctiveness and difference be sacrificed on the altar of supposed (national) equality’.<sup>45</sup> This kind of neocosmopolitanism is an intellectual

---

<sup>39</sup> Ulrich Beck, *Was ist Globalisierung? Irrtümer des Globalismus – Antworten auf Globalisierung* (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1997), p.30. Beck cites and translates Salman Rushdie.

<sup>40</sup> Dagnino, p.100.

<sup>41</sup> Dagnino, p. 102.

<sup>42</sup> Saïd, p. 326

<sup>43</sup> Edward Saïd, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993), p. xxviii.

<sup>44</sup> Many new strands have been put forward: *realistic cosmopolitanism* (Beck), *vernacular cosmopolitanism* (Bhabha), *critical cosmopolitanism* (Rainbow), *cosmopolitan ethnicity* (Werbner, Richard), *rooted cosmopolitanism* (Appiah), *micro-cosmopolitanism* (Cronin), *visceral cosmopolitanism* (Nava), or *vulgar or demonic cosmopolitanism* (Gilroy).

<sup>45</sup> Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, *Cosmopolitan Europe*, trans. by Ciaran Cronin (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), p. 14.

‘adventure and an ideal’ prevalent in transcultural orientations.<sup>46</sup> However, the heyday of cosmopolitanism’s first popular inception has passed – indeed it had already passed at the time Blaze produced her texts. Nevertheless, the *Pall Mall Gazette*’s obituary of Blaze described her ‘cosmopolitan friendships’.<sup>47</sup> Some scholars have used the terms *cosmopolitan* and *transcultural* synonymously.<sup>48</sup> Others have remarked on the terms’ close relationship, for example, by suggesting that a transcultural approach ‘should lead to the establishment of a cosmopolitan citizenship’.<sup>49</sup> Whilst questioning the terms’ synonymy and cause-and-effect relationship, this thesis acknowledges a similarity between the terms, which has not yet fully been expounded.<sup>50</sup> Aspects of cosmopolitanism (e.g. its freedom from national limitations and its accompanying glamorous lifestyle) could describe facets of Blaze’s life. However, a cosmopolitan attitude is not the best descriptor of Blaze’s life and œuvre due to its necessarily global reach, its often republican and protestant principles, its historicity, and most pertinently, its mid-nineteenth-century application.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006), p. xx. Dagnino considers neocosmopolitanism a politicised outcome of what she calls *transculture/ality*. In the case of Blaze, I term this *transcultural idea/message*. Dagnino, p. 104.

<sup>47</sup> [Anon.], ‘Obituaries’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 January 1894, p. 8.

<sup>48</sup> For example, Lucia-Mihaela Grosu, ‘Multiculturalism or Transculturalism? Views on Cultural Diversity’, *SYNERGY*, 8.2 (2012), 102-11 (pp. 102, 107); Nneka Umera-Okeke, ‘Transculturalism: A Path to the Integration of the Multilingual/Multi-Ethnic Learners of English as a Second Language in Nigeria’, *African Research Review*, 10.5 (2016), 126-36 (p. 128); Oxford Centre for Life-Writing, ‘Conference: Transnational Lives and Cosmopolitan Communities’, (Wolfson College Oxford: Oxford Centre for Life-Writing and Writing 1900 Research Network, 17 March 2018).

<sup>49</sup> Donald Cuccioletta, ‘Multiculturalism or Transculturalism: Towards a Cosmopolitan Citizenship’, *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, 17 (2001/2002), 1-11, (p. 2). See also Kwame Anthony Appiah, *The Ethics of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 213-72.

<sup>50</sup> For example, Oxford Centre for Life-Writing, 17 March 2018. The concluding round table, including the scholars Sandra Mayer, Stefano Evangelista, Laura Marcus, Claudia Olk, and Jürgen Schläger came to the conclusion that transnationalism, transculturalism, and cosmopolitanism had not yet been differentiated and theorised adequately – particularly in the field of life writing.

<sup>51</sup> Blaze did not voice a sense of world-wide identity or belonging (see 2.c.ii). Her scope was European. Blaze, notwithstanding her interest in other peoples, looked upon some cultures/nations with political disdain (particular Hungarian peoples and sometimes Jewish people). In 1790s Britain, radicals and romantics ‘identified as citizens of any revolution, anywhere [...]. In effect, they invented the bohemian.



All terms are a reflection “of their time”.<sup>52</sup> Blaze lived and wrote after the zenith of European cosmopolitanism and was very much grounded in the *realpolitik* of her day. By the mid-nineteenth century, according to Ulrich Beck, the debate was increasingly about an emerging patriotism and nationalism versus cosmopolitanism.<sup>53</sup> Though some British nineteenth-century liberals looked to continental Europe for inspiration, it was equally proffered that ‘true patriotism’ meant reaffirming neglected traditional values.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, as Lauren Goodland pointed out, ‘from a Victorian perspective, the word cosmopolitan was more likely to evoke the impersonal structures of capitalism and imperialism than an ethos of tolerance,

---

The cosmopolites of the 1790s inherited a generation of republican political agitation combined with liberal Protestantism that as early as the 1760s had crossed oceans and channels’. Though, Blaze was a bohemian of sorts, she was also socially conventional. Shw was anti-republican and portrayed Protestantism with scepticism. Jacob, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> Cosmopolitanism is often linked to a particular historical moment – especially to ‘the first years of the French Revolution [when] cosmopolitanism received its strongest impulse’. The term *transcultural* is not as long or as fixed as *cosmopolitan*. Pauline Kleingeld and Eric Brown, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), in <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/cosmopolitanism/>> [accessed 23 April 2019]; Dagnino, p. 16-17.

<sup>53</sup> Beck, pp. 7-8. There was renewed scepticism of the cosmopolitan concept in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Beck demonstrated this by juxtaposing Heinrich Laube's and Heinrich Heine's thoughts on the matter. Laube considered that ‘Patriotismus ist einseitig, klein aber er ist praktisch, nützlich, beglückend, beruhigend; der Kosmopolitismus ist herrlich, groß aber für einen Menschen fast zu Groß, der Gedanke ist schön, aber das Resultat für dieses Leben ist innere Zerrissenheit’ in *Das junge Europa* (1833). Whereas Heine, who considered himself a cosmopolitan, remarked in a letter that cosmopolitan ‘die allgemeine Gesinnung wird in Europa, [...] mehr Zukunft habe, als unsere deutschen Volkstümler, diese sterblichen Menschen, die nur der Vergangenheit angehören’ (1833). Laube and Heine corresponded with one another. Furthermore, Blaze corresponded and probably also saw Heine during his time in Paris. Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter from Rose Blaze de Bury to Heinrich Heine, probably May 1846, *Universität Trier*, MS Letters of Heinrich Heine, HSA Bd, 26, S. 165. For an overview of nineteenth-century nationalism in England see Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For an overview of nineteenth-century nationalism in Germany see H. J. Hahn, *German Thought and Culture from the Holy Roman Empire to the Present Day* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

<sup>54</sup> Parry, p. 13. In 1872 Benjamin Disraeli observed the same growing tension between cosmopolitanism and patriotism, writing that ‘[i]nfluenced in a great degree by the philosophy and the politics of the Continent, they [distinguished gentlemen] endeavour to substitute cosmopolitan for national principles’. Benjamin Disraeli, ‘Conservative and Liberal Principles (1872)’, in *Politics and Empire in Victorian Britain: A Reader*, ed. by Antoinette M. Burton (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 131-34.

world citizenship, or multiculturalism'.<sup>55</sup> The duality of inward and outward looking, which could have been termed cosmopolitan earlier in the century (and preceding century), no longer applied to mid-nineteenth-century thinkers in Britain.<sup>56</sup> Blaze was transcultural and, to a degree, patriotic.<sup>57</sup> Blaze's opinion that patriotism held an important but limited place in society and that mutual understanding and acceptance were the core to a successful Europe shone through in much of her written work.<sup>58</sup>

### 1.a.iii. Comparative Literature and World Literature

Though this thesis is not comparative as such, it would be remiss to discuss the transcultural shift in literature studies without mentioning comparative studies. Comparative literary studies have, in the last decade, embraced the possibilities offered by a transcultural approach. In the past, the comparative literary approach fell short 'precisely because of its emphasis on national and chronological specificity'.<sup>59</sup> Marcus exemplified this with France and England's historic rivalries and theorised it with what Sigmund Freud called 'the narcissism of minor differences', namely the urge to emphasise difference where, in fact, little exists due to a more fundamental underlying similarity.<sup>60</sup> Although Blaze's work fed off

---

<sup>55</sup> Lauren Goodlad, *The Victorian Geopolitical Aesthetic: Realism, Sovereignty, and Transnational Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 12; See also Tanya Agathocleous, *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 53-67.

<sup>56</sup> For example, the Whig politician Russell, with whom Blaze was acquainted, argued that political leaders should be knowledgeable about continental cultures, so as to be able to appreciate the distinctiveness of the British while evading insular rigidity. John Russell, *Essays, and Sketches of Life and Character*, 2 edn. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821), pp. 128-36.

<sup>57</sup> Epstein described in his concept of a 'continuum' that transcultural writers do not negate their origins. They can be 'inside and outside of all existing cultures' at the same time. Mikhail Epstein, "Transculture: A Broad Way between Globalism and Multiculturalism", in *American Journal of Economics & Sociology*, 68.1 (2009), 327-51 (p. 333).

<sup>58</sup> For example, Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850), I, pp. 295 and 414.

<sup>59</sup> Marcus, p. 680; Paul Jay, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> Sigmund Freud, 'The Taboo of Virginity', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. by James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1918), pp. 192-208 (p. 199).

stereotyped differences between nations and cultures transnationally, much of it aimed to undo Britain's narcissism of minor differences. As Haun Saussy pointed out, contemporary '[c]omparatists will have to stand up for themselves in the next ten years, [partly] by demonstrating new ways of making sense exactly where existing canons and methods fail us'.<sup>61</sup> Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek described comparative cultural studies' 'fragmented and pluralistic, non-self-referential and inclusive' nature, which can facilitate both 'the cross-cultural and interdisciplinary study of literature and culture'.<sup>62</sup> Comparative literature challenges 'monologic concepts of culture' and emphasizes interaction 'between local and global, national, and transnational'.<sup>63</sup> By taking comparative and transcultural literatures into account, researchers may break out of a nation-centric mode.<sup>64</sup> This type of comparativism without borders can connect texts 'which are no longer identifiable with only one culture or one national landscape'.<sup>65</sup> Though comparative studies and a transcultural stance have become entwined, which has furthered our understanding of both, this thesis does not compare different writers or texts produced in different cultural settings. It examines texts by one writer produced within the narrow timeframe of four years.

What preceded contemporary comparative literary studies was the concept of world literature. By the early nineteenth-century Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was of the opinion that 'Kunst' and 'Wissenschaft [...] gehören wie alles Gute der ganzen Welt an, und

---

<sup>61</sup> Haun Saussy, 'Comparative Literature: The Next Ten Years', in *State of the Discipline Report*, on American Comparative Literature Association Website, (9 March 2014), <<https://stateofthedisipline.acla.org/entry/comparative-literature-next-ten-years>> [accessed 4 December 2019]. For an overview see Hartmut Kaelble, 'Die Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer und was jetzt?', *A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists*, (8 February 2005), <<http://www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-574>> [accessed 13 April 2017].

<sup>62</sup> Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek, 'From Comparative Literature Today toward Comparative Cultural Studies' in *CLCWEB: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 1.3 (1999), p. 2, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1041>> [accessed 21. November 2019].

<sup>63</sup> Tötösy de Zepetnek, p. 2.

<sup>64</sup> Tötösy de Zepetnek, p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> Dagnino, p. 8.

können nur durch allgemeine, freie Wechselwirkung aller zugleich Lebenden [...] gefördert werden'.<sup>66</sup> Yet at the same time Goethe did not advocate the eradication of national relevance, when he wrote that 'ich überzeugt sei, es bilde sich eine allgemeine Weltliteratur, worin uns Deutschen eine ehrenvolle Rolle vorbehalten ist'.<sup>67</sup> Such a stance aligns with a transcultural one, in which there is a 'commitment to an open conversation with the Other's cultures' and an awareness that cultures need to be better understood in order to decentre them.<sup>68</sup>

Blaze was a great admirer of Goethe and his ethos of cultural exchange in particular.<sup>69</sup> In her work she drew on literatures from many European nations to question their supposed finite literary, as well as cultural, qualities – but like Goethe, without rejecting the idea of nation states. According to Sturm-Trigonakis, Goethe's world literature was a 'utopisches Projekt, als Hoffnung auf eine Zukunft, in der Alterität in all ihrer Vielfältigkeit konstatiert und auch akzeptiert wird'.<sup>70</sup> Blaze, though not particularly utopian in her mindset, concurred in that Goethe-promoted European wide exchange.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Johann Goethe, originally in 'Propyläen' (1801), quoted in Fritz Strich, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur*, trans. by C.A.M. Sym (Bern: A. Francke AG Verlag, 1946), p. 49. Translation: there is no 'patriotic art or patriotic science. Both belong to the whole world and can be fostered only by untrammelled intercourse among all contemporaries'. See also Fritz Strich, *Goethe and World Literature*, trans. by C.A.M. Sym (London: Routledge, 1949), p. 35.

<sup>67</sup> Johann Goethe, 'Essays on Art and Literature', in *Goethe's Collected Works*, ed. by John Geary (New York: Suhrkamp, 1986), p. 225. Originally published in January 1827. Translation: 'I am convinced a universal world Literature is in the process of being constituted, in which an honourable role is reserved for us Germans'. Quoted in John Pizer, *The Idea of World Literature: History and Pedagogical Practice* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), p. 23.

<sup>68</sup> Dagnino, p. 165.

<sup>69</sup> Henri Blaze de Bury translated Goethe's *Faust* into French and wrote articles about Goethe.

<sup>70</sup> Elke Sturm-Trigonakis, p. 27. She calls for a Neue Welt Literatur, which is adapted to a more globalised world.

<sup>71</sup> Or, as Anne Bohnenkamp put it, Goethe's idea was a process of 'internationaler Kommunikation und gegenseitiger Rezeption'. Anne Bohnenkamp, 'Rezeption der Rezeption: Goethes Entwurf einer *Weltliteratur* im Kontext seiner Zeitschrift *Über Kunst und Altertum*' in *Spuren, Signaturen, Spiegelungen: Zur Goethe-Rezeption in Europa*, Bernhard Beutler and Anke Bosse eds. (Köln, Böhlaus, 2000), pp. 187-207 (p.203).

Translation, multilingualism, and intertextuality were central to Goethe's world literature. He explained that:

Es ist aber sehr artig, dass wir jetzt, bei dem engen Verkehr zwischen Franzosen, Engländern und Deutschen, in den Fall kommen uns einander zu korrigieren. Das ist der grosse Nutzen, der bei einer Weltliteratur herauskommt. Carlyle hat das Leben von Schiller geschrieben und ihn überall so beurteilt, wie ihn nicht leicht ein Deutscher beurteilen wird. Dagegen sind wir über Shakespeare und Byron im Klaren und wissen deren Verdienste vielleicht besser zu schätzen als die Engländer selber.<sup>72</sup>

Creating *Weltliteratur*, according to Goethe, entailed examining national differences and their relations to one another through translation.<sup>73</sup> He described how 'der Übersetzer nicht nur für seine Nation allein arbeitet, sondern auch für die, aus deren Sprache er das Werk herübergenommen'.<sup>74</sup> Although the texts under discussion here are not translations, Blaze incorporated translation into them, and thus worked towards an increased transcultural understanding whilst retaining the intricacies of cultural differences (see 5.b.i.). Furthermore, Goethe proposed that alongside translation, simply knowing more about texts from other cultures was necessary in working towards a world literature. By stating that 'wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiss nichts von seiner eigenen', he was

---

<sup>72</sup> Johann Goethe to Eckermann, 15 July 1827. Johann Peter Eckermann, *Johann Peter Eckermann Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, 40 vols (Frankfurt am Main Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999 [1836, 1848]), XII, p. 257. Translation: 'It is pleasant to see that intercourse is now close between the French, English, and Germans, that we shall be able to correct one another. This is the greatest use of World Literature, which will show itself more and more. Carlyle has written a life of Schiller, and judged him as it would be difficult for a German to judge him. On the other hand, we [Germans] are clearer about Shakespeare and Byron, and can, perhaps, appreciate their merits better than the English themselves'. Quoted in *Conversations with Eckermann*, ed. by Wallace Wood (New York: M. Walter Dunne, 1901), pp. 223-24.

<sup>73</sup> Strich, *Goethe and World Literature*, pp. 349-50.

<sup>74</sup> Johann Goethe, originally on 15 June 1828. Translation: 'the translator does not work for his nation, but also for the nation from whose language he took the work'. Quoted in Strich, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur*, p. 34.

advocating for increased multilingualism.<sup>75</sup> He further wrote that ‘[e]ine jede Literatur ennüyirt [sic] sich zuletzt in sich selbst, wenn sie nicht durch fremde Theilnahme [sic] wieder aufgefrischt wird’.<sup>76</sup> One way to avoid this was ‘die verschiedenen Nationen von einander und ihren Erzeugnissen Kenntniss nehmen’ and that ‘die lebendigen und strebenden Literatoren einander kennen lernen und durch Neigung und Gemeinsinn sich veranlasst finden gesellschaftlich zu wirken’.<sup>77</sup> Blaze infused her texts with the same ideal of knowing other nation’s texts and writers, she used intertextuality, and she exchanged multilingually with literary women and men of various cultural backgrounds (see 2.b.).

Though Goethe discussed translation, multilingualism, and intertextuality, the theoretical study of these is a twentieth-century phenomenon. According to Buden et al. the etymology of the term *translation* can incorporate the transference ‘from one cultural and political condition to another’.<sup>78</sup> As Samuel Johnson pointed out,

---

<sup>75</sup> Johann Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen* (Berlin: Hofenberg, 2016 [1821]), p. 17. Translation: ‘Those who know no foreign languages, know nothing of their own’. Epstein linked a transcultural condition to what he called ‘stereo prose’ (i.e. the need for two or more languages), which enables the conveyance of cultural concepts. Mikhail Epstein, “The Unasked Question: What Would Bakhtin Say?”, in *Common Knowledge*, 10(1) (2004), 42-60 (p.51).

<sup>76</sup> Johann Goethe, *Ästhetische Schriften 1824-1832: Über Kunst und Altertum V-VI*, 40 vols (Frankfurt am Main Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999 [1828]), XXII, p. 428. Translation: ‘[l]eft to itself every literature will exhaust its vitality, if it is not refreshed by the interest and contributions of a foreign one’. Quoted in David Damrosch, *What is World Literature?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> Johann Goethe, *Naturkundliche Schriften III: Schriften zur allgemeinen Naturlehre, Geologie und Mineralogie*, 40 vols (Frankfurt am Main Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999 [1828]), XXV, p. 79. Translation: that ‘the different nations should get to know each other and other’s productions’ and that ‘the living striving men of letters should learn to know each other, and through their own inclination and similarity of tastes, find the motive for corporate action’. Quoted in Strich, *Goethe and World Literature*, p. 350.

<sup>78</sup> The expression cultural translation is ‘currently much used in a range of disciplines [...] in very different ways’. Boris Buden et. al., ‘Cultural Translation: An Introduction to the Problem, and Responses’, *Translation Studies*, 2.2 (2009), 196-219 (p. 196). This notion hearkens back to ancient Rome when translators of Greek literature, most famously Terence, brought forward not only the words of Greek drama but also its culture into Roman awareness. See the Introduction to *A Companion to Terence*, ed. by Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 1-15; Evangelos Karakasis, *Terence and the Language of Roman Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

translating culture changes it.<sup>79</sup> In this sense translation can further a transcultural view. By translating words and phrases, Blaze not only increased her readers' linguistic awareness but transferred aspects of culture to them, which in turn destabilised perceptions of distinct cultures.

According to Julia Kristeva, intertextuality is a combination of de Saussure's semiotics and Bakhtin's dialogism, so that meaning is not transferred directly from writer to reader but mediated by codes from other texts and the reader.<sup>80</sup> Norman Fairclough examined how 'intertextuality is a matter of re-contextualization' and how re-contextualization has ideological and political consequences.<sup>81</sup> Daniela Caselli furthered this claim by considering intertextuality as a production within texts, rather than as a series of relationships between different texts.<sup>82</sup> According to this understanding of intertextuality, Blaze was both intensifying existing relationships between British and other European cultures and was producing a new transcultural condition within her texts.

Linguistic relativity asserts that the language people speak influences the way they see the world.<sup>83</sup> The positive correlative link between cultural open-mindedness and multilingualism has been evidenced by numerous studies in a variety of disciplines.<sup>84</sup> Learning

---

<sup>79</sup> Johnson's remark was about Alexander Pope who, in an analogy between translator and musician, played Homer on a flageolet, while Homer himself played the bassoon. Christopher Kasperek, 'The Translator's Endless Toil', *The Polish Review*, 28.2 (1983), 83-87 (pp. 85-86).

<sup>80</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 66-69.

<sup>81</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 51.

<sup>82</sup> Daniela Caselli, *Beckett's Dantes: Intertextuality in the Fiction and Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

<sup>83</sup> Chris Swyer, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), in <<https://stanford.library.sydney.edu.au/archives/spr2015/entries/relativism/supplement2.html>> [accessed 23 April 2019]. See also *Language Socialization Across Cultures*, ed. by Bambi Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

<sup>84</sup> For an overview see the Introduction to Schieffelin and Ochs, ed; Specific examples include Jean-Marc Dewaele, 'The Effect of Multilingualism, Sociobiographical, and Situational Factors on Communicative Anxiety and Foreign Language Anxiety of Mature Language Learners', *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 11.4 (2007), 391-409; Jean-Marc Dewaele, 'Multilingualism, Empathy, and Multicompetence', *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 9.4

the language(s) spoken in a given culture and giving expression to those other language(s) in the “home” context, changes one’s perspective on culture. Not only did Blaze speak multiple languages, she also integrated them into her written work to promote multilingual awareness.

#### 1.a.iv. A Transcultural Approach and (Post-)Colonial Studies

Some have argued that transcultural analyses arose from the field of (post-)colonial studies.<sup>85</sup> Fernando Ortiz coined the term *transculturation*. It described the process of bidirectional cultural influences between cultures – often in asymmetrical power relationships between colonizer and colonised.<sup>86</sup> This went further than *acculturation* (i.e. the acquiring of another culture) or than *deculturation* (losing a culture) as it took into account the possibility of new cultural phenomena emerging (*neoculturation*).<sup>87</sup> In Blaze’s novels some of her characters change their cultural attitudes and in so doing create new cultural approaches.<sup>88</sup> Focusing on minority groups, Homi K. Bhabha redefined the concept of cultural or national collective identity and experience. In his view, individuals always transgress each aspect of their own ethnic, class, gender, or national belonging, which are the basis of an individual’s cultural identity.<sup>89</sup> In terms of identity, individuals are always more than the sum of their parts, and those parts of identity are often politically

---

(2012), 352-66; Francis Hult, 'Covert Bilingualism and Symbolic Competence: Analytical Reflections on Negotiating Insider/Outsider Positionality in Swedish Speech Situations', *Applied Linguistics*, 35.1 (2014), 63-81.

<sup>85</sup> See for example Paul Jay and Pramod Nayar, *The Transnational in English Literature: Shakespeare to the Modern*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), (unpaginated), in OUBL [accessed 25 September 2017].

<sup>86</sup> Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, trans. by Harriet de Onís (Durham PA: Duke University Press, 1995 [1947]), p. 97.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>88</sup> Mildred, for example, initially aghast at the perceived French lax morality, adopts some of these cultural attitudes she witnesses, whilst retaining many of her Protestant British faith and ideals, which forging a new approach to morality and immorality. She was no longer culturally at home in England or France but instead, embarked on travels in other parts of Europe.

<sup>89</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1-7.



ascribed identity-parts to them.<sup>90</sup> However, as Bronfen put it, differences are ‘nicht die Marke für eine Grenze zwischen Innen und Aussen, zwischen Zentrum und Rändern, sondern ein unumgänglicher Ort mitten im Zentrum’.<sup>91</sup> Blaze herself harboured a multitude of different cultural biographical cornerstones harmoniously within herself.

Mary Louise Pratt defined the contact zone as ‘social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power’.<sup>92</sup> The idea of a contact zone is to move away from communities as ‘imagined entities’ to prevent problematic nationalist thinking.<sup>93</sup> The contact zone, therefore, is a helpful concept when dealing with physical cultural contact; in the case of Blaze’s work, for example, when considering her travels. However, it is less suited to the discussion of culture as an abstract idea in Blaze’s work, as she did not write mainly about the context of Empire and asymmetrical relationships of power within Empire – though, as Chapter 6 will reveal, she drew on such images.

Cultural transfer, aptly described by Greenblatt’s ideas on cultural mobility, suggests an infinite ‘mobility of words, concepts, images, persons, [...] and other things’.<sup>94</sup> As Lutz Musner pointed

---

<sup>90</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, ‘The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha’, *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), pp. 207-21 (p. 210).

<sup>91</sup> Elisabeth Bronfen, ‘Vorwort’ in Homi K. Bhabha, *Die Verortung der Kultur*, trans. by Michael Schiffmann and Jürgen Freudl (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2000), p.xi.

<sup>92</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, ‘Arts of the Contact Zone’, *Profession*, (1991), 33-40 (p. 34); Patricia Bizzell has since suggested that the study of literature should be organised around contact zones, not historical periods. Patricia Bizzell, ‘“Contact Zones” and English Studies’, *College English*, 56.2 (February 1994), 163-69 (p. 167). Borrowing somewhat from cultural transfer, Pratt further described transculturation, a phenomenon arising out of the contact zone, as ‘the process whereby members of subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted by a dominant metropolitan culture’. Pratt, p. 36.

<sup>93</sup> Pratt, p. 37.

<sup>94</sup> See Stephen Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Manuela Rossini and Michael Toggweiler, ‘Cultural Transfer: An Introduction’, *Word and Text: A Journal of Literary Studies and Linguistics*, 4.2 (December 2014), 5-9 (p. 5). In the 1980s Michel Espagne and Michael Werner proposed that cultural transfer could offer a new approach to the history of relationships. For an introduction see Matthias Middell and

out, as everything is fluid, even borders, culture itself can be transferred, enabling constant negotiation and differentiation.<sup>95</sup> Thus cultural transfer could be a process parallel to mobility that underlies a transcultural state. However, some have argued that the study of cultural transfer itself has ‘up to now, not been able to break out of its monolingual mode’, which suppresses true transfer.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, Blaze’s texts themselves could be considered a form of cultural transfer, whilst some of her characters describe a sense of adopting aspects of another culture.<sup>97</sup>

The focus of (post-)colonial studies on global imbalanced power structures could be seen as rendering it impractical when considering intra-European cultural differences. (Post-)colonialism dealing with the Victorian period often focuses on (the British) Empire so as to complicate its centre-periphery construct, wherein Europe was the centre and its colonies the periphery. This endeavour is outlined for example in Edward Saïd’s influential tome *Orientalism* (1978), which includes his understanding of the phenomenon of the Other and othering in an imperial context.<sup>98</sup> This kept the focus of transcultural studies on areas and peoples who were either dominators or dominated in a colonial context.<sup>99</sup> The focus in

---

Katharina Middell, 'Forschungen zum Kulturtransfer: Frankreich und Deutschland', *Grenzgänge*, 2 (1994), 107-22.

<sup>95</sup> Lutz Musner, 'Kultur als Transfer. Ein regulationstheoretischer Zugang am Beispiel der Architektur', in *Ent-grenzte Räume. Kulturelle Transfers um 1900 und in der Gegenwart*, ed. by Helga Mitterbauer (Wien: Passagen Verlag, 2005), pp. 173-94 (p. 175).

<sup>96</sup> *The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Transnational Perspective*, ed. by Doris Bachmann-Medick (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter GmbH, 2014), p. 2. See also *Translation, Globalisation and Localisation: A Chinese Perspective*, ed. by Wang Ning and Sun Yifeng (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008).

<sup>97</sup> For example, Waldemar who comments on his ‘Britannomania’ (see 6.b.).

<sup>98</sup> Some have questioned Saïd’s approach. For example, David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). For development of the concept of the Other pre Saïd see Chapter 6.

<sup>99</sup> Conversely, traditional European scholarship has focused on studying nineteenth-century international relations exclusively within Europe, for example focusing on the relationships of two or more individual European countries, or reporting on the British on the Continent. See for example, John Davis, *The Victorians and Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007). Siân Reynolds, *Paris-Edinburgh: Cultural Connections in the Belle Epoque* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Peter Thorold, *The British in France: Visitors and Residents since the Revolution* (London: Continuum, 2008). Elisabeth Jay, *British Writers and Paris 1830-1875* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Admittedly, some have written about

nineteenth-century literary (post-)colonial studies has remained largely on approaches to the concept of West and Rest, (or to a lesser degree on centre-periphery relations within European Empires), and not on notions of otherness amongst the powerful states *within* Europe.<sup>100</sup> In consequence, (post-)colonial studies have grouped European countries and cultures into one homogenous category with little attention paid to intra-European differences. According to Russell Berman, approaches to (post-)colonial and European studies have artificially been kept separate in academia.<sup>101</sup> A rhetoric of anti-Eurocentrism has marked the (post-)colonialist analysis of literature. This anti-Eurocentrism, as a theoretical position, has led to a narrow and arguably untenable notion of Europe.<sup>102</sup> (Post-)colonial studies may therefore be afflicted with a blind-spot regarding the perceived distance and difference between nineteenth-century Britain and other parts of Europe. Indeed, according to Frank Schulze-Engler ‘an anti-colonial politics [...] seems increasingly unsuited for coming to terms with cultural, social, and political conflicts in a world transformed by processes of rapid globalization’.<sup>103</sup>

---

Empires within Europe, for example about the othering of Ireland by Britain, or of Poland and Slavic areas by the Habsburg Empire. See *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Kevin Kenney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (CA: Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

<sup>100</sup> Fred Dallmayr in Michael Theunissen, *The Other: Studies in the Social Ontology of Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, and Buber*, trans. by Christopher Macann (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1984), p. x. For contemporary collected works on transnational Europe see *Transnational Europe: Promise, Paradox, Limits*, ed. by Jessica Allina-Pisano and Achim Hurrelmann (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); *A Political Sociology of Transnational Europe*, ed. by Niilo Kauppi (Colchester: ECPR Press University of Essex, 2013). Others provide a counternarrative by illustrating the remnants of Empire within Europe Alexander D. Barder, *Empire Within: International Hierarchy and its Imperial Laboratories of Governance* (London: Routledge, 2015). Others have researched specific areas of contemporary transcultural approaches in Europe, for example Ib Bondebjerg, ‘Transnational Europe: TV-Drama, Co-Production Networks and Mediated Cultural Encounters’, *Palgrave Communications*, 2.16034 (June 2016), (unpaginated), <<https://doi.org/10.1057/palcomms.2016.34>> [accessed 4 March 2018].

<sup>101</sup> Russell Berman, *Enlightenment of Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p. 16.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Frank, Schulze-Engler, ‘Theoretical Perspectives: From Postcolonialism to Transcultural World Literature’, in *English Literatures Across the Globe: A*

Conceptualizations of *transculture* and *transculturality*, developed by Epstein and Wolfgang Welsch, were intended to overcome a dominant versus subordinate, colonizer versus colonised framework, inherent in former postcolonial interpretations of *transculturation*. Whilst Epstein accepted the inevitability of having an original or primary cultural background, he warned that they should not prevent cultural development and a more complex identity formation.<sup>104</sup> From a transcultural standpoint cultures are not absolutes but transforming and hybrid.<sup>105</sup> Since poststructuralism, transcultural writers have demonstrated that the self is a process not a definitive. This also goes for the cultural self. At every new gaze at the Other, our identity changes. A transcultural consciousness, aware of global inequality (particularly based on a colonial past), makes us view every new Other with an awareness of the Other's link to our (cultural) self. A transcultural consideration of differences and othering between powerful European cultures is central to Blaze's work.

Following Saïd and Greenblatt, Fernando Coronil emphasised the interaction between 'cultural texts and historical contexts' in a transcultural view.<sup>106</sup> Part of this interaction can be located in the authors and their cultural identities. According to Dagnino transcultural writers are 'culturally mobile', that is, writers who 'experience cultural dislocation, follow transnational life patterns, cultivate bilingual or plurilingual proficiency, physically immerse themselves in multiple cultures, geographies, or territories, expose themselves to diversity, and nurture plural, flexible

---

*Companion*, ed. by Lars Eckstein (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2007), pp. 20-32 (p. 26).

<sup>104</sup> Mikhail Epstein, 'Transculture: A Broad Way between Globalism and Multiculturalism', *American Journal of Economics & Sociology*, 68.1 (2009), 327-51 (p. 333).

<sup>105</sup> Wolfgang Welsch, 'Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today', in *Spaces of Culture: City-Nation-World*, ed. by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage, 1999), pp. 194-213 (p. 197).

<sup>106</sup> Fernando Coronil, 'Transcultural Anthropology in the Américas', *Cuban Counterpoints: The Legacy of Fernando Ortiz*, ed. by Mauricio Font and Alfonso Quiroz (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), pp. 139-156 (p. 140).

identities'.<sup>107</sup> Transcultural writers can embrace new forms of identity and express these creatively through their destabilizing transcultural lens.<sup>108</sup> Transcultural fiction is 'border-crossing' and forges 'dialogue between cultures' enabling 'cultural transformations [and] cultural encounters worldwide'.<sup>109</sup> However, 'to outgrow one's primary culture and affiliations does not mean to disown them and their foundational role, rather, it means not to be or feel limited by them'.<sup>110</sup> Blaze stepped out of her native cultures (as far as we can establish her native culture(s), that is). As a transcultural writer, she challenged paradigms about cultural dominance and aimed to increase sensibility about other peoples. Like cosmopolitan writers, transcultural authors who leave their homelands are hard to categorize, as is their work. 'Their complex and fluid nature seems to dispel any attempt to pin them down, to fit (or restrict) them into any kind of defining box, even the most flexible and sophisticated one'.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, transcultural writers often represent a well-to-do cluster, notwithstanding the mid-nineteenth-century context of opening yet persistently restrictive physical and social mobility for the middle-class and especially the poor. Blaze, though elusive in cultural terms, belonged to the upper-class, notwithstanding her self-proclaimed financial straits.

To sum up, I consider transcultural writers to have a fluid sense of cultural identity whilst their transcultural texts have the ability to decentre and destabilise perceptions of cultures. Blaze's translation of her transcultural consciousnesses into political activity or ideology is regarded here as her transcultural idea/message. In the following thesis I will demonstrate that Blaze had a fluid sense of cultural identity, and that her texts aimed to destabilise perceived

---

<sup>107</sup>Dagnino, p. 1 and 202. See also Arianna, Dagnino, 'Transcultural Writers and Transcultural Literature in the Age of Global Modernity', in *Transnational Literature*, 4.2 (May 2012) <[http://dspace.flinders.edu.au/jspui/bitstream/2328/25881/3/Transcultural\\_Writers.pdf](http://dspace.flinders.edu.au/jspui/bitstream/2328/25881/3/Transcultural_Writers.pdf)> [accessed 21 November 2019].

<sup>108</sup> Ellen Berry and Mikhail Epstein, p. 312.

<sup>109</sup> Dagnino, p. 4.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Dagnino, p. 18.

cultural modes. When Blaze channels her transcultural attitude into proselytization, be it in her texts or in her first-hand advocacy, she is promoting her transcultural view of Europe. Blaze identified with and wrote about different nations and national literatures transnationally (i.e. across national boundaries), yet she also, at times, transcended any particular national or cultural identity. This state of questioning perceived status quo differences and homogeneity within Europe and advocating increased cultural understanding was Blaze's transcultural stance.

### **1.b. The European Context**

Because a transcultural approach is not geographically or historically bound, it is particularly important that we consider the historical context in which it is being applied. What constitutes Europe is a much discussed and contended issue today. But how should ever-changing borders and nation states within nineteenth-century Europe be treated? As Stefan Berger pointed out, '[w]hat is regarded as European has been and continues to be a matter for debate and cannot be reduced to some notion of fixed geographical and cultural characterization'.<sup>112</sup> Therefore Europe in the context of Blaze de Bury's work must be more closely examined both geographically and culturally.

Geographically, since the zenith of Roman rule, Europe's peripheral borders have remained more stable and less debated (by cartographers and geographers) than its internal borders.<sup>113</sup> In her

---

<sup>112</sup> Stefan Berger, 'Introduction', in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe, 1789-1914*, ed. by Stefan Berger (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. xvii-xxvii (p. xviii).

<sup>113</sup> Bo Stråth, 'Insiders and Outsiders: Borders in Nineteenth-Century Europe', in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe, 1789-1914*, ed. by Stefan Berger (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 3-10 (p. 4). Europe's peripheries are the Ural Mountains and the Ural River running to the Caspian Sea to the East. To the West they follow a line connecting the Caspian to the Black Sea, onward through the Straits of the Bosphorus and into the Mediterranean. Gibraltar forms the South-Westerly border point from which the Western border runs along the coasts of Portugal, Ireland, and encapsulates Iceland as the North-Westerly point. Melissa McDaniel et. al., 'Europe: Physical Geography', in *National Geographic Society*, (4 January 2012), <<https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/europe-physical-geography/>> [accessed 15 January 2017].

work, Blaze distinguished the Continent from Europe geographically.<sup>114</sup> In her usage, the Continent excluded Britain (and by omission Nordic countries, with the exception of Denmark). Blaze did not stick to a single geographical perimeter in connection with the Continent or Europe. The Continent sometimes incorporated most of mainland-Europe (excluding Russia and countries east of the Habsburg Empire) and at other times – mostly when allowing British characters to speak in direct discourse – it meant just France. Although the term Europe in Blaze's work often incorporated most of mainland-Europe as well as Britain, it was sometimes used to mean more specific areas defined by geography (usually what is now considered Western and Central Europe) or defined by aristocratic Houses (excluding some independent states).

However, geography is only half the story; the question remains: what does Europe mean? In the sixteenth century, cartographer Johannes Putsch started to produce maps which were no longer centred around Jerusalem, but were of Europe in the shape of a woman – *Europa Regina*. *Europa Regina* illustrates how geography and ideology merge to represent (sometimes contradictory) ideas of what Europe is. Today, parts of Russia and Turkey are arguably within Europe geographically, whereas former European colonies such as Brazil, New Zealand, or Northern America, which share a cultural connection and language with their former colonizers, are not. Yet what differentiates former colonies from Europe as a cultural-political idea? Stråth considered that although '[t]he political and cultural-historical definition of Europe is complex and contested and it varies over time', various histories have been 'mobilized in order to legitimatise a European identity, the majority with the pretension to represent *the* true story'.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> The words *continent* (or *continental*) are used 28 times and Europe (or European) are used 104 times in the four main texts under consideration. The term *continent* is used by the British and people in Nordic countries to demarcate continental Europe from themselves.

<sup>115</sup> Stråth, p. 3; Bo Stråth, 'Introduction: Europe as a Discourse', in *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, ed. by Bo Stråth (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 13-44 (p. 16). Original emphasis. Angelika Eppler remarked on this when laying

Europe was linked to the idea of liberty in ancient Greece when Athens was threatened by Persia; to Christendom in the fifteenth century until the Reformation fragmented the Church; to an early Machiavellian concept of a balance of power in the sixteenth century; and to the notion of civilization in the eighteenth century by thinkers such as Montesquieu and Voltaire.<sup>116</sup> These concepts were, of course, unstable and recurring. Though these ideas of Europe feature in Blaze's work, the more prevalent and timelier topic which influenced her ideas of Europe was revolution.

Two events that changed the concept of Europe dramatically not long before the dawn of the nineteenth century were the American War of Independence (1775-1783) and the French Revolution (1789-1799).<sup>117</sup> As the eighteenth century drew to a close a significant number of people in Europe asked themselves

---

out how Thomas Babington Macaulay's History of England 'judges foregone events in direct relation to his concept of the nation'. Referencing for example the Magna Carta about which he wrote '[h]ere commences the history of the English nation'. Angelika Epple, 'A Strained Relationship: Epistemology and Historiography in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Germany and Britain', in *Nationalizing of the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, ed. by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 86-106 (p. 87); Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, 5 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), I. Quted in Epple, p. 87.

<sup>116</sup> For Christendom and Europe see Str  th, p. 28. Peter Burke, 'Foundation Myths and Collective Identities in Early Modern Europe', in *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, ed. by Bo Str  th (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 113-22 (pp. 112-22). For the balance of power in the sixteenth century see Federico Chabod, *Der Europagedanke: von Alexander dem Grossen bis Zar Alexander I* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1963), p. 23. H. D. Schmidt, 'The Establishment of Europe as a Political Expression', *The Historical Journal*, 9.2 (1966), 172-78 (p. 173). For Europe and Machiavelli see *Machiavelli: The Prince*, ed. by Anthony Grafton (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1999). For Voltaire and civilization see *Voltaire: Le si  cle de Louis XIV*, ed. by Antoine Adam (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), p. 40. For Christendom and civilization see Franz Rauhut, 'Die Herkunft der Worte und Begriffe Kultur, Zivilisation, Bildung', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*, 35 (1953), 83-87 (p. 83).

<sup>117</sup> Hannah Arendt concluded that the American War of Independence forged a new beginning both for Europeans and Americans. Pim den Boer stated that although the 'French declaration of the rights of man (1789) enshrines various ideals and phrases which were first set down during the American Revolution [it] had a far wider range of application and was much more a document of principles. Its influence was also much greater', because France was not 'the New World but an ancient monarchy'. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1990 [1963]) p. 5. Pim den Boer, 'Europe to 1914: The Making of an Idea', in *The History of the Idea of Europe*, ed. by Kevin Wilson and Jan van der Dussen (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 13-82 (p. 66).



whether power should lie with the people, or more specifically white male citizens, as opposed to respective Crowns.<sup>118</sup> Both Hannah Arendt and Pim den Boer identified this period as the start of a historicizing of Europe and thereby of ‘the emergence of a strong concept of Europe’.<sup>119</sup> Revolutionary British fervour gripped some, whilst soon a strong opposition to the French Revolution formed in most European countries. Indeed, the idea of Europe and of belonging to a European community may have been more prevalent amongst opponents to the revolutionary movements (and later amongst the restoration movement). As den Boer put it, ‘it is almost as if, in the revolutionary mentality, there was hardly any place for Europe in between citizenship of the world and one’s own nation’.<sup>120</sup> Edmund Burke, for example, voiced his ideas of Europe when he wrote that religion, laws, and manners throughout Europe are

at bottom [...] all the same. The writers on public law have often called this aggregate of nations a commonwealth. [...] From hence [Christianity, Germanic notions of economy, and Roman law] arose the several orders, with or without a monarch [...] in every European country. [...] From all those sources arose a system of manners [...] which softened, blended and harmonized the colours of the whole. [...] no citizens of Europe could be altogether an exile in any part of it [...].<sup>121</sup>

Therefore, in the mid-nineteenth century, the concept of Europe as an entity was still in its infancy. Napoleonic expansion across Europe had created a new uniformity, but also sown the seeds for

---

<sup>118</sup> Britain had already undergone a similar phase during the Protectorate – the Interregnum – under the rule of Oliver Cromwell (1649-1660).

<sup>119</sup> Quoted in *The History of the Idea of Europe*, ed. by Kevin Wilson and Jan van der Dussen (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 10.

<sup>120</sup> den Boer, p. 66.

<sup>121</sup> Edmund Burke, 'Letters on a Regicidal Peace: Letter I on the Overtures of Peace', in *The Works of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, ed. by Henry Rogers (London: Samuel Holdsworth, 1850 [1796]), II, pp. 276-305 (p. 299).

the growth of nationalism.<sup>122</sup> However, the ‘most important result of the Revolutionary turmoil for the concept of Europe was that it received a historical credence, which had previously been lacking’.<sup>123</sup> A sense of a shared European heritage and identity had been born.

Blaze used the term Europe in a multitude of ways, including to refer to the before mentioned geographical areas, cultural entity(-ies), people(s), and occasionally also as an idea. Often it is open to interpretation which of these uses individual instances of the term Europe relate to. But there is an underlying motivation that drives the use of the term and the concept as a whole in her work. In 1848 revolution once again unfolded in Paris. In contrast to 1789, when sympathetic sentiment but not much grass-roots revolutionary action spread across Europe, in 1848 barricades were erected in many European cities within days of the outbreak in Paris.<sup>124</sup> This exemplifies the commonality which had developed in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>125</sup> As this communal revolutionary fervour swept across Europe, 1848 also marked the commencement of the accelerated rise of nationalism in Europe. At

---

<sup>122</sup> In contrast to Burke, Napoleon had envisaged one standard European currency, a single system of weights and measures, uniform European laws, a European Academy, which however did not come to fruition. Napoleon recorded his visions for Europe *post facto* whilst in exile on Sainte-Hélène. *Napoleon: Le mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, ed. by Gérard Walter (Paris: Gallimard, 1964).

<sup>123</sup> den Boer, p. 68. But this was not a uniform view of history. Different eras of history were viewed and channelled in a multitude of ways to inform the idea of Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. For example, Christianity was both a romantic mystical notion and a political allusion to the holy alliance. Novalis famously wrote that ‘[e]s waren schöne glänzende Zeiten, wo Europa ein christliches Land war’, whereby the mention of a European land in the singular implies some level of uniformity. George Philipp Friedrich von Hardenberg Novalis, ‘Die Christenheit oder Europa’, in *Hymnen an die Nacht und die Christenheit oder Europa* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1911 [1799]), pp. 31-61 (p. 31). Translation: ‘They were splendid times when Europe was a Christian land’.

<sup>124</sup> den Boer, p. 75.

<sup>125</sup> The revolutions and revolts were not the same everywhere. Whilst the uprisings in France were primarily a resistance against internal social inequalities, the uprisings in the Habsburg Empire were focused also on revolt against subjugation within the Empire. Ibid. For the power struggles within the Habsburg Empire in 1848 see for example Grenville, pp. 48-49 and 67. For the internal turbulence leading up to the 1848 revolution in France see for example H.A.C. Collingham, *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France, 1830-1848* (London: Longman, 1988); William Fortescue, *France and 1848: The End of Monarchy* (London: Routledge, 2005).

this pivotal point in the history of Europe and the idea of Europe, Blaze published her first novel. And it is these questions concerning Europe, and Britain's relationship to and position in it, that are her primary concern.

Like the French revolution and its immediate aftermath at the end of the previous century, the revolution in 1848 may have strengthened the importance and necessity of a concept of Europe amongst the opponents of the revolution – including Blaze. As Patrizia Nanz demonstrated, the idea of Europe is continuously negotiated and renegotiated in a flux of transcultural movements. Positions of the in-between or the crosser of borders are based on communication, and can increase transcultural literacy.<sup>126</sup> Such was also the self-proclaimed goal and effect of Blaze's work – 'that we [British] should know them better' and counteract our 'ignorance and indifference' about other European cultures through a transcultural lens.<sup>127</sup>

Not only is there difficulty in defining the term Europe, but the naming of areas within Europe is also not clear-cut. The terms Germany and Britain are problematic, particularly during the nineteenth century in connection with national and cultural identities. Until 1871 Germany did not exist as a nation-state. A federal Diet in Frankfurt served as a quasi-federal institution for the loosely-bound Confederation of 39 states, but there was 'no German government, administration, or [...] army'.<sup>128</sup> Though the twentieth century has taught us to think of the world instinctively in terms of national entities, this was less so for the Victorians, who, according to John Davis 'still functioned within pre-national, dynastic

---

<sup>126</sup> Patrizia Isabelle Nanz, 'In-between Nations: Ambivalence and the Making of a European Identity', in *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, ed. by Bo Stråth (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 279-310 (p. 292).

<sup>127</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. i; Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, p. ix.

<sup>128</sup> Grenville, p. 56. Prussia, for example, held Polish territory, and the Habsburgs ruled over Hungarian and other domains. Prussia and Austria dominated the Confederation but each of them held territories that did not form a part of the Confederation. Even after 1871 when Germany was unified the usage of the term Germany was still not clear-cut.

dimensions'.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, Maike Oergel pointed out that often the terms German and Germanic were used synonymously, which suggests a less nationalistic outlook.<sup>130</sup>

In addition to discussing German identity(-ies), Blaze also talked about identity(-ies) of the British Isles, which entails a tangled area of terminology and centre-periphery structures, for example in relation to Ireland, Wales, Scotland, or Cornwall. When Blaze was writing, Britain would have meant England, Scotland, and Wales. However, British identity(-ies) was, and is still, not treated as a clear-cut entity.<sup>131</sup> Chris Williams pointed out that '[i]n discussing "Britishness" one is inevitably faced with the problem of demarcating it from a sense of "Englishness". For Englishness was at the core of Britishness, even if it was not synonymous with it'.<sup>132</sup> Linda Colley pointed out that it was not uncommon for Englishness or England to be used as an overextension for British or Britain.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, Marjorie Morgan highlighted how the Victorians labelled themselves as British, English, Scottish, or Welsh, depending on their social context and their geographical location - including the overextended label "English".<sup>134</sup>

Blaze used various (national) identity labels. In her work, the term Britain never appears and the word British is a rare occurrence.<sup>135</sup> She made many references to England, some of which suggested that the term England stood for Britain. In some instances,

---

<sup>129</sup> Davis, p. 20.

<sup>130</sup> Maike Oergel, 'The Redeeming Teuton: Nineteenth-Century Notions of the "Germanic" in England and Germany', in *Imagining Nations*, ed. by G. Cubitt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 75-91 (p. 81).

<sup>131</sup> After the 1603 Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England, (which made King James VI of Scotland King James I of England and Ireland), the 1706 and 1707 Acts of Union made Scotland and England 'United into One Kingdom by the name of Great Britain'. In 1801, the Kingdom of Ireland was merged into the Kingdom of Great Britain to become a part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Wales was already assimilated (on paper) into the Kingdom of England in 1535 and 1542 already.

<sup>132</sup> *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Chris Williams (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), p. 546.

<sup>133</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2 edn. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. xiii and xv.

<sup>134</sup> Morgan, p. 4.

<sup>135</sup> For example, Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, pp. 83, 324, and 347.

Blaze did differentiate between the different countries of the British Isles. She mentioned England, Scotland, and sometimes Ireland as separate entities, reflecting the compatibility of overarching cultural entities, whilst not negating cultural individuality.<sup>136</sup> However, most of the time, when writing England or English, Blaze seems to have used them as an overextension for Britain or British, which evidences a wider terminological inconsistency within her extensive oeuvre.<sup>137</sup>

Thus far, what has not been considered is that Blaze was a female political actor in the predominantly hegemonic male fields of first-hand European political agency and publishing. The next section 1.c. considers this circumstance more closely, and outlines how the contemporary concept of gender hybridity can be fruitfully applied to the study of Blaze's life and works.

### **1.c. Women's Writing and Gender Hybridity**

One of the aims of this thesis is to provide a recuperative overview of Blaze's life and works. However, this thesis goes beyond recapturing her life and works. It presents evidence of female participation in nineteenth-century discourses on cultural identity in the context of European international politics, specifically through a contemporary transcultural and gender-hybrid lens. In this way, it is aligned with the New Approaches to European Women's Writing

---

<sup>136</sup> For example, Blaze stated that the habits of the 'stout Austrian yeomen [...] assimilates them with the Scotch as well as with the English'. Blaze also differentiated between the Scottish and the Irish proposing that 'the wide dissemination of the aristocratical element over the whole surface of the population [of Hungary], is decidedly more Scotch than Irish'. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 217-18.

<sup>137</sup> For example, Blaze wrote that '[w]hilst insular England has no next-door neighbour, France none but Spain to the south-west and Germany to the north-east'. Probably by 'England' she meant Britain, otherwise she should have mentioned England's land neighbours Wales and Scotland. Furthermore, Blaze stated that '[i]n 1720, the re-annexation of Schleswig was recognised by France and England', whereas, it was of course the United Kingdom of Great Britain, not England, that recognised Schleswig as part of Denmark under King Frederik IV of Denmark's rule. Blaze's references to 'the English Court' and 'the English [diplomatic] legation' in Berlin further indicate that England and English are overextensions for Britain and British. *Ibid.* I, pp. 377 and 391.

(NEWW), which ‘allows the study of [...] women's writing *in their international context*’.<sup>138</sup> Gilleir and Montoya described how the ‘transnational, like a palimpsest, quickly reveals another dimension, that of gender’.<sup>139</sup> It was ‘through international contacts, by creating new female networks’, that women authors created what ‘we would call today “women’s writing” – by definition not bound by any national or geographical limitation’.<sup>140</sup> In this way the transnational approach has enabled a more global understanding of writing by women (i.e. perceiving ‘common patterns and a set of common questions to which female authors, each in their own local framework, offered their own answers’).<sup>141</sup> A transnational approach, though, should not reduce ‘a diversity of female texts and approaches to a single common denominator. Rather, it foregrounds the multiplicity of discourses in which women engaged, while yet retaining [...] a shared sense of participating in a common literary field’.<sup>142</sup> However, there is little evidence to suggest that Blaze participated particularly in women’s literary networks. Her currently traceable networks (see 2.b.) were predominantly with political and literary men of her day.<sup>143</sup> It will be argued that in order to participate in discourses on European politics and culture, Blaze sometimes adapted and altered the presentation of her gender by means of style or voice, or through anonymous or pseudonymous signatures. More centrally, the perception of Blaze’s gender in the press will be analysed. Furthermore, it will be considered whether this potential for cross-gender and gender-hybrid alteration in some cases aided or hindered her transcultural political idea. It is not suggested that

---

<sup>138</sup> Suzan van Dijk, 'WomenWriters', (The Hague: Huygens ING, 2009), <<http://neww.huygens.knaw.nl>> [accessed 11 June 2018]; For more on the founding of the NEWW project see Suzan van Dijk, Anke Gilleir, and Alicia C. Montoya, 'Before NEWW (New Approaches to European Women's Writing): Prolegomena to the Launching of an International Project', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 27.1 (2008), 151-57.

<sup>139</sup> Gilleir, Montoya, and van Dijk, ed., p. 18.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> We hope future research will uncover more European-wide connections with uncanonised individuals.

Blaze harboured any physical or emotional transgender feelings. What is proposed is that she created (or was perceived to have created) a gender-hybrid voice in some of her writing, mainly due to her seemingly masculine work, for example her signatures and intertextuality.<sup>144</sup>

Terminology in this area is in flux. Sex/gender identity is a prevalent and evolving topic - also in Victorian (literature) studies.<sup>145</sup> As mentioned above, structuralist and deconstructionist theories can be applied to gender. Focusing on sexuality, Foucault deconstructed the emphasis on supposedly intrinsic qualities and sameness and developed a theory focusing on difference.<sup>146</sup> However, sex and gender are not the same. Whereas sex usually refers to biological grouping of males or females, the term *gender* can consider a broader range of characteristics. As Maurice Godelier put it: 'Society haunts the body's sexuality'.<sup>147</sup> Lacqueur pinpointed eighteenth century politics in particular (i.e. '[p]olitics, broadly understood as the competitor for power') as redefining social realities, including sex.<sup>148</sup> The debate was further fuelled throughout the nineteenth century by revived revolutionary motivation and post-

---

<sup>144</sup> Cross-gender, in this context, meaning perceived to be male although Blaze was female, whereas gender-hybrid, in this context, includes gender perceptions of a mixed male/female non-dichotomy. Cross gender is borrowed from Showalter's discussion of 'gender-crossing' pseudonyms. Little attention has been dedicated in academia to the Victorian sexual transgender. Some exceptions are Ann Heilmann, *Neo-/Victorian Biographilia and James Miranda Barry: A Study in Transgender and Transgenre* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Ardel Haefele-Thomas, *Queer Others in Victorian Gothic: Transgressing Monstrosity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).

<sup>145</sup> In Victorian studies the forthcoming special issue of the *Victorian Review* promises 'to explore the overt and covert constructions of resistance to the constructions of more rigid gender binaries throughout Victorian Britain and abroad'. It further considers how we might 'approach Victorian Trans Studies while recognizing that the term "trans" or "transgender" and the meanings we now grant to them did not exist in the Victorian period'. *The Victorian Review*, 'CFP: The Victorian Review Special Issue: Trans Victorians', (2017), <<https://www.navsa.org/2017/05/15/cfp-the-victorian-review-special-issue-trans-victorians-10152017/>> [accessed 26 August 2018].

<sup>146</sup> See Foucault.

<sup>147</sup> Maurice Godelier, 'The Origins of Male Domination', *New Left Review*, 127 (May-June 1981), 3-17.

<sup>148</sup> He attributes this to Enlightenment political theory, evangelical religion, the development of new public spaces, Lockean ideas of marriage, and French revolutionary ideas. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 11.

revolutionary conservatism in Europe, scientific development, an increased awareness of class, and the birth of modern feminism.<sup>149</sup> The distinction of sex as purely biological and gender as socially constructed was not a given. Nevertheless, in this thesis, unless otherwise stated, gender refers to societal perceptions of the feminine and the masculine.

The feminist theory *Écriture féminine* (women's writing), which was spearheaded by Hélène Cixous in France in the 1970s, examined the relationship between cultural and psychological inscription of the female body and female language.<sup>150</sup> It further explored how engaging with woman's own otherness in writing can reaffirm women's understanding of the physical world. This area of theoretical research provides a basis for the concept of perceived gender hybridity – both in writing and physically.<sup>151</sup> In mid-nineteenth-century Britain, gender was predominantly seen as a dichotomy between male and female and linked to very separate spheres of human existence. This thesis will adopt the term gender-hybrid to question the nineteenth-century gender dichotomy, whilst sometimes using the term cross-gender as a useful descriptive term.<sup>152</sup>

The British nineteenth-century world of publishing was riddled with gender inequality and bias. However, '[w]riting, unlike

---

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> *'Écriture féminine'*, in *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Literary Terms*, ed. by Chris Baldick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 65. See also Elaine Showalter, 'Writing and Sexual Difference', *Critical Inquiry*, 8.2 (1981), 179-205.

<sup>151</sup> There exists a *littérature hermaphroditism* (i.e. the phenotypical presentation of both male and female sexual organs). Hermaphroditism is not to be confused with the term intersex, which also includes genotypical presentation of male and female traits. Besides ancient Greek representations of Hermaphroditus, Virginia Woolf's *Orlando: A Biography* is perhaps the most famous literary work about hermaphroditism. Foucault discovered the memoirs of the nineteenth-century hermaphrodite Herculine Barbin, who, initially raised as a girl, is later forced by doctors to become a man. See Celia Caputi Daileader, 'Othello's Sister: Racial Hermaphroditism and Appropriation in Virginia Woolf's "Orlando"', *Studies in the Novel*, 45.1 (2013), 56-79.

<sup>152</sup> Gender hybridity will be particularly relevant in Chapter 3, which is concerned with the reception of Blaze's work in the press. Besides highlighting the gendered reception of her work, the chapter will examine how various signatures, anonymous, pseudonymous, and personal, provided Blaze with hybrid gender identities and enabled cross-gender alteration in the perceived voice of the author.



other professions that were moving from home into the public, was a useful kind of employment as it was performed in the private female sphere of the home (as opposed to the public male sphere)'.<sup>153</sup> Indeed, as Dorothy Thomson pointed out, the act of writing itself was a way of 'negotiating this seemingly rigid barrier'.<sup>154</sup> Nineteenth-century published work was read through a gendered voice, and according to Joanne Wilkes, its reception would depend on this gendered reading.<sup>155</sup> Therefore, the possibility of a gender-hybrid voice may have been appealing when dealing with topic matters perceived to be reserved for the gender opposite to the writer's. However, many reviewers of Blaze's work expressed criticism and confusion at the perceived gender hybridity of her actions and writing. In the case of Blaze, it was not merely the act of disseminating the private to the public which caused tension about gender roles. Tension was increased by the political content of her publications, which fuelled the perception of gender boundary crossing, and unease about her gender hybridity.<sup>156</sup>

Gynocriticism is established as a historicist approach and female perspective on women's writing which highlights exemplary women's work in literature and its depicted gender structures. Elaine Showalter considered gynocriticism the 'search for the sins and errors of the past' through the disinterested search for the 'essential difference of women's writing'.<sup>157</sup> One of the goals of second wave feminist literary criticism was, as Showalter described, to read 'as

---

<sup>153</sup> *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 3.

<sup>154</sup> Dorothy Thomson, 'Women, Work and Politics in Nineteenth-Century England: The Problem of Authority', in *Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914*, ed. by Jane Rendall (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), pp. 57-81 (p. 69).

<sup>155</sup> Joanne Wilkes, 'Remaking the Canon', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 35-54.

<sup>156</sup> 1970s feminist literary criticism focused on re-canonising women writers and in some cases examining a gender crossing perception of women writers. See for example Showalter's discussion of the Brontës and gender-crossing pseudonyms. Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 3-20 and 73-99.

<sup>157</sup> Elaine Showalter, 'Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness', *Critical Inquiry*, 8.2 (Winter 1981), 179-205, (pp. 179, 85-86, 93-97).

many novels by English women as I could find [...]. If there was a female literary tradition, [...] it came from imitation, literary convention, the market-place, and critical reception, not from biology or psychology'.<sup>158</sup> This tradition will be continued in this thesis by considering mid-nineteenth-century publishing conventions and a gendered reception of Blaze's work.

This thesis, however, also considers a current transcultural lens. This is also how the counter-narrative of women's involvement in nineteenth-century politics evolves. On the surface, it might seem that Blaze does not fit the traditional analyses of nineteenth-century politics, which have assigned women a peripheral role. However, 'most historians now acknowledge some level of female activism' and the discussion has moved on to examine the 'nature and extent of their political worlds'.<sup>159</sup> Nevertheless, the increased inclusion of women in current studies of nineteenth-century politics is due in part to a broadening of the definition of politics and political culture. In 1845 the *Morning Chronicle* wrote that:

on the one hand, the active participation of women in political agitation and debate is, generally speaking, decidedly undesirable; [...] on the other hand, there are, from time to time, certain public questions of a quasi-political character on which the expression of female opinion and feeling is both natural and graceful – are safe truisms.<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>158</sup> Elaine Showalter, 'Twenty Years on: "A Literature of Their Own" Revisited', *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, 31.3 (Summer 1998), 399-413 (p. 400).

<sup>159</sup> Sarah May Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), p. 1; Glenda Sluga lamented that 'despite available evidence of women as agents and subjects in the arena of diplomacy, the core historical narratives of international politics have remained depleted of women'. Whilst Anna Despotopoulou described how 'women were increasingly located within contexts of agency and settings of mobility, they were, nevertheless, expected to follow the prescribed routes of passivity or linearity'. *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, ed. by Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 2; Anna Despotopoulou, "'Running on Lines": Women and the Railway in Victorian and Early Modernist Culture', in *Women in Transit Through Literary Liminal Spaces*, ed. by Teresa Gomez Reus and Terry Gifford (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 47-60, p. 47.

<sup>160</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Chronicle*, 8 April 1845, pp. 5-6.

It appears the *Morning Post* was starting, albeit hesitantly, to consider a broadening of the political definition when talking about ‘quasi-political’ questions. The article suggested that there were different areas of involvement in politics, by its use of masculinised and feminised language, namely by contrasting political ‘agitation and debate’, reserved for men, and political ‘opinion and feeling’ allowed for women. Adding that female political feeling was ‘natural and graceful’ suggests a biological, physical underpinning of the alleged weaker sex’s role in politics. Therefore, although the *Morning Post* contemplates female participation in a broad definition of politics, it makes sure to retain a discriminatory distinction between the genders’ varying approaches to politics. This mid-nineteenth-century understanding of clear gender roles, and boundaries pertaining to gender and politics, feeds into the discussion of the perception of female writers. Sarah Richardson suggested that women writers expressed political opinion through ‘practical reforming strategies within an intellectual context’ specifically in the fields of married women’s property rights, law reform, education, public health, the treatment of poverty, and commercial policy’.<sup>161</sup> What characterizes these areas is that they dealt with the politics of reforming ‘everyday life’ – a broader designation of politics than the mid-nineteenth-century customarily would have allowed.<sup>162</sup> Joseph Nye’s late twentieth-century definitions of hard and soft power were further developed by Liz Sperling and Charlotte Bretherton to classify gender in politics. They considered ‘hard’ politics the discussion of ‘mainstream’ issues driven by men, and ‘soft’ politics topics that appeal to women.<sup>163</sup> This twentieth-century broadening of what is considered politics has allowed researchers like Richardson

---

<sup>161</sup> Richardson, p. 9.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>163</sup> Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990); Liz Sperling and Charlotte Bretherton, 'Women's Policy Networks and the European Union', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19 (1996), 303-13.

to investigate many works, particularly by women, which formerly may have been deemed apolitical – though the clear gender division remains suspect.

Blaze, like many nineteenth-century women, participated in politics in an intellectual context through her literary activity. She also participated also in a policy context through her personal agency. However, what distinguishes Blaze from other women, as defined by Richardson, is how, as a female writer of supposedly unfeminine cultural and “hard” politics – in this case specifically British, French, and German international politics – she advocated a transcultural stance. Other nineteenth-century (and earlier) women were involved - in writing or first-hand - with “hard” European politics: Germaine de Staël and George Eliot for example. However, a comparative analysis of Blaze’s life and writing with that of other women writers would not match the scope of this thesis. Notwithstanding such examinations, the recent focus, as outlined by Richardson, has remained on the large number of women involved in supposedly “soft” nineteenth-century politics. This offers the basis upon which to build this thesis’ counter-narrative. By blurring the gender line between private and public through the act of writing (and also travel) and the gender line between “soft” and “hard” politics, she implicitly challenged the idea of restrictive different gender spheres in terms of personal agency and identity. In this way, the concept of gender hybridity relinks with a transcultural identity. Both culture and gender are defined by society. The boundaries set by society can be transgressed to enable a re-examination of past preconceived gender and cultural identities.

The argument here is not that Blaze was the only woman of her day to be involved in and to write about “hard” European (party) politics, but that her life and works offer a counter-narrative to most contemporary critical and recuperative work on nineteenth-century political women writers. It is the combination of examining her life and work not strictly as a woman writer or national writer but as a gender-hybrid transcultural writer and political agent, which shines

a retrospective light on her value. The thesis undertakes this task in terms of transcultural approaches to women's and political literary history of difference. In this way, the ensuing chapters of this thesis adopt a contemporary recuperative lens through which to view Blaze de Bury's life and works.

## **Part 1**

*[She] maintained a correspondence with the principal statesmen of the day, as well as with the leaders in the moral and intellectual movements of the time. [...] she was known to a wide circle of distinguished people.<sup>1</sup>*

## **2. Blaze de Bury: A European Political Life and Network**

The *Pall Mall Gazette*'s obituary of Blaze, quoted in the above epigraph, recorded the breadth of her political and literary network. However, a holistically documented understanding of her extensive dealings does not exist. This lack of well-documented research in English on Blaze's life both necessitates and complicates the recuperative goal of this thesis. In Chapter 2 we therefore make a new contribution to the continuing efforts to re-canonise women writers and expand the corpus of "forgotten" nineteenth-century texts, by collating the scattered archival primary and the fragmented secondary information about her. In doing so we lay out a counter-narrative to the discourse about women's involvement in nineteenth-century European politics, focusing on the transcultural aspects of Blaze's life and network.

This chapter presents a recuperative biography of Blaze (2.a.) and reconstructs her network (2.b.). It is important to understand how Blaze's networked lifestyle and her transcultural message would have come across to her British readership. 2.c.i. therefore considers the contextual mid-nineteenth-century British perception of continental Europe (Germany and France in particular) and section 2.c.ii. discusses what can be surmised about Blaze's own sense of identity.

To achieve these aims, materials from the following archives and archive catalogues were consulted:

---

<sup>1</sup> [Anon.], 'Obituaries', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 January 1894, p. 8.

Table 2: List of Archives<sup>2</sup>

<i>Baylor University and Wellesley College Massachusetts</i> Browning Library Digital Collections Online.
<i>Bodleian Library</i> Papers of the Publishing House of Bentley and Papers of Richard Bentley.
<i>British Library</i> Western Manuscripts.
<i>CATH</i> Lord Byron and his Times Online.
<i>Duke University Press</i> Carlyle Letters Online.
<i>Institut de France</i> Manuscrits. Catalogue. Fonds Saint-René Taillandier and Collection du vicomte Charles de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul.
<i>National Library of Scotland</i> Manuscripts Catalogue Online.
<i>Newcastle University</i> Special Collections.*
<i>Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv</i> Hof von Hannover.*
<i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Rare Books and Manuscripts Allison-Shelley Manuscript Collection.*
<i>Universität Trier</i> Letters of Heinrich Heine.*
<i>University College London (UCL)</i> Special Collections Brougham Papers.
<i>University of Virginia</i> Special Collections Arnold Papers Online.
<i>University of California Los Angeles</i> Special Collections Charles E. Young Research Library.*
<i>University of Oxford</i> Papers of the Morier Family.
<i>Zentralbibliothek Zürich</i> Handschriften Briefe Julius Fröbel.

\* Materials from the archives marked with an asterix were kindly provided as photocopies. I did not go to these archives in person. The documents were identified by me online or in conversations with the respective archivists.

A significant part of her husband Henri Blaze's estate is housed with the bibliothèque de l'institut de France in Paris. Some of that collection also pertains to Rose Blaze. However, Rose Blaze's estate did not survive as a whole. Materials are scattered across Europe and the United States of America. Some archives, for example at Pennsylvania State University, have no records of how they came by the materials pertaining to Blaze. Examining the provenance of all the fragmented mini-collections is beyond the scope of this thesis (because of the second main focus, which is on the analysis of a selection Blaze's published literary texts). Thus, the information

---

<sup>2</sup> Further archives outside Britain also hold some of the scattered correspondence of Blaze. However, I was unable to travel to these archives or obtain copies of the materials held at them. E.g., the Papiers Chasles at the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, the bibliothèque Victor-Cousin at the Sorbonne, the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv in Hannover, the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, the Heinrich-Heine-Institut in Düsseldorf, the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, the Goethe- und Schiller-Archive at the Klassik Stiftung Weimar.



gathered here does not provide a complete picture, is fragmented, and to a degree randomly selected.

The majority of the identified materials are epistolary. Either letters from or to Blaze (and a few about her). The largest in-tact collection were part of the Brougham Papers in the UCL special collections, currently housed at the Kew National Archives. Over eighty letters from Blaze to Brougham can be found there, spanning from 1844 to 1862. Currently, no two-way correspondence between Blaze and other individuals could be reconstructed. Methodologically these one-way correspondences are problematic. Yet, viewed in combination (e.g. letters from Arnold to Blaze, accessed at the University of Virginia Online, with letters from Blaze to Brougham, consulted at UCL) a fuller picture emerges. Due to the fragmented nature and difficult accessibility, this thesis offers only a sample of individual network-links. The selection is based on pragmatic reasons (i.e. access to primary archival and secondary sources) as well as on relevance (i.e. most representative of Blaze's fields of activity).

A potential consequence of this is the lack of women represented in Blaze's network. Many women writers were written out of the canon by what Michel Foucault called 'rules of exclusion'.<sup>3</sup> We assume that Blaze corresponded with more women than are currently canonised or can be traced. This gap is widened by the lack of information about some of her female acquaintances. Because women generally lacked an official profession and their status was usually dependent on their male family members, women's estates, like Blaze's, tended to be fragmented, lost, or to remain uncatalogued. Nevertheless, the evidence presented in this chapter, in particular Blaze's network (see figure 2), provides a new foundation for future research into her life and network, and for

---

<sup>3</sup> Michel Foucault, 'The Discourse on Language', in *The Archeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon, 1972), pp. 225-26.

recuperating women's networks in general. It also adds to the picture of an interlinked social makeup of Europe, in the nineteenth-century.

## 2.a. Blaze de Bury: Life and Undertakings

We now turn to Blaze's parentage, education, marriage, family, travels, and her political mission. Jacques Voisine suggested that Blaze was born in 1813 to 'the Lady of Major Stewart, 9<sup>th</sup> Royal Veteran Battalion'.<sup>4</sup> Though later reports cast doubt on this assumption, others reaffirm Blaze's Scottish birth.<sup>5</sup> Blaze was rumoured to be the illegitimate child of Lord Henry Brougham.<sup>6</sup> Jane Carlyle wrote that 'the absurdist fact about her is that, [...] she is the reputed daughter of Lord Brougham and a Mrs Dunbar!!'.<sup>7</sup> Far from being ostracised for her suspected illegitimacy, Blaze enjoyed the enigma of mystery which it cast around her.<sup>8</sup> The rumour was in circulation during Brougham's lifetime, so it is unlikely that Blaze started it herself to create additional mystery and hype.<sup>9</sup> After

---

<sup>4</sup> [Anon.], 'Births', *Scots Magazine*, January 1813. Blaze would therefore have been the sister of the explorer (of Australia's inland) John McDouall Stuart. Jacques Voisine, 'La Baronne Blaze de Bury (1813(?) - 1894) et son rôle littéraire', *Thesis* (Paris, Faculté des lettres de Paris, 1955), p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See for example Paris Correspondent [Anon.], 'Obituary', *The Times*, 34173, 29 January 1894, p. 6; [Anon.], 'Obituary', *Liverpool Mercury*, 14376, 30 January 1894, p. 6.

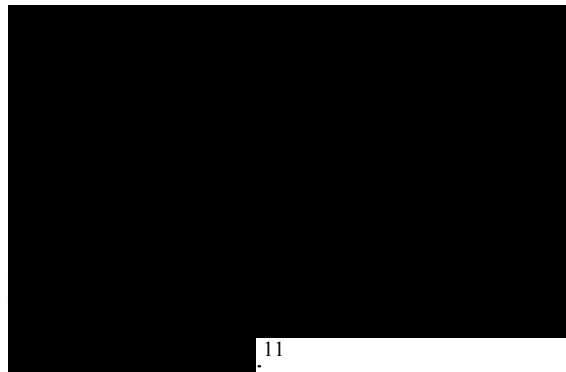
<sup>6</sup> Henry Brougham (posthumous), *The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham: Written by Himself*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1871). Some anthologies, indexes, and companions mention her illegitimacy without stating their sources. For example, *The Stanford Companion to Victorian Fiction*, ed. by John Sutherland (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989), p. 71; CATH, 'Lord Byron and his Times', (August 2011), <<http://lordbyron.cath.lib.vt.edu/persRec.php?choose=PubRefs&selectPerson=MaBlaze1894>> [accessed 11 May 2016].

<sup>7</sup> Jane Carlyle, Letter to Thomas Carlyle, 16 July 1858, *Duke University Press*, MS Carlyle Letters, Durham, North Carolina, <<http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/34/1/lt-18580716-JWC-TC-01>> [11 November 2015]. Robert Browning also thought that Blaze was Brougham's daughter. Robert Browning, Letter to Mrs Martin, 28 December 1855, *Baylor University and Wellesley College Massachusetts*, MS Browning Library, Digital Collections, <<http://digitalcollections.baylor.edu/cdm/search/collection/abletters/searchterm/blaze%20de%20bury/order/nosort>> [11 November 2015].

<sup>8</sup> See for example Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White*, 2 vols (New York: Century and Co., 1905), p. 411 in *Gutenberg*, <<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1370/pg1370.html>> [accessed 11 May 2016].

<sup>9</sup> When Carlyle related the rumour, Blaze was probably staying with Brougham in London. Carlyle, 16 July 1858, *Duke*, MS Collection.

Brougham's death in 1868 the rumour was never substantiated or refuted. In Blaze's extensive correspondence with Brougham only subtle hints can be detected about her parentage.<sup>10</sup> Blaze compared the relation between Goethe and a child to the relation between Brougham and herself.



.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, Blaze wrote that

[REDACTED]

.<sup>12</sup>

Whether Brougham was or was not Blaze's father, he was certainly a special friend and role-model, perhaps sparking her interest in European politics.<sup>13</sup> The American diplomat and cofounder of Cornell University Andrew Dickson White described visiting Blaze in Paris where Brougham's 'portrait hung above her chair in the salon, and she certainly showed a versatility worthy of the famous philosopher and statesman'.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Their correspondence started in January 1844 but they had previously met face-to-face. Henri Blaze wrote to Brougham the same days Yetta and Fernande were delivered, which underlines a closeness between Blaze and Brougham. Henri Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 14 July 1845, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16140.

<sup>11</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 13 January 1844, *University College London*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 23866. Hereafter, *University College London* will be abbreviated to *UCL*.

<sup>12</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 29 June 1844, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 23872. Original emphasis.

<sup>13</sup> Whig politician Brougham opposed the slave trade and trading restrictions with the rest of Europe. He was Queen Caroline's attorney. Like Blaze, he was a prolific political writer. Currently, only letters from Blaze to Brougham could be sourced.

<sup>14</sup> Dickson White, p. 411. Notwithstanding Carlyle and Dickson White's assumption that Blaze was French, they nevertheless thought she was Brougham's daughter. See section 2.c.ii.

18

<sup>15</sup> *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan et. al. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 39; [Anon.], *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 January 1894, p. 6; [Anon.], *The Times*, 29 January 1894, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Julius Fröbel, *Ein Lebenslauf, Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: J. G. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1891), II, p. 93. Translation: Blaze 'is a Miss Dunbar by birth. Her mother, a protestant Irish woman, is said to have stood in close [or intimate] relationships with Lord Brougham'. Mrs Dunbar may have been Mr. Wilkinson's (the chaplain to the King of Hanover in 1849) cousin, and Mr. Caldwell's sister. Epistolary evidence confirms a link to Wilkinson but census records present no conclusive evidence about who Mrs. Dunbar or George Caldwell were. Hof von Hannover, *Betreffend Kaplan Wilkinson, 1852-1866*, *Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv*, MS Departement 103, II, VI, XXII, XXIV, and XXXII; *UK Census Online*, <[www.https://ukcensusonline.com](https://ukcensusonline.com)> [accessed 2 March 2017].

<sup>19</sup> Mrs Dunbar lived with Blaze and Henri Blaze (or they with her) in Paris and they shared monetary funds. Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 7 November 1845, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 24869. Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 2 July 1848, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16107; Blaze de Bury, 7 November 1845, *UCL*, MS Collection, 24869; Blaze de Bury, 13 January 1844, *UCL*, MS Collection, 23866; Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 15 September 1849, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16118; Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 17 August 1849, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16115; Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 18 January 1851, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 24885.

68

her perceived unconventionality. Whichever testimonials or rumours are true, Blaze was not born into an established, well connected family as a legitimate member.

Blaze's education presents an even bigger gap in our knowledge than her parentage. According to Elisabeth Jay, there was a 'tendency of Scotland's nineteenth-century intelligentsia and professional classes to pursue further training in Paris rather than immediately adopting the more familiar migratory route south of the border'.<sup>21</sup> Whether this applied to Blaze is uncertain. Joseph Meyer proposed that she 'kam als Kind von 9 Jahren nach Frankreich, wo sie ihre Erziehung erhielt', though his sources are not apparent.<sup>22</sup> She was also said to have been attached to the French court as early as 1836, perhaps arrested in Mainz at the age of twenty-three, spoke and wrote at least English, French, German, and Spanish, whilst she was able to understand and read Italian, and claimed to have some command of Hungarian and Slavonic languages.<sup>23</sup> It is not clear whether her education sparked her keen interest in European politics or whether it was the latter, which encouraged her to learn languages and actively seek out political action.

██  
██████████ wrote Blaze in June 1844.<sup>24</sup> She was referring to her marriage which, though she had already ordered her wedding dress, was 'unavoidably postponed' for a few months.<sup>25</sup> Whom Blaze had planned on marrying is not known. However, four months later Rose Stuart married the French musicologist Baron Ange Henri Blaze de

---

<sup>21</sup> Elisabeth Jay, *British Writers and Paris 1830-1875* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Meyer, *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*. 4 edn., 16 vols (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1885-1892), III. Translation: 'as a child of nine years she came to France and received her upbringing there'.

<sup>23</sup> Fröbel, II, pp. 93-94. A cursory search in the archives of the Sicherheitspolizei in Mainz by the Head of Archives revealed no record of the incident. (See Appendix E). For mentions of Blaze's language skills and her daughters' education see Michael Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 120; Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850), II.

<sup>24</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 7 June 1844, UCL, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 23870.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

Bury.<sup>26</sup> According to Blaze, Henri Blaze was the future heir to a [REDACTED], had [REDACTED], and had undertaken a [REDACTED].<sup>27</sup> Not nobly born, he received the title of Baron de Bury in 1840 from Karl Friedrich Grand Duke of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, probably honouring the success of his translation of Goethe's *Faust* into French.<sup>28</sup> Henri Blaze was a remarkable and prolific contributor to various French journals on musical, literary, and societal matters.<sup>29</sup> Blaze and Henri Blaze probably collaborated in the production of some texts – though attribution is difficult – and complemented one another's networks.<sup>30</sup> Given the family's later financial constraints, it is unlikely that Henri Blaze's fortune ever materialised. His diplomatic career was not as successful as Blaze had hoped.<sup>31</sup> As she herself realised: Henri [REDACTED].<sup>32</sup> Indeed, she lobbied on her husband's behalf trying to ensure the most lucrative and, to Blaze's mind, geographically appealing diplomatic posts.<sup>33</sup> Fröbel recalled first meeting Henri Blaze and described it as making the acquaintance of 'des wenig bedeutenden Mannes einer viel bedeutenden Frau'.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> [Anon.], 'Marriages', *Spectator*, 852, 26 October 1844, p. 1016. Blaze's first daughter was born 14 July 1845, which makes her either a 'honeymoon' baby or perhaps the reason for a quick marriage after initially postponing it.

<sup>27</sup> Blaze de Bury, 29 June 1844, *UCL*, MS Collection, 23872.

<sup>28</sup> *Staatshandbuch für das Grossherzogtum Sachsen: 1843*, (Weimar: Hofbuchdruckerei, 1843), p. 19 <[https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=g4MAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=g4MAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)> [accessed 21 April 2016].

<sup>29</sup> Including the *Revue des deux mondes* and the *Revue de Paris* for which he wrote under his own name and the pseudonyms Hans Werner and F. de Lagenevais. *Dictionary of Pseudonyms: 13,000 Assumed Names and Their Origins*, ed. by Adrian Room (NC: Jefferson: McFarland, 2010), p. 506. Mark Everist, *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 194.

<sup>30</sup> See section 3.a.i. for examples.

<sup>31</sup> After diplomatic postings in Copenhagen and Weimar, Henri Blaze was posted in Hesse-Darmstadt. Yet Pailleron doubted that he ever fulfilled these functions. Marie-Louise Pailleron, *François Buloz et ses amis* (Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1923 [1914]), p. 184.

<sup>32</sup> Blaze de Bury, 29 June 1844, *UCL*, MS Collection, 23872.

<sup>33</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 3 October 1849, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 24085.

<sup>34</sup> Fröbel, II, p. 266. Translation: 'the hardly significant husband of a very significant woman'.

This remark, given Henri Blaze's title and critical importance in French periodical publishing, accentuates Rose Blaze's exceptionality.

Blaze had two daughters, Yetta in 1845 and Fernande in 1854, who became writers.<sup>35</sup> The family lived in Paris and Montmorency, at the time a village a few miles north of the capital. In her correspondence Blaze hardly ever mentioned her children.<sup>36</sup> However, Blaze was involved in her daughters' lives. Henry James described how, in 1876 in Paris, he met Blaze who 'has two most extraordinary little French, emancipated daughters. One of these, wearing a Spanish mantilla, & got up apparently to dance the cachacha [sic], presently asked me what I thought of incest as a subject for a novel'.<sup>37</sup> James' observation affords a glimpse of Blaze's unorthodox lifestyle, within what appears to have been a stable, mutually beneficial marriage and family setting.

Blaze's unconventionality is further evidenced by her frequent travels.<sup>38</sup> As her sister-in-law is said to have remarked in dismay; Blaze '[q]uitter ses enfants! Voyager, laisser là son mari, "son foyer", pour raisons politiques ou autres, une femme'!<sup>39</sup> Tracing her movements across Europe is therefore difficult.<sup>40</sup> However, the diagram below (Figure 1) gives a rough impression of Blaze's whereabouts. It illustrates Blaze's main periods of travel, roughly from 1847-1852 and 1860 to 1867. This also corresponds to her literary and politically more active periods.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Sandra Kemp, Charlotte Mitchel, and David Trotter, *The Oxford Companion to Edwardian Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>36</sup> A few months after Yetta's birth, Blaze wrote to Brougham

[redacted]. Blaze de Bury, 7 November 1845, *UCL*, MS Collection, 24869.

<sup>37</sup> Anesko, p. 120.

<sup>38</sup> For more on women and travel see section 4.a.iii.

<sup>39</sup> Marie-Louise Pailleron, 'François Buloz et ses amis au temps du Seconde Empire: Henri Blaze de Bury et la Baronne Rose', *Revue des deux mondes*, 5 (1921), 100-36, (p. 113). Translation: Blaze 'left her children! Travelled, left her husband there, "her home", for political or other reasons, a woman!'

<sup>40</sup> Blaze rarely sojourned in one place for very long and archival source material is dispersed.

<sup>41</sup> The lack of available data in between these periods might be accounted for by the rumour that Blaze and Henri Blaze had to stay away from Paris keeping a low

For eighteen years between 1869 and 1887 no publications by Blaze can currently be found.<sup>42</sup> The reason for this silence remains unexplained. Perhaps Brougham's death in 1868 caused a personal loss and signalled the end of Blaze's access to publishers via him. Blaze herself had struggled with health issues in the early 1860s, which may have re-intensified and prevented her from writing.<sup>43</sup> Other explanations could include that Blaze's financial situation was improved so that she no longer had a monetary reason to write, that disappointments after her political endeavours in Germany until the late 1860s discouraged her from writing, or that she pursued other interests, for example focused entirely on her hands-on political activities, her interests in banking, or on her daughter's literary careers that were commencing around this time.<sup>44</sup> Voisine wrote that 'Il n'était pas dans le caractère de Mme. Blaze de Bury de se résigner à la défaite; mais l'écrasement militaire de l'Autriche, puis la guerre de 1870-71, mettent fin à sa carrière d'agent diplomatique officieux', substantiating the link between shifting Austrian politics and Blaze's literary output.<sup>45</sup> Pailleron, on the other hand, was of the opinion that in 1869 and 1870 the increasing police raids on political agitators in Paris made Blaze tone down her politics and cease publishing for a time.<sup>46</sup>

---

profile from 1851-1864 due to their opposition to Napoleon III, and apparently the risk of deportation. Everist, p. 194.

<sup>42</sup> Per Voisine, Blaze started writing novels again in 1868 because publishers were no longer accepting her journalistic work (work mainly on Austria). Voisine, p. 129.

<sup>43</sup> Yetta Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 29 November 1862, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16139; In later life Blaze was badly pock-marked and showed signs of having been severely ill at some time. Robert Bush, *Grace King: A Southern Destiny* (Louisiana, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), p. 119. However, a letter from Matthew Arnold to Blaze arranging to call on her in London calls the severity of such an illness into question. Matthew Arnold, Letter to Blaze de Bury, 11 June 1881, *University of Virginia*, MS Special Collections, <<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/arnold/default.xqy>> [accessed 21 April 2016].

<sup>44</sup> In 1870 Blaze's daughters were 25 and 16 years old.

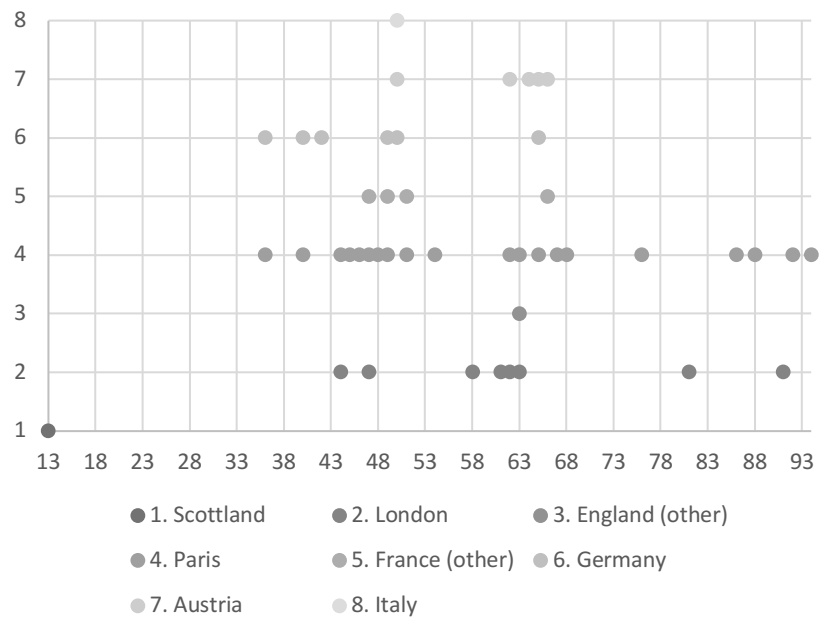
<sup>45</sup> Voisine, p. 126. Translation: 'It was not in the character of Madame Blaze de Bury to resign herself to defeat; but the military crushing of Austria and the war of 1870-71 put an end to her career as an unofficial diplomatic agent'.

<sup>46</sup> Marie-Louise Pailleron, *François Buloz et ses amis*, 4 vols (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), III, pp. 185 and 198. Voisine found the name Blaze de Bury on a list of suspects from the *Préfecture de Police* in Paris dated fourth September 1869. However, it is unclear whether Henri Blaze or Rose Blaze was meant. Voisine, p. 133.



Figure 1: Blaze de Bury's Movements

\* x-axis = year (i.e. 18xx); y-axis = place. Based on primary (epistolary) sources as well as on secondary sources. Not, however, on Blaze's self-reported movements in her published work.



Notwithstanding Blaze's extensive œuvre and her widespread network in politics and publishing, she is not currently part of any literary canon.<sup>47</sup> Blaze's absence in print in the 1870s and early 1880s naturally went hand in hand with a lower level of interest in her writing.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, by the time Blaze died she may already have faded from a younger generation's memory. Some obituaries praised her literary legacy and recalled her as a political agitator. Though during their lifetime Blaze was the better known and more active than Henri Blaze (in Britain), it seems that Henri Blaze's legacy came to overshadow hers post-mortem.<sup>49</sup> Many women writers were written

<sup>47</sup> See Introduction c.

<sup>48</sup> After the publication of her last novel in 1869 Blaze was not published throughout the next decade. In the late 1880s she published over a dozen articles until her death in 1894. This resumption of authorship happened around the time of her husband's death in 1888.

<sup>49</sup> Unlike Blaze, Henri Blaze had continued publishing in the 1870s and early 1880s. The *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* stated that the death is 'announced of Mme. Blaze de Bury, the widow of M. A. H. Blaze, and herself a contributor to the "Revue de Paris," and the "Revue des de[ux] Mondes," and the writer of a volume of travels in Germany and Austria during the revolutionary troubles of 1848-49'. The *Times*' obituary commenced by referring to her husband: 'I [French correspondent] regret to have to announce the death of Mme. Blaze de Bury, the widow of the critic of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, whose chief work was a

out of the canon, which Carole Christ ascribed to the power of the male critic.<sup>50</sup> It seems, however, that Blaze de Bury never made it onto critic's pages post-mortem.

According to Droz, Blaze was 'une femme de lettres' and '[t]rès lancée dans la vie littéraire de la monarchie de Juillet, bien en cour aux Tuileries'.<sup>51</sup> Aligning herself with Charles Forbes René de Montalembert's politics of reconciling the modern world and the Catholic Church, she advocated a free church and a free state in France.<sup>52</sup> Blaze was socially liberal and anti-revolutionary. Her before mentioned hatred of Napoleon III demonstrated her anti-revolutionary position. She disliked his revolutionary rise to power as described in *Léonie Vermont*. Her mission was to protect Europe against the turmoil of revolution whilst bringing it out of the clutches of absolutism. Blaze rejected the abolition of old institutions in Europe, whilst advocating their reform following a British example.<sup>53</sup> In particular, she advocated strong free trade links between Britain and Austria to keep France, Prussia, and Russia in check. In this way, her liberalism was connected to a religious and financial tradition, opposed to revolution, which, to her mind, suppressed religious and economic freedom. She sought a middle path between authoritarianism and anarchy.<sup>54</sup> Blaze wrote at a time

---

translation of *Faust*, prefaced by a remarkable study of the poem'. [Anon.], 'Magazines for February', *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 14270, 5 February 1894, p. 3. [Anon.], *The Times*, 29 January 1894, p. 6.

<sup>50</sup> Carol Christ, "'The Hero as Man of Letters': Masculinity and Victorian Nonfiction Prose', in *Victorian Sages and Cultural Discourse: Renegotiating Gender and Power*, ed. by Thais E. Morgan (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), pp. 19-31.

<sup>51</sup> Jacques Droz, 'La baronne Blaze de Bury, observatrice de la politique autrichienne', in *Österreich und Europa: Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hermann Peichl and Heinrich Fichtenau (Graz, Wien, Köln: Styria Verlag, 1965), pp. 325-35 (pp. 325-26). Translation: 'a woman of letters'; 'very much in the literary life of the July Monarchy, well in court at the Tuileries'.

<sup>52</sup> They disagreed on the independence of Poland. For more on Montalembert, Catholicism, and French politics see Le comte de Montalembert, *Vandalisme et du Catholicisme dans l'Art (fragments)* (Paris: Debécourt, 1839).

<sup>53</sup> This mission shines through in the prefaces to many of her works and Droz remarked upon it in connection with Austria. Droz, pp. 325, 327-28.

<sup>54</sup> Droz placed Blaze on a par with 'des hommes aussi différents que C. Frantz et J. Fröbel en Allemagne, Buntschli [Bluntschli] en Suisse, Lord Acton en Angleterre, Ferrari et Cattaneo en Italie' who were all in favor of a federalist system. Ibid., p. 325. Translation: 'men as different as C. Frantz and J. Fröbel in

when ‘l’État multinational [...] pût avoir une valeur égale sinon supérieure à l’État national’.<sup>55</sup> Though she did not negate differences and even a hierarchy of nations within Europe, her transcultural message advocated increased understanding of intra-European difference whilst striving for a more equalised Europe. Blaze did not act on her own. She put herself into the middle of the mechanisms of power in Europe to shape it according to her vision. A European network was paramount to this undertaking.

## **2.b. Blaze de Bury: Network**

Blaze was acquainted and corresponded with various writers and thinkers in Europe, particularly about current affairs and publishing her work. Her network consisted of individuals with various cultural affiliations. Through these links her network transcended individual cultures. Following the principle of the ‘duality of persons and groups’ in network studies, the identity of both the individual and the group is forged through reciprocal intersections, leading, in the case of Blaze, to a transnational network with social agency.<sup>56</sup> To unravel such interactions further, we will examine a sample of Blaze’s acquaintances, focusing on the French literary scene, British publishing circles, and Austrian-British political and financial links.<sup>57</sup> The result will be the outline of a European network to which Blaze belonged (see Figure 2).<sup>58</sup>

---

Germany, Bluntschli in Switzerland, Lord Acton in England, Ferrari and Cattaneo in Italy’.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. Translation: ‘the multinational state [...] could have an equal or even greater value to the national state’.

<sup>56</sup> Ronald Breiger, ‘The Duality of Persons and Groups’, *Social Forces*, 53.2 (December 1974), 181-90.

<sup>57</sup> This thesis offers only a sample of individual network-links due to scope. The selection is based on pragmatic reasons (i.e. access to primary archival and secondary sources) as well as on relevance (i.e. most representative of Blaze’s fields of activity).

<sup>58</sup> Archives outside Britain which hold some of the scattered correspondence of Blaze may shed a light on this: E.g. the Manuscrits de la bibliothèque Spoelberch de Lovenjoul at the Institut de France, the Papiers Chasles at the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, the bibliothèque Victor-Cousin at the Sorbonne, the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv in Hannover, the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, the Heinrich-Heine-Institut in Düsseldorf,

Pailleron described how Blaze ‘connaît tant de monde, et aux quatre coins de l’Europe, elle exige d’être tenue au courant de leurs démarches, s’offre à en faire de nouvelles’.<sup>59</sup> ‘So many people [...] in all corners of Europe’ suggests a multifaceted network. If Blaze was attached to the French court, she would have forged some acquaintances there. Her status as a Baroness and her husband’s strong foothold in French (and German) literary and musical circles would further enable access to influential peers and publishers. Blaze had married into an influential literary family. Henri Blaze’s sister Christine Blaze was married to Françoise Buloz, the chief editor of the *Revue des deux mondes* and for a short while the *Revue de Paris*. So the French world of publishing stood fairly open to Blaze.<sup>60</sup> Yet, it is unlikely that Henri Blaze facilitated his wife’s first publications in Britain, for at this time, he was published only in France.

Georg Simmel’s social network theory describes the ‘Kreuzung sozialer Kreise’ that cuts ‘across primary groups created by clan and kinship ties’ (i.e. ‘inherited relationships’).<sup>61</sup>

---

the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, and the Goethe- und Schiller-Archive at the Klassik Stiftung Weimar.

<sup>59</sup> Pailleron, p. 110. Translation: Blaze ‘knows so many people, and in all corners of Europe, she demands to be kept informed of their actions, and offers to create new ones [actions] for them’.

<sup>60</sup> We do not know when Blaze and Henri Blaze met. Her publishing debut in France cannot, therefore, be conclusively linked to opportunities opened through her husband-to-be or her brother-in-law Buloz. Ties to the French literary world lasted beyond Buloz’s death in 1877 through his son Charles Buloz and grandson-in-law Paul Bourget. The Buloz family knew and regularly invited the leading literary minds of the day to their country estate Château de Ronjoux. Among them were Victor Hugo, Alfred de Musset, George Sand, Alfred de Vigny, Honoré de Balzac, Octave Feuillet, and Ernest Renan. The *Revue des deux mondes* was set up to ‘voir les mêmes principes diversement compris, et appliqués en France et en Angleterre, au Brésil et en Allemagne, sur les bords de la Delaware et sur les rivages de la mer du sud’. François Buloz, ‘Avertissement’, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1.1 (1 July 1829), i-iii, (p. iii). Translation: ‘see the same principles differently understood, and applied in France and England, in Brazil and Germany, on the banks of the Delaware to the coasts of the Southern Ocean’. Marie-Louise Pailleron, *François Buloz et ses amis*, 4 vols (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), 1. Buloz’s granddaughter, Pailleron inherited the estate, and wrote numerous pieces about her grandfather. Today, Pailleron is best known for her, and her brother’s, 1881 portrait by John Singer Sargent, currently at the De Moins Art Center in the USA.

<sup>61</sup> Georg Simmel, ‘Die Kreuzung sozialer Kreise’, in *Soziologie* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1908), pp. 305-44; Georg Simmel, ‘The Web of Group Affiliations’, in *Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations* (New York: The Free Press, 1964),

Furthermore, as Welsch more recently put it, though networks consist of difference, ‘there is overlap between [transcultural identities], and this allows for exchange, understanding and transitions between those [transcultural identity] networks’.<sup>62</sup> This applies to Blaze. As well as making use of familial ties, she made the acquaintance of French politicians – mainly trying to secure a diplomatic post for Henri Blaze. Among them was Guizot, who in 1845 promised Henri Blaze a future posting.<sup>63</sup> Blaze’s endeavours continued with only mild success until 1849 when she reported that finally the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Toqueville, had [REDACTED] in part, it seems, due to his interest in Blaze and her work.<sup>64</sup> Though, alongside connections made possibly during her education in France, Blaze’s marriage probably brought new possibilities to mingle in French literary and political circles, it seems they were not a given. She had to network and find her own way into ‘elective groups’ in French political circles.<sup>65</sup> She entered into ‘primary’ French literary and ‘crosscutting’ political circles and forged her own transnational network.<sup>66</sup> By the 1850s, literary and political figures would make a point of visiting her in Paris.<sup>67</sup> In this way, alongside her own travels, Blaze became part of a wider European network originating from Paris. Blaze forged a crosscutting network of correspondents and friends in Europe including Russian princes, German kings, Austrian and French statesmen of various political inclinations, German poets, and Italian composers – many of whom were themselves networked across Europe (see Figure 2).

---

pp. 128-95 (p. 140); Taken from *Bluestockings Now!: The Evolution of a Social Role*, ed. by Deborah Heller (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 17-54.

<sup>62</sup> Wolfgang Welsch, ‘Rethinking Identity in the Age of Globalization: A Transcultural Perspective’, in *Aesthetics & Art Science*, 1 (2002), 85-94, p. 87.

<sup>63</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 24 March 1845, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 34321.

<sup>64</sup> Blaze de Bury, 3 October 1849, *UCL*, MS Collection, 24085.

<sup>65</sup> Simmel, p. 140.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> For example, Heinrich Heine, Dickson-White, and Henry James. For more on Paris as a British literary hub see Elisabeth Jay.

This image provides a visualization of the extent of Blaze's transcultural network. What it does not capture are the movements of Blaze or her acquaintances. They have been "placed" on the map roughly based on their place of origin or main place of enterprise. (For example, Henry James is placed in the USA although he met Blaze in Paris and travelled extensively in Europe). It is hoped that further research (particularly in continental European archives) will enable an expansion of this overview in the future. See Appendix E for a table containing information about the individuals mentioned.





By 1840 Blaze was living in Paris. She nevertheless had British literary acquaintances and enter the British publishing world later that decade. Mary Shelley was acquainted with Blaze and sought her advice on Bohemian history.<sup>68</sup> Shelley was already networked in the British publishing scene. It was not unknown for women writers, looking for support for their publishing undertakings, to contact their already established peers. Famously Charlotte Brontë wrote to Robert Southey and he responded, praising ‘the gift which you [Charlotte] possess’, but explaining that ‘[l]iterature cannot be the business of a woman’s life, and it ought not to be’.<sup>69</sup> However, unlike Charlotte Brontë, Blaze, after her marriage, had the advantage of a title, enabling easier access to her influential peers.<sup>70</sup> Also, her incessant travels and Channel hopping must have brought her into contact with a wider European circle (i.e. elective cross-cutting groups) than the Brontë’s could have enjoyed from their seclusion in Yorkshire.<sup>71</sup>

Brougham was one such connection.<sup>72</sup> In her first letter to him, Blaze praised him and asked his permission *ex post facto* to write an article about his new book *Historical Sketches of Statesmen Who*

---

<sup>68</sup> Shelley knew Blaze and sought Blaze’s expertise on Bohemian history the year Shelley’s *Rambles in Germany and Italy* (featuring Bohemia) was published. Mary Shelley, Letters from Mary Shelley to Madame de Bury, 17 March and 14 October 1844, *Newcastle University*, MS GB 186, MSA/1/99-100. See Mary Shelley, *Rambles in Germany and Italy: in 1840, 1842, and 1843*, 2 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1844).

<sup>69</sup> Robert Southey quoted in Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 123. Gaskell thought that Charlotte Brontë also wrote to Coleridge. However, Samuel Taylor Coleridge had been dead for three years already at this point. Gaskell did not specify whether she meant Samuel Taylor Coleridge or not but said that she had ‘not met with any part of that correspondence’. Charlotte Brontë mentioned both Southey and Coleridge in a letter to M. Héger in 1845 saying that ‘Autrefois je passais des journées, des semaines, des mois entiers à écrire, et pas tout-à-fait sans fruit, puisque Southey et Coleridge, deux de nos meilleurs auteurs, à qui j’ai envoyé certains manuscrits, en ont bien voulu témoigner leur approbation’. Angus Easson suggested that in fact Charlotte Brontë wrote to Hartley Coleridge. *Ibid*, pp. 221 and 521-22.

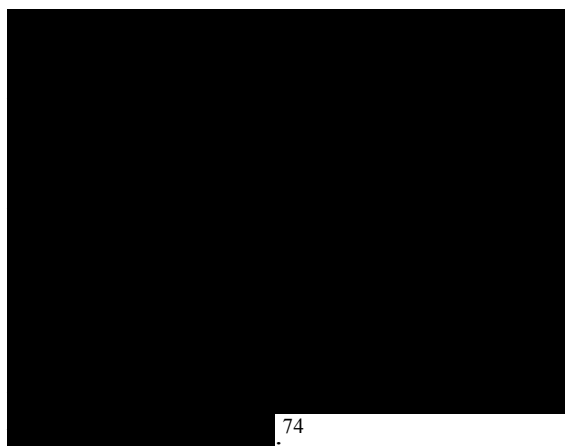
<sup>70</sup> At the same time, being “merely” a Baroness would not enable entrance to the society of the higher peerage and aristocracy.

<sup>71</sup> Though of course the Brontës did have some European continental acquaintances, not least through Charlotte and Emily’s time as governesses in Brussels. Simmel, p. 140.

<sup>72</sup> Brougham, pp. 33 and 245-70.



*Flourished in the Time of George III* (1839).<sup>73</sup> The letter was cunningly submissive yet at the same time demanding:



Through the before cited child-parent connotations of parents' responsibility to educate, Blaze devised an emotional bribe to increase the chances of a favourable reception of her later demands. She successfully sought Brougham's patronage not least by writing a gratifying article about him in the French press. Less than three weeks later Blaze received both the requested speeches and [redacted] [redacted] letter of introduction to Lady Cowley – wife of the British ambassador to France under Prime Minister Peel.<sup>75</sup> To this she responded that [redacted] [redacted] [redacted].<sup>76</sup> Just over a year later in 1845 her article on Molière appeared in the Brougham co-founded *Edinburgh Review*.<sup>77</sup>

Blaze also exchanged with and sought the patronage of British writers who were not rumoured to be family relations. Late in life Thomas Adolphus Trollope recollected that:

---

<sup>73</sup> Article currently not traced.

<sup>74</sup> Blaze de Bury, 13 January 1844, *UCL*, MS Collection, 23866. Original spelling.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 3 February 1844, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 23867.

<sup>77</sup> William Hazlitt wrote that 'to be an *Edinburgh Reviewer* is, I suspect, the highest rank in modern literary society'. Blaze published three more articles for the magazine, two in the 1850s and one in 1890. David Bromwich, *Hazlitt: the Mind of a Critic* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 104.

[o]ne of my most charming friends of those days, Rosa Stewart, who afterwards became and was well known to literature as Madame Blaze de Bury, was both too clever and too shrewd an observer, as well as, to me at least, too frank to pretend any of the assurance which was then *de mode*. She saw what was coming, and was fully persuaded that it must come.<sup>78</sup>

It may have been through Thomas Trollope that Blaze got to know his brother Anthony Trollope, for whose *St. Paul's Monthly Magazine* she would produce the serialised novel *All for Greed* (1867-68).

Blaze wrote about Matthew Arnold's work in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1854 as part of her series 'La poésie anglaise depuis Shelley'.<sup>79</sup> By 1867 Arnold was well enough acquainted with and perhaps indebted to Blaze to assure her that he would write to the publishers Alexander Macmillan and George Murray Smith about two articles proposed by her.<sup>80</sup> He had already done so for her article 'Victor Cousin' which had been rejected by *Macmillan* and *Cornhill* but published in the *North British Review* instead.<sup>81</sup> Evidence suggests that Blaze used a similar procedure of flattery followed by requests to achieve her publishing goals. Arnold wrote that:

Your kind expressions do me and what I

---

<sup>78</sup> Thomas Adolphus Trollope, *What I Remember*, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1887), II, pp. 71-72. 'She saw what was coming', i.e. the development of French society and politics throughout the 1840s culminating in the 1848 revolution.

<sup>79</sup> In the same series Blaze wrote unflatteringly about Tennyson's poetry. So she did not use flattery to secure support for her own work in every case. Rose Blaze de Bury, 'La poésie anglaise depuis Shelley: Poèmes de Matthew Arnold et d'Alexandre Smith', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.6 (September 1854), 1136-68, <<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=64879>> [accessed 21 April 2016]; Leonee Ormond, *The Reception of Alfred Tennyson in Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 310.

<sup>80</sup> Matthew Arnold, Letter to Blaze de Bury, February 1867, *University of Virginia*, MS Special Collections, <<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/arnold/default.xqy>> [accessed 21 April 2016].

<sup>81</sup> Letters both to Macmillan and Murray Smith show that Arnold fulfilled his promise. Matthew Arnold, Letter to Cornhill, February 1867, *University of Virginia*, MS Special Collections, <<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/arnold/default.xqy>> [21 April 2016]; Matthew Arnold, Letter to Alexander Macmillan, March 1867, *University of Virginia*, MS Special Collections, <<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/arnold/default.xqy>> [21 April 2016].

have written a great deal more honour than we deserve, but it is not my gratified vanity which induces me to make myself your intermediary with the editors, it is the conviction that in proposing your articles to them I am proposing to them what it is for their interest to take.<sup>82</sup>

Using the same strategy as that used with Brougham, Blaze praised Arnold's work as well as asked his advice and solicited his aid for her own publishing endeavours. However, Blaze was not just writing to a well-known essayist on the off chance of catching his attention and support. They had met in Paris and London, and exchanged many letters which did not refer to their publishing efforts. In fact, Arnold once wrote to Blaze thanking her because 'when I see my criticisms of various kinds beginning to take hold here and there in England I often think of your having insisted on my critical qualities, years ago'.<sup>83</sup>

Robert Browning knew Blaze in the literary circles of Paris in 1855 from whence he wrote that Blaze had called on him and that: 'I am glad—because of the access she gives to characteristic French society – For the rest, I don't much mind whether she has a mind (or not) to be Lord Brougham's daughter, or a descendant of the Scottish Kings'.<sup>84</sup> Browning also wrote to Chapman: 'She is a practiced "hand," the fingers of which have been in the "Edinburgh," [...] I am told she writes cleverly & popularly'.<sup>85</sup> He may not have been as close a friend as Arnold or Brougham, but a year later in 1856 he advised Blaze to write to Edward Chapman about contributing regularly to the

---

<sup>82</sup> Arnold, February 1867, *University of Virginia*, MS Collection.

<sup>83</sup> Matthew Arnold, Letter to Blaze de Bury, 27 January 1868, *University of Virginia*, MS Special Collections, <<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/arnold/default.xqy>> [21 April 2016].

<sup>84</sup> Browning, 28 December 1855, *Baylor*, MS Collection.

<sup>85</sup> Robert Browning, Letter to Blaze de Bury, 2 June 1856, *Baylor University and Wellesley College Massachusetts*, MS Browning Library, Digital Collections, <<http://digitalcollections.baylor.edu/cdm/search/collection/abletters/searchterm/blaze%20de%20bury/order/nosort>> [11 November 2015]; Robert Browning, Letter to John Chapman, 18 May 1856, *Baylor University and Wellesley College Massachusetts*, MS Browning Library, Digital Collections, <<http://digitalcollections.baylor.edu/cdm/search/collection/abletters/searchterm/blaze%20de%20bury/order/nosort>> [11 November 2015].

Westminster.<sup>86</sup>

Blaze's relationship with the author and publisher's reader Stephen Watson Fullom was close enough that he advised and persuaded her to write on some British literary topics in the French press. He, like Brougham, sent Blaze copies of primary sources and his own literary notes on them for her to review in the *Revue des deux mondes*.<sup>87</sup> They reviewed some of each other's work in the English and French press respectively.<sup>88</sup>

To enter into and maintain relationships within European high society, money was a necessity. Yet Blaze sometimes claimed she wrote for monetary reasons.<sup>89</sup> Elizabeth Langland reminded us that 'writing, along with teaching, presented itself as one of the very few ways to earn money for a respectable woman'.<sup>90</sup> Blaze often stressed her precarious financial position and the importance of her work being lucratively published. She used male intermediaries not only to get her work published but also to settle the business end of the deal.<sup>91</sup> Brougham negotiated rates and payments for her two first novels with

---

<sup>86</sup> Browning, 2 June 1856, *Baylor*, MS Collection; Browning, 18 May 1856, *Baylor*, MS Collection.

<sup>87</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Stephen Watson Fullom, December 1851, in *Abebooks*, MS, <<http://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=151763464&searchurl=kn%3Dwatson%2Bfullom%2Bblaze%2Bde%2Bbury%26amp%3Bsts%3Dt%26amp%3Bx%3D0%26amp%3By%3D0>> [11 November 2015].

<sup>88</sup> For example, Rose Blaze de Bury, 'La poésie anglaise depuis Shelley: Bas-reliefs gaulois trouvés a entremont - The Daughter of Night, par W.-S. Fullom', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.3 (February 1852), 590-92, <<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=68534>> [accessed 21 April 2016].

<sup>89</sup> For example, when sending a draft of *Mildred Vernon* to Brougham for Colburn she wrote

[REDACTED] Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 8 April 1847, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16101.

<sup>90</sup> Elizabeth Langland, 'Women's Writing and the Domestic Sphere', in *Women and Literature in Britain*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 119-41 (p. 119); Others have argued that the monetary element of publishing did much to further the professionalization of woman writers. Judith Johnston and Hilary Fraser, 'The Professionalization of Women's Writing: Extending the Canon', in *Women and Literature in Britain*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 231-50 (p. 234).

<sup>91</sup> For example, she wrote to the American-based Mr Appleton seeking his assistance in chasing up the money she was owed for a recent publication. Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Mr. Appleton, 22 November 1860, in *Ebay*, MS, <<http://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/Novelist-BARONESS-BLAZE-DE-BURY-Autograph-Letter-ALS-/220707929769>> [11 November 2015].

Colburn and Bentley respectively. However, she also took things into her own hands.<sup>92</sup> Initially behind Brougham's back, she was negotiating prices for the manuscript both with Colburn and Bentley at the same time.<sup>93</sup>

Blaze's network was not exclusively literary. She forged numerous political links throughout Europe – for example with the above-mentioned Lord Cowley. Many of her connections in Austria were in diplomatic and financial circles. Robert Burnet Morier served as an attaché in Vienna, Spain, Portugal, and most German courts before becoming the British ambassador to Russia in 1884.<sup>94</sup> He was a close adviser to the future Frederick III (whose anti-Bismarck tendencies are speculated to have originated with Morier).<sup>95</sup> In 1865 the Austrian financial statesman Karl von Hock feared that the official Anglo-Austrian commission, of which Morier was an advocate, 'was actually an intrigue worked out between Madame Blaze de Bury, a major shareholder in the Anglo-Austrian Bank, and Beaumont', a British industrialist and politician.<sup>96</sup> The Anglo-Austrian Commission

---

<sup>92</sup> See Chapter 3 and Valerie Sanders, 'Women, Fiction and the Marketplace', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 142-61 (pp. 158-59).

<sup>93</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 2 June ?1849?, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16109; Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 4 May 1849, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16108; Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 24 April 1848, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16106.

<sup>94</sup> Richard Davenport-Hines, 'Morier, Sir Robert Burnet David (1826-1893)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Online)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19261>> [accessed 15 February 2018].

<sup>95</sup> Ibid. Also in John Eibner, *Our Natural Ally: The Times and the Austrian Empire, 1841-1867* (forthcoming).

<sup>96</sup> Scott W. Murray, *Liberal Diplomacy and German Unification: The Early Career of Robert Morier* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000), p. 172. The 1860 Anglo-French Treaty was the first of many commercial treaties (also called 'Cobdenite Treaties'). This 'marked the transition from a mainly passive to an active commercial policy' and brought to light 'the inadequacies of Britain's [Foreign Office's] commercial information-gathering and processing'. The goal was to access the markets of the *Zollverein* and the Habsburg Empire. Yet this policy raised the 'question of whether or not spreading free trade in Europe justified increased levels of state intervention in economic affairs'. Through this 'Germany became the ground on which conflicting British visions of the liberal state collided'. Ibid., pp. 167-68. Karl von Hock (1805-1869) was a national political economist who helped bring about customs affiliation treaties between Austria and other European countries including France. Constant Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, 9 vols (Wien: Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof-

worked toward bilateral free trade whilst the *Zollverein* was being debated in Germany. Given what we know about Blaze's financial standing it is unlikely that she was a 'stakeholder' in the Bank. Instead, she invested other's (probably also Beaumont's) resources. Morier himself worried about 'Beaumont's connections to Madame de Bury [...] but was hopeful Beaumont would be "less mischievous between two tame elements like Hutt and myself than if roaming wild among the *purlieus* of Vienna"' (i.e. away from Blaze de Bury).<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, Morier worried that the Austrian politician Joseph von Kalchberg's interest in the commission was compromised '[h]aving got himself "into her [Blaze's] clutches"' and 'being pressured by de Bury to use his position to their mutual advantage'.<sup>98</sup> However, it remains nebulous how Blaze achieved this rumoured great political influence in British-European affairs. Morier himself concluded that '[t]his woman whatever be the means by which she came by it, must undoubtedly possess, or perhaps more correctly speaking possessed, very great influence'.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, her 'very great influence' over these Austrian statesman, filtered into Britain as well.

Blaze influenced the highest British political circles. Through Alexander Kinglake, a travel and political writer, as well as member of parliament, whom she instrumentalised after the Italian War of 1859, Blaze swayed British opinion (specifically Palmerston's), which

---

und Staatsdruckerei, 1863), p. 116 in <<https://archive.org/details/BiographischesLexikonDesKaiserthumsOesterreichOcr09>> [accessed 10 May 2019]. Somerset Beaumont (1835-1921) was a member of the British parliament for Wakefield as a Liberal Party member.

<sup>97</sup> Robert Burnet Morier, quoted in Murray, p. 173. Sir William Hutt was the main negotiator of the Vienna treaty of commerce between Britain and Austria.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Burnet Morier, Letter from Morier to Layard, 3 June 1865, *University of Oxford*, MS Papers of the Morier Family, 33, 3. Joseph von Kalchberg (1801-1882) was a great friend of Anton von Schmerling, the Head of the Austrian Government from 1860-1865. Constant Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, 10 vols (Wien: Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1863), pp. 544-58, <<https://archive.org/details/BiographischesLexikonDesKaiserthumsOesterreichOcr10>> [accessed 10 May 2019]; Constant Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, 30 vols (Wien: Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1875), pp. 265-89, <<https://archive.org/details/BiographischesLexikonDesKaiserthumsOesterreichOcr30>> [accessed 10 May 2019].

<sup>99</sup> Morier, 3 June 1865, MS Collection, 33, 3.

was still suspicious of Austria.<sup>100</sup> She also introduced Abraham Hayward, a contributor to many periodicals and member of the Athaneum Club to the Austrian Foreign Minister Count Rechberg.<sup>101</sup> Rechberg and Blaze saw eye-to-eye on Anglo-Austrian relations, that Rechberg imparted to Hayward. 'Hayward's intimacy with the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston [...] led him to pass on the details of his conversations with Count Rechberg'.<sup>102</sup> Hayward swayed Palmerston, whose consequent negotiations led to a commercial treaty between Britain and Austria, shortly after his death.<sup>103</sup> Blaze congratulated Hayward writing that

*you* had rendered an *enormous* service to all parties, for you have put into Lord Palmerston's mouth what will largely help to make the grandest commercial treaty that ever was inevitable. [...] It is a very choice bit of contemporary political history, and the service *you* have done to the *greatest cause* of the time, and to the greatest commercial interest England has, is incalculable.<sup>104</sup>

Yet, she also remarked that '[y]ou can't know of what use your explanation of Count Rechberg to Lord Palmerston has been', which suggests that she and Rechberg had in fact put the words into Hayward's mouth in the first place.<sup>105</sup> However, although Blaze had great influence over very influential political men, she lamented how

---

<sup>100</sup> He was known for his eight volumes on the invasion of Crimea. Alexander Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan*, 8 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1863-1887). Droz, p. 329. See also Alexander Kinglake, Letters from Alexander Kinglake to Madame de Bury, 1860s, 1872, 1873, *Newcastle University*, MS GB 186, MSA/1/107-120. Copies kindly provided by John Eibner.

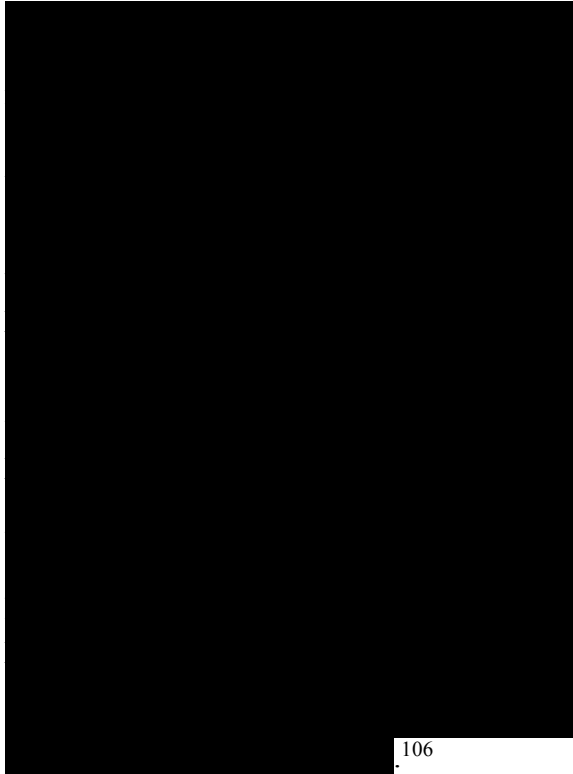
<sup>101</sup> Hayward shared Blaze's love of Goethe and privately translated Faust into English.

<sup>102</sup> Antony Chessell, *The Life and Times of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Victorian Essayist: One of the Two Best Read Men in England* (London: Lulu, 2008), p. 203.

<sup>103</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, 'Madame Blaze de Bury to Mr. Hayward: 3 November 1862', in *A Selection from the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward from 1834 to 1884: With an Account of his Early Life*, ed. by Henry Carlisle, 2 vols (1886), II, p. 85.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. Original emphasis.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.



106

Though she grieved the unequal treatment of her gender, Blaze was not a progressive feminist. Instead, she wished to cast off her gender ('hang the petticoats') and her "role" as 'wife', blaming them for the obstacles put in her political path. As discussed, Blaze broke gender conventions (and her daughters were 'emancipated'), yet she had no direct involvement in advocating women's rights – she lived by her own example.

The extent and directionality of influence between Blaze and her acquaintances, however, remains vague, as epistolary evidence is second-hand or one-sided. But we can conclude that Blaze was a regular cultural border-crosser, both in person and in writing, leading to a transnational network with social agency. In this way, she contributed to a British-continental European network of exchange – both through political/financial circles (e.g. via Brougham, Morier, Beaumont, Rechberg, and Hayward) as well as via literary channels (e.g. Trollope, Arnold, Browning, and Watson Fullom). To complete

---

<sup>106</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, ?1862?, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16130.



the picture of the ‘duality of persons and groups’ (i.e. how the identity of both individuals and groups is forged through reciprocal intersections), section 2.c.ii will consider Blaze’s own cultural identit(ies) to demonstrate how she was transcultural and that this fed, reciprocally, into her network.<sup>107</sup> But first, let us consider more closely the nineteenth-century perceptions of continental Europe – the German-speaking world and France in particular. This will enable the placing of Blaze’s life and the gauging of her extraordinary literary and political endeavours within her network.

### **2.c. National, Cultural, Transcultural?**

At the end of the eighteenth-century the concept of ‘national loyalty’ above ‘local loyalties’ emerged.<sup>108</sup> The nation-state, an abstract concept, was starting to take on a more concrete form, not least through literature.<sup>109</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century there was an increasing differentiation and tension between British national patriotism and an openness to the rest of Europe (see 1.b.). It was with this backdrop that Blaze was networked in publishing and political circles across Europe and addressed a British reader through her texts. A brief overview of British perceptions of France and the German-speaking world (see 2.c.i.) will place Blaze’s biography and network in a British mid-nineteenth-century context. It also lays the groundwork for subsequent chapters dealing with the reception of Blaze’s work (Chapter 3) and the analysis of her texts focusing on “national” versus hybrid genres (see Chapter 5). We will then consider Blaze’s own feelings of national/cultural/transcultural identity (see 2.c.ii.). This will enhance our understanding of difference and homogeneity in Blaze’s work (Chapter 6).

---

<sup>107</sup> Breiger.

<sup>108</sup> Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 107.

<sup>109</sup> For more on “national” literatures see Chapter 5.

### 2.c.i. British Perceptions of Germany and France

Notwithstanding the common notion that England evolved slightly apart from the rest of Europe, continental Europe influenced nineteenth-century Britain. Understanding the levels of knowledge, interest, and sympathy Blaze's British readership had of other parts of Europe, in particular the German-speaking world and France, helps situate her transcultural approach historically.<sup>110</sup>

Even with Britain's global nineteenth-century reach, John Davis stated that "Germany" was the part of the world that interested Victorians most.<sup>111</sup> However, there is debate about the level of British knowledge about and interest in Germany before the Victorian period. Some argued that there was little interest due to unreliable and high-cost travel links, the low levels of literacy in Britain and costs of the printing process, and also due to the notion that the Thirty Years War had destroyed German culture and thought.<sup>112</sup> So how did Germany become so central in the Victorian period? Answering this question reveals where Blaze's readerships' previous knowledge, prejudices, and also lack of knowledge about Germany may have come from.

Throughout history, peoples from Germany mixed, through war and conquest, with those from the British Isles.<sup>113</sup> Until the Elizabethan Sea Dogs dominated the high seas, the Hanseatic League had brought predominantly commercial, but also cultural

---

<sup>110</sup> For ease of reading, "Germany" includes the German-speaking world pre-1871.

<sup>111</sup> John Davis, *The Victorians and Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 9.

<sup>112</sup> See for example Rachel Egloff, 'Rose Blaze de Bury and the 'Unfeminine' German and European Politics of Disunity', in *Union and Disunion in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by James Gregory and Daniel Grey (London: Routledge, forthcoming). For more on the Thirty Years War and Britain see Garold Davis, *German Thought and Culture in England 1700-1770* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 1-7.

<sup>113</sup> Germans went to the British Isles as Roman mercenaries and stayed. The Saxon, Angel, and Jute invasions of England, as described by Bede, brought, trade links, religious practices, language, and eventually led, though intermarriage, to a new Anglo-Saxon peoples and to the formation of an English nation, traces of whose ideas on government and shire-systems last until today. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, ed. by Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 26-28.

and diplomatic German connections to the British Isles.<sup>114</sup> Based on the cultural heritage of the Holy Roman Empire, German academia was mainly written in Latin right up to the nineteenth century, which enabled easier cross-border exchange but at the same time muted the cultural exchange that comes with writing in one's native tongue.<sup>115</sup> According to Günther Blaicher, those who discussed German cultural matters in Britain based their knowledge on Tacitus or focused on the linked ancestry of the German and English through the Saxon, Angle, and Jute invasions as described by Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>116</sup> Over the centuries, fear of catholic France and Spain brought the two predominantly protestant areas closer together – the Austrian Habsburgs were Catholic.<sup>117</sup> German Lutheran pietism made its mark in Britain.<sup>118</sup> However, pietism influenced more than religion. Wesley's 'reflection of this religious atmosphere' was a precursor to the 'subjective, emotional nature of the Romantic poets'.<sup>119</sup> Herbert Schlossberg argued that it was this German religious atmosphere that became a central quality of the Victorian age.<sup>120</sup> The ascent of German Kings to the British throne meant a quasi 'personal union' (i.e. two states having the same monarch, but not necessarily the same boundaries or interests) of the two nations.<sup>121</sup> This brought with it Hanoverian royal patronage of experts from the German-speaking world.<sup>122</sup> Georg Friedrich Händel dominated the London music scene, while the artists

---

<sup>114</sup> For more see T. H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse 1157-1611: A Study of their Trade and Commercial Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>115</sup> See sections 1.a.iii. and 5.b. for more on translation and culture.

<sup>116</sup> Günther Blaicher, *Das Deutschlandbild in der englischen Literatur* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), pp. 19-20.

<sup>117</sup> Famously, Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of King James I, was strategically married to the protestant Frederick V Elector of Palatinate.

<sup>118</sup> The Hanoverian monarchs built German chapels (e.g. in St. James's palace), German hymns were translated, and in some areas replaced the Anglican chants. Davis, p. 17.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>120</sup> Herbert Schlossberg, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2000), pp. 13-46.

<sup>121</sup> For more on the personal union see Nick Harding, *Hanover and the British Empire 1700-1837* (Woodbridge: Bodley Press, 2007), pp. 1-15.

<sup>122</sup> Davis, pp. 38-39.

Gottfried Keller and Johann Heinrich Füssli influenced both at court and in the Royal Society. Napoleon's Peace of Tilsit of 1807, which made some German areas vassals of France, caught Britain's attention and sympathy. The resulting increased arrival of German refugees in England during this period also boosted contact with and knowledge of German culture.<sup>123</sup>

This Victorian focus on Germany can be traced to a European-wide movement in the preceding century spearheaded by German scholarship. Intellectual life in eighteenth-century Germany underwent a 'radical transformation' by turning away from the Enlightenment to focus on 'spiritual life and subjectivity', which caused a 'fundamental break with the past'.<sup>124</sup> Scholars became disillusioned with the ideas of the Enlightenment and as the classic gave way to a medieval revival a sense of *Entzweiung* (being split in two) haunted German academics.<sup>125</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder's notion of *Einfühlung* (empathy) as opposed to obedience to formal demands, and Johann Goethe's *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers* (1774) caused the main rift with Enlightened ideas, whilst the *Sturm und Drang* movement also questioned the Enlightenment. Davis posited that 'what took place in eighteenth-century Germany was a first contraction in what would turn out to be the birth of the modern age'.<sup>126</sup>

Victorian society also had to make adjustments in order to facilitate modernity. The interest in the intellectual modernization of Germany in early Victorian Britain was 'one link in the chain of European modernization'.<sup>127</sup> British religion, music, art, and literature were infused with German ideas. However, in literature in particular a particularly British view of Germany arose. This not

---

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., pp. 25 and 27. To keep up with the running of a French style bureaucratic state, Frederick II founded many universities. By 1750 there were thirty universities in German-speaking Europe but only eight in Britain. James Sheehan, *German History 1770-1866* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 137.

<sup>125</sup> Terry Pinkard, *German Philosophy 1760-1860: The Legacy of Idealism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 11.

<sup>126</sup> Davis, p. 33.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

only reflected the impressionable nature of the British but also the stereotyped and romanticised version of Germany in the eyes of the British reader, concert goer, gallery patron, or traveller. On cultural matters, early nineteenth-century writers and thinkers brought new German impulses to Britain. In 1813 Germaine de Staël's *De L'Allemagne* was published and promptly translated into English.<sup>128</sup> Henry Crabb Robinson was another advocate for and steadfast admirer of Germany and pioneer of spreading knowledge of German culture and philosophy, particularly of Kant, in England.<sup>129</sup> Thomas Carlyle, who translated Goethe's *Willhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* into English in 1824, was another important figure in introducing German thought into Britain.<sup>130</sup> The reformation of the Christian religion, the Hanoverian ascent to the British throne, and a philosophical rejection of the Enlightenment, undoubtedly influenced Britain and sowed the seed for the great Victorian interest in Germany. However, notwithstanding this religious, literary, and cultural interest Britain had for Germany, in political terms, Germany did not exist and comprehension of German politics was nebulous. This gradual rise of interest in, appropriation of, and adaption of German culture, did not eradicate blind-spots about its geography and political makeup – blind-spots upon which Blaze cast a light.

Blaze's second focus was France. As described in 1.a.ii., France and England's historic rivalries have been theorised with Freud's concept of 'the narcissism of minor differences', namely the

---

<sup>128</sup> She argued that Britain and Germany shared a common ancestry and also focused on what would become a long-standing trade mark of the Germans – their genius and imagination. Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the Late John Murray*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1891), I, pp. 313-14.

<sup>129</sup> E.J. Morley, *Crabb Robinson in Germany 1800-1805: Extracts from his Correspondence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919), p. 11. Crabb Robinson revitalised interest in Goethe with his publications in the *Monthly Repository* in 1832-33. These 'presented for the first time in England the whole of Goethe's dramatic works'. J.M. Baker, *Henry Crabb Robinson of Bury, Jena, The Times, and Russell Square* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937), p. 203.

<sup>130</sup> Johann Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship: From the German of Goethe*, trans. by Thomas Carlyle, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1824).

urge to emphasise difference where, in actual fact, little exists due to a more fundamental underlying similarity – this paradox is reflected in Blaze’s work.<sup>131</sup> The historical links between Britain and France are even older and more interwoven than those between Britain and Germany. Unlike much of Germany, both France and England were conquered by Rome, influencing both languages and cultures. The Norman invasion and takeover of England in 1066 further influenced the English language and, to a degree, replaced older cultural traditions. During the medieval period, right up until Waterloo in 1815, Britain (sometimes just England) and France were repeatedly at war and were perpetually claiming and losing territories.<sup>132</sup>

According to Dominic Rainsford, ‘Britain and France have existed, and continue to do so, as cultural entities [...] that may be constructed and exchanged not least through literature’.<sup>133</sup> Yet, per Elisabeth Jay, ‘fuelled by resentment dating back to the Franco-Prussian war’, neglect of French mid-nineteenth-century literary influences on Britain ‘continued for much of the twentieth century’.<sup>134</sup> Indeed, though the Romantic engagement with French literature has been well documented and with an increasing interest in British-French *fin-de-siècle* connections in Victorian studies, ‘the mid-nineteenth century continues to form a gap’.<sup>135</sup> In the few studies that have concerned themselves with mid-nineteenth-century French literature in Britain there remains a ‘deep-seated

---

<sup>131</sup> Sigmund Freud, ‘The Taboo of Virginity’, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. by James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1918), pp. 192-208 (p. 199).

<sup>132</sup> For example, the Breton War (1076-1077), the Vexin War (1087), the Rebellion of 1088, the Wars in Vexin and Maine (1097-1098), the multiple Anglo-Norman Wars (during 1101-1120), the Hundred Years’ War from 1337-1453, and the Second Hundred Years’ War (1689-1815). For more on each of these wars and their impact on Anglo-French relations see Robert Gibson, *The Best of Enemies: Anglo-French Relations Since the Norman Conquest* (Exeter: Impress Books, 2004).

<sup>133</sup> Dominic Rainsford, *Literature, Identity and the English Channel: Narrow Seas Expanded* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 4.

<sup>134</sup> Elisabeth Jay, p. 1.

<sup>135</sup> A gap that is markedly narrowed through Juliette Atkinson, *French Novels and the Victorians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 13.

ambivalence and irresolvable plurality of view[s]'.<sup>136</sup> An attraction to yet also repulsion from the regular sanguinary regime changes during the period drove this paradox.

After the 1830 revolution, Louis-Philippe I's ascent to the throne forged a closer tie with Britain, due to his personal relationships within the British aristocracy.<sup>137</sup> Yet, by 1848 initial enthusiasm for the revolution turned, for some, to scepticism in its aftermath.<sup>138</sup> As Jay described, the corpses on the boulevards 'provided graphic illustration for many British observers of the difference between the republican aspirations nursed by youthful members of England's privileged middle classes and the realities of democratic socialism'.<sup>139</sup> Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) underlined this paradox by cementing 'a xenophobic image of the French national character, as cold, abstract and theory-ridden, but simultaneously and paradoxically as overexcited, enthusiastic and prone to bursts of violence'.<sup>140</sup> Carlyle's *French Revolution* (1837) was particularly influential, in which 'France as an object lesson in the results of poor government replaced a view of the French as bearers of a noxious contagious

---

<sup>136</sup> Elisabeth Jay, p. 7.

<sup>137</sup> Atkinson, p. 7.

<sup>138</sup> John Stuart Mill thought that 'there never was a time when so great a drama was being played out in one generation'. He reported that he foresaw a domino effect that 'all the rest of Europe, except England and Russia, will be republicanised in ten years, and England itself probably before we die'. Carlyle meanwhile described the barricades raised by the 'wild men in blouses' in revolt against the 'Sham King'. George Eliot agreed that '[c]ertainly our deposed monarchs should be pensioned off: we should have a hospital for them, or a sort of Zoological Garden, where these worn-out humbugs may be preserved'. Demonstrations and riots in Trafalgar Square and on Kennington Common on 6 and 23 March 1848 exhibited support for the revolution in France. *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill, 1812-1848*, ed. by Francis Minneka (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1996). First published in *The Examiner* on 4 March 1848 but reprinted in *Rescued Essays of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. by Percy Newberry (London: Leadenhall Press, 1892), p. 4. *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. by Gordon Sherman Haight, 9 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954-6, 1978), I, p. 253.

<sup>139</sup> Frances Trollope illustrated this in *The Old World and the New* (1849), describing how, alongside the revolutionary spirit, there was also middle-class resentment of the fighting and a desire for institutional order. Elisabeth Jay, pp. 37-38; Frances Trollope, *The Old World and the New*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1849), III, pp. 281-82.

<sup>140</sup> Peter Mortensen, *British Romanticism and Continental Influences: Writing in an Age of Europhobia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 20.

disease best resisted by means of an actual and metaphorical *cordon sanitaire*'.<sup>141</sup> What shines through these varying critical views about Britain's mid-nineteenth-century relationship with France, however, is a paradox tension between admiration and fear, attraction and repulsion.

In her work Blaze addressed some of these historical and contemporary differences and similarities between Britain, Germany, and France. She pointed out Britain's blind-spots about Germany and played with its contradictory attitude toward France – bearing in mind that the British were progressively aware of their own national belonging. What is more, increasing British exclusivity and political ignorance, coupled with romanticism about Germany, and admiration and fear of France, highlights Blaze's exceptional position as a transcultural writer in mid-nineteenth-century Europe. But what were Blaze's feelings of national/cultural belonging or identity and how was her identity perceived?

### 2.c.ii. A 'Frenchified Englishwoman'?

Blaze had (and was perceived to have) multiple cultural personal identities. A 'Frenchified Englishwoman' is how a reviewer of *Germania* described her.<sup>142</sup> The paradox which Blaze presented in her work was also perceived in her person.<sup>143</sup> Stuart Hall described how identity is 'a "production" which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside representation'.<sup>144</sup> The same goes for Blaze's identity. Her stance of being in conversation with and about the Other as well as her multifarious cultural influences would render her identity a site of constant (re-)production. Furthermore, by living in multiple places

---

<sup>141</sup> Elisabeth Jay.

<sup>142</sup> [Anon.], 'Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People by the Baroness Blaze de Bury and Pictures of Rural Life in Austria and Hungary', *Critic*, 9 (1 November 1850), 520-23 (pp. 520-21).

<sup>143</sup> For example, the title *Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy*. See Introduction b.

<sup>144</sup> Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and the Diaspora', in *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), pp. 222-37 (p. 222).



and ‘choosing to be culturally dislocated’ again and again underlines her transcultural commitment to comprehend other cultures. Not only was it a constant process, but no analysis of it will ever be complete. Considering her plurality differences within herself and how she was perceived, in national/cultural terms, is pertinent, before analysing her work, in which she discusses a plurality of differences amongst European peoples.

In the works under examination, Blaze never self-identified as British, which is not surprising given that the term British rarely appears in her work and that England/English was used as an overextension for Britain/British.<sup>145</sup> Blaze did not refer to herself as European either. She only infrequently used the term European.<sup>146</sup> There is no evidence to suggest whether Blaze would or would not have considered European an identity-label for herself. However, given that her literary and political life was exclusively focused on Europe (specifically protecting a strong Europe) we shall consider her a European and hazard that she may have thought of herself as European too. Yet this would not have precluded concurrent self-identifications with particular European national or cultural identities. Indeed as Epstein put it: ‘transcultural personality fully recognizes [their] roots in a certain cultural ground, though [they do] not want to cling to them’.<sup>147</sup>

In her work, she referred to herself as from England geographically.<sup>148</sup> For example, when stating that ‘we in England’ are or do things a certain way.<sup>149</sup> Interestingly these references were

---

<sup>145</sup> See section 1.b.

<sup>146</sup> Blaze used European as a proper noun when talking about the identity of individuals (e.g. describing a character as European). She also rarely used it as an adjective (e.g. a European sovereign). Rose Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1848), I, p. 243; Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, p. 293.

<sup>147</sup> Mikhail Epstein, “Transculture: A Broad Way between Globalism and Multiculturalism”, in *American Journal of Economics & Sociology*, 68.1 (2009), 327-51, p. 342.

<sup>148</sup> To explore Blaze’s positions of (national/cultural) identity *Germania*, written in the first person from her own perspective, is the richest resource.

<sup>149</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, pp. ix; *ibid.* II, pp. 62, 100, 314, 323, and 436.

often expressed in the plural – meaning: I, like my reader.<sup>150</sup> She called herself English when she described the people she was travelling with and realized that ‘I alone was English’.<sup>151</sup> However, Blaze also stated that she was Scottish when talking about the dialect phrase an ‘ower true sentence, as my countrymen say in Scotland’.<sup>152</sup> This calls into question her self-identifications as being from England. It is likely that in some instances her self-identification as from England referred to a more over-arching British identity, including her Scottish heritage.

Notwithstanding her self-identification as English/Scottish some called Blaze a Frenchwoman.<sup>153</sup> In *Germania*, Blaze mentioned how German and Austrian locals sometimes assumed she was a Frenchwoman.<sup>154</sup> One reviewer in the *Critic* voiced this assumption and their resulting confusion in realising she was in fact British, calling her ‘a *Frenchified Englishwoman* – a composition, we must confess, not at all to our taste, and not likely to be more pleasing to the mass of our country-folk’.<sup>155</sup> Jane Carlyle, declaring that Blaze was ‘a “Frenchwoman”’ and went on to provide a helpful description, writing that:

you [Thomas Carlyle] might offer a modest thanksgiving, for the honour that stunning Lady did you in galloping madly all round Hyde Park in chase of your ‘brown wide-awake’ [...] The Lady lashed her horse and set off in pursuit, leaving her party out of

---

<sup>150</sup> For example, ‘we in England’, ‘us in England’, or ‘our [...] England’. Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, p. 141; *ibid.* II, pp. 432, 40.

<sup>151</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, p. 413.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28. Reports suggest that ‘all the Scots students [who were residing in Paris] were invited to the Baroness Blaze de Bury’s weekly receptions from the beginning of 1891’. Whether Blaze was making a special effort to maintain connections to her place of nativity and Scottish identity or whether students from most places were welcome at her gatherings is not evident. *Transactions of the Franco-Scottish Society 1898-1901* (at National Library of Scotland), p. 228, quoted in Siân Reynolds, *Paris-Edinburgh: Cultural Connections in the Belle Époque* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 102.

<sup>153</sup> For example, Carlyle and Dickson White. See section 2.a. Though naturalisation was in the Napoleonic Code of 1804 we do not know whether Blaze became a French citizen or not.

<sup>154</sup> See for example Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, pp. 175, 265 and 267; *ibid.* II, p. 24.

<sup>155</sup> [Anon.], *Critic*, 1 November 1850, pp. 520-23 (pp. 520-21).

sight – and went all round the park at full gallop looking out for the wide-awake! [...] Miss Farrer [...] was evidently jealous of the sensation the Lady produced by her wit and eccentricities'.<sup>156</sup>

This stunning, resolutely independent, and intelligent, if slightly unorthodox Lady was Blaze in her mid-forties. Perhaps these traits were seen as more befitting an illegitimate 'Frenchwoman' than a respectable British lady? Furthermore, Pailleron described her as:

[U]n esprit débordant d'activité, d'ambition, élaborant les plans les plus vastes, et passionnément orientée vers la politique. C'est là que cette femme surprenante trouvera un champ digne de son activité, assez fertile pour satisfaire son goût d'entreprise. Au demeurant, elle possède une volonté et une santé de fer, une grande intelligence, une indépendance toute britannique, de l'esprit de suite, peu de sensiblerie lorsque son ambition est en jeu. Toutes ces qualités excellentes se rencontrent rarement réunies chez une femme.<sup>157</sup>

By singling out independence as a particularly British stereotypical character-trait, Pailleron indirectly suggested that Blaze's other traits were more universal and not bound by national culture. We can but speculate about Blaze's actual feelings of national identity but it would not be without reason to assume, given her uncertain parentage, unknown place of upbringing, international circle of friends, years spent living in different places, that she may have held multiple or a *mélange* of national/cultural identities as part of a European self. Blaze had (or was perceived to have) multiple

---

<sup>156</sup> Carlyle, 16 July 1858, *Duke*, MS Collection.

<sup>157</sup> Pailleron, p. 109. Translation: 'A spirit bursting with life with activity, ambition, developing the most extensive plans, and passionately oriented towards politics. It is here that this surprising woman will find a field worthy of her activity, fertile enough to satisfy her enterprising tastes. Moreover, she possesses a will and a health of iron, a great intelligence, an all-British independence, the spirit of continuation, and little sentimentality when her ambition is at stake. All these excellent qualities are rarely met with in a woman'.

cultural personal identities. By ‘straddling boundaries’, for example through travel or by learning languages Blaze, as a transcultural writer, changed to adapt and, in turn, every adaptation further transformed her.

This Chapter 2 has, for the first time, recorded the biographical cornerstones of Blaze’s life in the English language and placed her political and literary endeavours within a transnational network. This contributes to the corpus of “forgotten” nineteenth-century writers. Focusing on the unique aspects of Blaze de Bury’s life and network in an environment of “hard” politics, we laid out the beginnings of a counter-narrative to the discourse about women’s involvement in nineteenth-century European politics. Blaze entered the world of literature and politics through her familial and self-forged influential connections in Europe. This counter-narrative will be continued by providing study of the reception of some of Blaze’s work in the British press (see Chapter 3). Blaze’s work was widely reviewed in daily newspapers, magazines, and periodicals, across various geographical areas and political spectrums. In such reviews her personal life, cultural identity, and affiliations, were sometimes under discussion. The fact that she was extensively reviewed not only under her own name but also under pseudonyms and anonymously, confirms the interest and examination of her as a literary figure and not merely as a socialite. The next Chapter 3 will consider such reviews to examine her critical literary reception during her lifetime.

*'I have some Letters speculating upon who the Author can be – (have not let it out – because I know that it will have much more effect anonymously than with a name – particularly a female name)'.<sup>1</sup>*

### **3. A 'masculine female political *intrigante*': The Reception of Blaze de Bury**

Publisher John Blackwood remonstrated that Larrie Oliphant had carried 'me off to be introduced to the Baroness Blaze de Bury, a sort of masculine female political *intrigante* (an awfully clever woman)'.<sup>2</sup> Blackwood encapsulated the confusion about Blaze's – and generally about women's – relationship to politics, that preoccupied reviewers of her work. He expressed what many had articulated less directly in reviews: Namely, that Blaze's political actions and writing challenged gender norms and therefore caused critical unease. We already heard how Blaze's contemporary Julius Fröbel commented on her dual political and literary focus in life.<sup>3</sup> He further remarked how Blaze said: 'One finds it inexplicable how a lady can come to passionately pursue politics – but passion is personal! – for a true woman everything is personal!'<sup>4</sup> Blaze's own frustration at the seeming incompatibility between being a woman writer and being fascinated by politics reflected reviewers' gendered reception of her work, whether she published under male pseudonyms, anonymously, or her own name.

Mid-nineteenth-century writers had to cater for a particular reading and publishing milieu. Blaze was writing at a time when new technology and new social and educational structures were increasing literacy. Yet women did not hold the same status as men in literature and publishing. Therefore, becoming a published author

---

<sup>1</sup> Pricilla Fane, Letter to Henry Brougham, 16 February 1861, *University College London*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 258, 128370.

<sup>2</sup> Gerald Porter, *Annals of a Publishing House*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1898), III, p. 121. Original emphasis.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction a.

<sup>4</sup> Julius Fröbel, *Ein Lebenslauf, Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: J. G. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1891), II. Blaze's statement was verbal. The homophone 'Man' (i.e. one) and 'Mann' (i.e. man) could change the meaning.

and gaining a reputation in the press was a particular challenge for women.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, we examine the parameters of reading and writing conditions, and how women fared as writers in a male dominated publishing world, (3.a.), before considering how Blaze became a published writer, how she navigated mid-nineteenth-century conceptions of gender in political writing (3.a.i.), and how she was received in the British press by considering reviews of her work (grouped into pseudonymous (3.b.i.), anonymous (3.b.ii.), and personal (3.b.iii.) publications). This chapter adds to the recuperative contribution of this thesis. Furthermore, it collates and analyses the reception of Blaze's work, and focuses on perceived authorial identity, which was considered unusual. We demonstrate, based on signatures, textual content, and gender/cultural stereotypes, that reviewers perceived a gender-hybrid and transcultural authorial identity.

### **3.a. Nineteenth-Century Publishing for Women**

'We have become a novel reading people, from the Prime Minister down to the last-appointed scullery maid,' declared Anthony Trollope in 1870.<sup>6</sup> Due to technological developments and social and educational change, the nineteenth century witnessed an explosion of the printed word across all formats and genres, which coincided with a broadening of the reading audience right across the social scale.<sup>7</sup> Unprecedented advancements in printing changed the public's relationship to the printed word.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the railway

---

<sup>5</sup> See Judith Johnston, *Anna Jameson: Victorian, Feminist, Woman of Letters* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 8-15.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony Trollope, 'On English Prose Fiction as a Rational Amusement', in *Four Lectures*, ed. by Morris Longstreth Parrish (London: Constable, 1938), pp. 91-139 (p. 108).

<sup>7</sup> Matthew Taunton, 'Printing Presses', in *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London: British Library, 2010), p. 508.

<sup>8</sup> Automated printing machines raised the impressions per hour from 480 in 1800 to millions per day in 1843. Hans Bolza, 'Friedrich König und die Erfindung der Druckmaschine', *Technikgeschichte*, 34.1 (1967), 79-89, (p. 88); Hans-Jürgen Wolf, *Geschichte der Druckpressen* (Frankfurt am Main: Interprint, 1974), p. 67.

enabled new distributions of print materials.<sup>9</sup> Mudie's Select Library, which opened in 1842, further enhanced the circulation of print.<sup>10</sup> Queen Victoria's reign saw an explosion in literacy.<sup>11</sup> These changes constituted an exceptional transformation at the time Blaze was entering the scene.

Social changes also changed reading.<sup>12</sup> A new Victorian attitude meant that the educational function of fiction was more urgently encouraged, including reading for moral guidance.<sup>13</sup> George Eliot described this attitude writing that humans are 'imitative beings. We cannot [...] help being modified by the ideas that pass through our minds'.<sup>14</sup> However, if fiction could improve its readers, it followed that it could also corrupt. As the century progressed publishers and libraries alike paid closer attention to the moral effects their products had.<sup>15</sup> Literature was seen as a tool for teaching, for solving individual difficulties and for creating a better

---

<sup>9</sup> Expanding railway networks increased distribution and provided a new setting for reading. W. H. Smith railway library stalls enabled passengers to borrow a book at departure and return them upon arrival somewhere else. Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*. 2 edn. (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1998), p. 89.

<sup>10</sup> Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1970), pp. 1-4.

<sup>11</sup> Per census data, from 1851-1900 male literacy rose from 69.3% to 97.2%, and female literacy from 54.8% to 96.8%. Education was not free or compulsory. Yet, the 1870 Forster Act located the responsibility of primary education with the government. Altick, pp. 170-71.

<sup>12</sup> The establishment of systematised leisure time (in the middle classes), increased time spent commuting, and gas and electric indoor lighting created new opportunities to read. Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Kate Flint, 'The Victorian Novel and its Readers', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. by Deirdre David (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 17-36 (pp. 19-20 and 24).

<sup>13</sup> Unlike Flint, William Ray suggested that already in the late eighteenth century 'fiction suddenly emerges in the critical discourse as the primary vehicle for representing contemporary social reality, and even shaping that reality'. William Ray, *Story and History: Narrative Authority and Social Identity in the Eighteenth-Century French and English Novel* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> George Eliot, 'Mary Ann Evans to Maria Lewis', in *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. by Gordon Sherman Haight, 9 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954), I, p. 23.

<sup>15</sup> Increasingly 'Mudie's was a "select" library, and it was the librarian who selected'. Griest, p. 142. Geraldine Jewsbury frequently urged Mudie to reject manuscripts. For example, due to 'a total absence of anything noble [...] It wd [would] never help a struggling person [...] bewildering their principle of right and wrong'. Geraldine Jewsbury, Letter to Charles Edward Mudie, *British Museum*, MS Add., 46657. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 130.

society, but it could also be harmful. Due to the increased reach and influence of literature on the British public, concerns of a moral nature were dominant in determining the reception and success of nineteenth-century texts. This concern also affected Blaze's reception and was more often than not linked to the gender of the author alongside their chosen genre and topic matter.

In Jane Austen's *Persuasion* (1817) Anne Eliot refuses to hear any examples from books. 'Men have had every advantage of us in telling their own story. Education has been theirs in so much higher a degree; the pen has been in their hands'.<sup>16</sup> However, by the mid-century writer Margaret Oliphant argued that the nineteenth century, 'which is the age of so many things – of enlightenment, of science, of progress – is quite as distinctly the age of female novelists' – including Austen.<sup>17</sup> Oliphant's celebratory statement was based on the assumption that, though most novelists were women during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, their cultural recognition did not follow until later. Franco Moretti helpfully visualised how, roughly around the 1820s, male novelists outpublished women novelists.<sup>18</sup> In the late eighteenth-century men published novels under the signature 'By a Lady' as the novel was not an esteemed form of literature.<sup>19</sup> It was not until novels were deemed high culture material, a distinction furthered by Arnold in *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), that men gradually came 'to dominate

---

<sup>16</sup> Jane Austen, *Persuasion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 [1817]), p. 188.

<sup>17</sup> Margaret Oliphant, 'Modern Novelists - Great and Small', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 77 (1855), 554-68, (p. 555).

<sup>18</sup> Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005), p. 28. Indeed, before 1840 little prestige was accorded 'to the writing of novels, and most English novelists were women. Yet, by the turn of the twentieth century "men of letters" acclaimed novels as a form of great literature, and most critically successful novelists were men'. Gaye Tuchman and Nina E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 1 and 9. Their interdisciplinary study draws on literature, sociology, anthropology, and publishing history. Ted Underwood presented similar findings as Moretti and added that the trend was true for non-fiction publications also. Ted Underwood, *Digital Horizons: Digital Evidence and Literary Change* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2019), p. 137.

<sup>19</sup> Tuchman and Fortin, p. 45.



what had primarily been a woman's occupation' and there occurred a 'masculinization of fiction' from the 1850s onward.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, Valerie Sanders suggested that 'women novelists became fully involved in shaping their own profession.'<sup>21</sup> Female presence in the nineteenth-century literary world seems to have been great enough that male writers complained about women 'taking over the fiction business'.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, Nathaniel Hawthorne spoke of the 'd-d mob of scribbling women' and George Henry Lewes protested that women authors were 'more multitudinous and more successful' each year.<sup>23</sup>

Women also played a role in publishing beyond the realm of the novel. In 1858 Wilkie Collins famously declared that he wrote 'in this age of periodicals'.<sup>24</sup> Josephine Butler posited that 'the conspiracy of silence of the press has done us this service [...] it has forced us to create a literature of our own'.<sup>25</sup> Joanne Shattock highlighted the 'extraordinary richness and variety of women's contributions to nineteenth-century literary culture'.<sup>26</sup> However, Judith Johnston argued that the term 'man of letters', which idealised the rise of a new kind of writer and new forms of publication, was

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 4.; Underwood, p. 131.

<sup>21</sup> Valerie Sanders, 'Women, Fiction and the Marketplace', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 142-61 (pp. 158-59).

<sup>22</sup> Ellen Miller Casey, 'Edging Women Out?: Reviews of Women Novelists in the "Athenaeum", 1860-1900', *Victorian Studies*, 39.2 (1996), 151-71, (p. 151).

<sup>23</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne quoted in Mary P. Hiatt, *Style and the "Scribbling Women": An Empirical Analysis of Nineteenth-Century American Fiction* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), p. 4; George Henry Lewes quoted in Lyn Pykett, *The "Improper" Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 36.

<sup>24</sup> Wilkie Collins, 'The Unknown Public', *Household Words*, 18 (1858), 217-22, (p. 222).

<sup>25</sup> Josephine Elizabeth Butler, *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade* (London: H. Marshal and Son, 1896), p. 402. Even since the 1950s women's books have been reviewed less than men's. *Reviewing the Reviews: A Woman's Place on the Book Page*, ed. by Margaret Cooter and Women in Publishing (Organisation) (London: Journeyman, 1987), pp. 1-5.

<sup>26</sup> *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 3.

used to overshadow the increase of women writers of letters or make them second class.<sup>27</sup>

Kirby-Jane Hallum described that though ‘women were dominating the novel market, thy were arguably under-paid and over-criticised by reviewers’.<sup>28</sup> Contemporary witness Bessie Rayner Parkes wrote that

if editors were ever known to disclose the dread secrets of their dens, they would only give the public an idea of the authoresses whose unsigned names are Legion; of their rolls of manuscripts, which are as the sands of the sea.<sup>29</sup>

Twentieth- and twenty-first- century critics have also argued that women were edged out of writing in the second half of the nineteenth century – in part due to men’s increasingly overt (i.e. signed) contributions to both fiction and journalism.<sup>30</sup> Blaze published both novels and periodical contributions at the cusp of these fundamental mid-nineteenth-century transformations. The perceived gender of

---

<sup>27</sup> “Man of letters” became associated with the French salon, and was used in nineteenth-century Britain to refer to a specialist in his field. Johnston, pp. 8-15; John Gross, *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), pp. xiii-xiv. Jaques Droz referred to Blaze as ‘une femme de lettres’. Jacques Droz, ‘La baronne Blaze de Bury, observatrice de la politique autrichienne’, in *Österreich und Europa: Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hermann Peichl and Heinrich Fichtenau (Graz, Wien, Köln: Styria Verlag, 1965), pp. 325-35 (p. 325). For more on the “woman of letters” see Linda Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters* (Princeton, CA: Princeton University Press, 2009).

<sup>28</sup> Kirby-Jane Hallum, *Aestheticism and the Marriage Market in Victorian Popular Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 20. See also Martin Hipsky, ‘The Literary Field in Late Victorian Britain’, in *Modernism and the Women’s Popular Romance in Britain, 1885-1925* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2011).

<sup>29</sup> *Essays on Women’s Work*, ed. by Bessie Rayner Parkes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1865), pp. 120-21.

<sup>30</sup> Published women novelists declined from 52% in 1860 to 39% in 1900. Casey, p. 153. Women made up only 20% of novelists by 1900. Altick, p. 39. Women’s periodical contributions also declined. In the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* only 13% of contributors were women. Carol Christ, “The Hero as Man of Letters”: Masculinity and Victorian Nonfiction Prose, in *Victorian Sages and Cultural Discourse: Renegotiating Gender and Power*, ed. by Thaïs E. Morgan (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), pp. 19-31 (p. 21). There was also a discrepancy in pay. *The Later Nineteenth Century, Periods of European Literature*, 2 edn., ed. by George Saintsbury (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1923), p. 65. Women were, therefore, less likely to be published, were underpaid, and their work downgraded. Norman Feltes, *Literary Capital and the Late Victorian Novel* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), p. 23.

her publications was a central consideration. Therefore, the next section considers perceived gender of authorship based on signatures – anonymous, pseudonymous, and personal.

### 3.a.i Choosing Signatures: Anonymous, Pseudonymous, or Personal

When women were published, the delicate question of the perceived gender of authorship arose. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was common to publish anonymously. Alexis Easley found that '[a]nonymous publication provided women with effective cover for exploring a variety of conventionally "masculine" social issues. It also allowed them to evade essentialised notions of "feminine" voice and identity'.<sup>31</sup> However, by the 1860s, anonymous publications were generally frowned upon.<sup>32</sup> When anonymity lapsed, publishing became more difficult for women as the authority in cultural matters traditionally lay with men.<sup>33</sup> However, whilst such changes acknowledged a new readership they also made it more difficult to include women in periodical critical debates as that would challenge separate spheres for the sexes.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Alexis Easley, *First Person Anonymous: Women Writers and Victorian Print Media, 1830-70* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> The shift from anonymous to signature was not smooth. Ibid. Already in 1832, Edward Bulwer-Lytton (editor of the *New Monthly Magazine*) questioned anonymity. A year later his replacement Samuel Carter Hall defended impersonality. Anthony Trollope wrote against anonymity in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1865. By the time he wrote his *Autobiography* (1883) he no longer seemed so sure. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 'To Our Friends, On Preserving the Anonymous in Periodicals', *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 35.143 (1832), 385-89; Samuel Carter Hall, 'On The Anonymous in Periodicals', *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 39.153 (1833), 2-6; Anthony Trollope, 'On Anonymous Literature', *Fortnightly Review*, 1.1 (1865), 491-98; Trollope.

<sup>33</sup> Book reviews and critical writing were some of the last genres to be signed. *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London: British Library, 2009), p. 18.

<sup>34</sup> Later in the century New Journalism emerged. It put the journalist before the article. To Arnold's mind, it degraded periodical publishing to mere campaigning journalism. O'Connor described this shift toward a 'more personal tone' going hand in hand with the swing from a first-person-plural to a first-person-singular account. T. P. O'Connor, 'The New Journalism', *New Review*, 15.3 (1889), 423-34, (pp. 428, 31, and 23); John Stokes, *In the Nineties* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), pp. 16-17. See Laquer in 1.c. for the separate sexes.

Both men and women also published under pseudonyms. Pseudonyms provided authors with false identities, enabling cross-gender alteration or gender hybridity in the perceived voice of the author. According to Showalter, in the 1840s there started a tradition of male pseudonyms for women novelists.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, by 1850 Charlotte Brontë famously stated that:

[W]e veiled our own names under those of Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell; the ambiguous choice being dictated by a sort of conscientious scruple at assuming Christian names positively masculine, while we did not like to declare ourselves women, because [...] we had a vague impression that authoresses are liable to be looked on with prejudice, and for their reward, a flattery, which is not true praise.<sup>36</sup>

The Brontës considered their choice of signature based on the perceived gender of authorship.<sup>37</sup> Charlotte Brontë, in hindsight, realised that choosing an ‘ambiguous’ (i.e. male or female) first name was better fitted to their textual content, which could be perceived as gender-hybrid.<sup>38</sup> Considering the restrictive double

---

<sup>35</sup> Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 16-17.

<sup>36</sup> Charlotte Brontë [pseud. Currer Bell], 'Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell', in *Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), (p. ix).

<sup>37</sup> Interest in the Brontës ‘was kept alive [from 1848 to 1850] by the mystery of “the Bells”’ identity and gender, which was a favourite topic of contemporary literary gossip’. *The Brontës*, ed. by Miriam Allot (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1974), p. 2. For example, [Anon.], 'Literature', *Daily News*, 14 April 1849, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Once it was known that Currer Bell was a woman, Charlotte Brontë wrote to George Lewes that ‘I was hurt because after I had said earnestly that I wished critics would judge me as an author, not as a woman, you so roughly – I even thought so cruelly – handled the question of sex’. Allot, ed., p. 2; *The Brontës: Their Lives, Friendships and Correspondence*, ed. by T. J. Wise and J. A. Symington, 4 vols (Oxford: The Shakespeare Head, 1932), III, p. 68. Other women’s work was also received based on signature. After successful translations and journalism Mary Ann Evans achieved instant critical success as a novelist with *Adam Bede* (1859). After the gender of George Eliot was revealed, none of her novels achieved the same critical success. Although there were many reasons for this decline in critical popularity, Eliot’s gender coming-out was its root cause. Joanne Wilkes, 'Remaking the Canon', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 35-54 (p. 35).

standards female first-time writers faced it becomes apparent just how important the choice of signature was, and how literary success would depend on it. Let us now consider Blaze's signatures in an uneven and rapidly changing publishing environment.

Blaze published anonymously, under her own name, and pseudonymously.<sup>39</sup> Most of her articles in French were published under the name Arthur Dudley (see Table 3). This provided a clear British male voice for her French audience. The pseudonym could have been associated with the suspected spy and rumoured illegitimate son of Robert Dudley and Elizabeth I, or with the English peer Lord Dudley Stuart (a champion of Polish independence at the time). The name Arthur Dudley engendered some mystery about the descent of the writer.<sup>40</sup> The pseudonym must have intensified the rumours of Blaze being a spy and an illegitimate daughter of Brougham. Blaze chose a male pseudonym that paralleled the associations conjured by her own person.<sup>41</sup> The pseudonym could have been associated with the suspected spy and rumoured illegitimate son of Robert Dudley and Elizabeth I, or with the English peer Lord Dudley Stuart (a champion of Polish independence at the time). The name Arthur Dudley engendered some mystery about the descent of the writer.<sup>42</sup> The pseudonym must have intensified the rumours of Blaze being a spy and an illegitimate daughter of Brougham. Blaze chose a male pseudonym that paralleled the associations conjured by her own person.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Publishing conventions changed during the century. The *Edinburgh Review* for example insisted on anonymous publications up until 1912, whilst *Bentley's Miscellany* published with no names, real names, and pseudonyms at the time of Blaze's publications. Brake and Demoor, ed., p. 190.

<sup>40</sup> Elisabeth Jay also suspected that Arthur Dudley was linked to Blaze's illegitimacy. Elisabeth Jay, *British Writers and Paris 1830-1875* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 131.

<sup>41</sup> Other authors also used pseudonyms that mirrored their writing. Gaskell's pseudonym Cotton Mather Mills, for example, made reference to the context she was writing in as well as the content of her stories, just as Arthur Dudley referred to the author beyond suggesting male authorship.

<sup>42</sup> Elisabeth Jay also suspected that Arthur Dudley was linked to Blaze's illegitimacy. Elisabeth Jay, *British Writers and Paris 1830-1875* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 131.

<sup>43</sup> Other authors also used pseudonyms that mirrored their writing. Gaskell's pseudonym Cotton Mather Mills, for example, made reference to the context she

Table 3: List of Blaze de Bury's French Publications and Signatures by Year of Publication<sup>44</sup>

Published by*	Title*	18..	Signature	Identity
RdP	Une valse de Strauss	41	A. Dudley	pseud
RdP	La double amande	41	A. Dudley	pseud
RdP	Viola Bianca	41	A. Dudley	pseud
RdP	L'étoile rouge	42	A. Dudley	pseud
RdP	La dernière duchesse de Courlande	43	A. Dudley	pseud
Rddm	Thomas Moore	43	M.R.S.	pseud
Rddm	The new Timon, a Romance of London	46	A. Dudley	pseud
La Presse	Byron et les anglais	47	A. Dudley	pseud
Rddm	Charles Dickens: Dombey-and-Son	48	A. Dudley	pseud
Charpentier	Voyage en Autriche en Hongrie et Allemagne	51	Baronne Blaze de Bury	known
Rddm	"The Daughter of the Night"	52	A. Dudley	pseud
Rddm	Les poésies de Julian Fane	53	A. Dudley	pseud
Rddm	Poèmes de Matthew Arnold et d'Alexandre Smith	54	A. Dudley	pseud
Rddm	Henry Waldsworth Longfellow - Tendances de la poésie américaine	54	A. Dudley	pseud
Rddm	Alfred Tennyson, Owen Meredith	56	A. Dudley	pseud
Rddm	A propos d'un roman anglais	58	A. Dudley	pseud
Corresp.	Lord Elgin au Canada	59	A. Dudley (Mme. Blaze de Bury)	known
Corresp.	L'Angleterre contemporaine	60	A. Dudley	known
Corresp.	L'Autriche et ses réformes	61		anon
Corresp.	L'Autriche, ses hommes d'état et sa société en 1863	63		anon
Corresp.	Le duc de Wellington	63	A. Dudley	known
Rddm	Deux visites royales en Hongrie	65	Blaze de Bury	known
Corresp.	L'archiduc Rodolphe	89	Mme. B. de Bury	known
Corresp.	Lord Dufferin, le Canada	89	Mme. B. de Bury	known

\*Short/abbreviated forms are used. Rddm = Revue des deux mondes; RdP = Revue de Paris; Corresp. = Le Correspondent; pseud = pseudonymous; anon = anonymous.

In the English-language, the first pseudonym Blaze used for her novels was Hamilton Murray (see Table 4). Like Currer, Ellis, and Acton, Hamilton is a gender-ambiguous first name. Yet, it probably suggested male penmanship because Hamilton is a town and the seat to the Hamilton family in the Scottish Lowlands. It was more common for place names and surnames to be used as first names for men rather than for women. However, Hamilton, unlike Arthur, left some room for perceived gender hybridity.

---

was writing in as well as the content of her stories, just as Arthur Dudley referred to the author beyond suggesting male authorship.

<sup>44</sup> Blaze also used the pseudonym Maurice Flassan for libretti. For example Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Le baptême* published in 1841. See *Dictionnaire des pseudonyms*, ed. by Georges D'Heilly (Paris: Librairie Rouquette, 1868), p.16.

Although the publisher would have the final say, Blaze had some influence over her signatures. Her rationale for the pseudonymous authorship of her first novel is apparent in letter to Brougham, in which she referred to Colburn's forthcoming publication of *Mildred Vernon*:

[REDACTED]

Blaze's fear of the book causing her injury due to its unfemininity in certain parts was befitting when considering how gender was dealt with in reviews of her works. Blaze also suspected that her work did not fit the gender expectations of the time, but instead combined both female and other bolder subjects. Her wish may also have stemmed from the unmistakable resemblance of characters to real life

---

<sup>45</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 28 May 1847, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16103. Original Emphasis.

Parisians.<sup>46</sup> When Blaze proposed *Germania* to Bentley, she included a postscript in which she unflinchingly stated that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]<sup>47</sup> We do not know Bentley's response but he agreed to the personal name 'Baroness Blaze de Bury' – not Hamilton Murray.

Table 4: List of Blaze de Bury's English Publications and Signatures by Year of Publication

Published by*	Title*	18..	Signature	Identity
Edinburgh R.	Molière	45		anon
Knight & Co.	Racine and the French Classical Drama	45	Madame Blaze de Bury (née Stuart)	known
Bentley's	The Two Bouquets	46	Arthur Dudley	pseud
Knight & Co.	Molière and the French Classical Drama	46	Madame Blaze de Bury (née Stuart)	known
Colburn	Mildred Vernon	48	Hamilton Murray	pseud
Bentley	Léonie Vermont	49	By the Author of Mildred Vernon	pseud
Bentley's	The Battle of Novara	50	Baroness Blaze de Bury	known
Bentley's	The Black Ring	50	The Author of Léonie Vermont	pseud
Colburn	Germania	50	Baroness Blaze de Bury	known
Bentley's	The Twin Shots	51		anon
Bentley's	Pianist and Patriot	51	The Author of Léonie Vermont	pseud
Colburn	Falkenburg	51	By the author of Germania	known
Bentley	Memoirs of the Princess Palatine	53	Baroness Blaze de Bury	known
Edinburgh R.	Villemain's Recollections	55		anon
North British R.	Reign of the House of Orleans	55		anon
Quarterly R.	Madame de Maintenon	55		anon
North British R.	Literary Tendencies in France	56		anon
Edinburgh R.	French Society under the Directory	57		anon
North British R.	Châteaubriand by M. Villemain	58		anon
Published by*	Title*	18..	Signature	Identity
Once A Week	Young France	59	A. D.	pseud
North British R.	Guizot's Memoirs of His Time	59		anon
North British R.	The Algerian Literature of France	59		anon
North British R.	Salon Life	60		anon
Once A Week	The Salons of Paris	60		anon

<sup>46</sup> See Chapter 5. Blaze assumed that there would be different perceptions of her work in different countries. Because *Mildred Vernon* was not translated into French it is hard to trace how it was received in France.

<sup>47</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Blaze de Bury to Richard Bentley, 29 August 1849, *Penn State University*, MS Special Collections: Blaze de Bury letters to Dear Sir, 1849-1851, 3453. Original emphasis.



North British R.	The Political Press	61		anon
North British R.	Montalembert and Parliamentary Institutions	61		anon
North British R.	Peasants and Poets of Austria and Scotland	62		anon
North British R.	The Austrian Empire in 1862	62		anon
Once A Week	The Ship of Mail (trans. from German)	63		anon
North British R.	Victor Cousin	67		anon
St Paul's	All for Greed	68	A.A.A. (identity known)	known
Bradbury, Evans	Love the Avenger	69	By the Author of All for Greed	known
Macmillan's M.	A Word on the Drama in England and France	69		anon
National R.	The New Electorate in France	87	Madame Blaze de Bury	known
Blackwood's M.	France versus Paris	88	Marie Blaze de Bury	known
Blackwood's M.	What the French Elections Mean	89	Marie Blaze de Bury	known
Fortnightly R.	The Decadence of Thought in France	89	Blaze de Bury	known
Fortnightly R.	A New French Novelist: Henri Lavedan	89	Mme. Blaze de Bury	known
National R.	Some Sound French Novels	89	Madame Blaze de Bury	known
New Review	Pitt and Talleyrand in 1792	89	B <sup>ness</sup> Blaze de Bury	known
The XIX <sup>th</sup> Century	Italy Drifting	89	Trans. by Mme. B. de Bury	known
Edinburgh R.	Charles, Prince de Ligne	90		anon
Fortnightly R.	Idealism in Recent French Fiction	90	B. de Bury	known
National R.	Stendhal's Autobiography	90	Madame Blaze de Bury	known
Blackwood's M.	Talleyrand	91		anon
Contemporary R.	The Spiritualization of Thought in France	91	S-B. de Bury	known
Arena	The Unity of Germany	91	Mme. Blaze de Bury	known
Blackwood's M.	A Royal Governess	92	Marie P. Blaze de Bury	known
Contemporary R.	The Problem of Crime in France	92	Marie P. R. S. Blaze de Bury	known
Living Age	A Royal Governess	92	S. B. de Bury	known
Blackwood's M.	Baron Hyde de Neuville's Memoirs	93		anon

\* Short/abbreviated forms of the titles of magazines and works are used. Bentley's = Bentley's Miscellany; R. = Review; M. = Magazine; pseud = pseudonymous; anon = anonymous.

Given that both Blaze and Henri Blaze were published authors, Blaze had to consider her authorial name and identity with particular care – especially in France.<sup>48</sup> Some of their texts may have

<sup>48</sup> Perhaps it was their shared love of Goethe that brought them together. Marie-Louise Pailleron, 'François Buloz et ses amis au temps du Second Empire: Henri

been collaborative efforts.<sup>49</sup> In 1865 Blaze wanted to sign the article ‘Deux visites royales en Hongrie’ in the *Revue des deux mondes* with her own name (i.e. not with Arthur Dudley otherwise used for this journal). However, according to Pailleron, the editor Francois Buloz rejected the publication of the article under a woman’s name as the topic was political and written in the fashion of a man.<sup>50</sup> Blaze refused to sign in her husband’s name Henri Blaze de Bury, which Buloz had suggested, and the article eventually appeared signed Blaze de Bury. Henri Blaze apologetically declared that: ‘Tout le monde connaît la personnalité qui se cache sous cette signature-là, il ne viendra donc à l’idée de personne que l’article puisse être de moi’.<sup>51</sup> Though, this could be read as Henri Blaze’s way of apologising about the circumstances, it is feasible that, amongst those who knew of the couple, there could be little doubt about the provenance of the article, given their different interests and levels of ambition in European politics.

The question remains why her signatures varied so often. Her publications with Bentley (and Colburn) are a case in point (see Table 5). Blaze’s first piece for *Bentley’s Miscellany*, under the pseudonym Arthur Dudley, appeared in 1846. When Colburn

---

Blaze de Bury et la Baronne Rose', *Revue des deux mondes*, 5 (1921), 100-36, (pp. 102-03 and 111).

<sup>49</sup> It is not within the scope of this thesis to attribute the authorship of individual texts to Blaze, Henri Blaze, or both. It would require literary and linguistic expertise in English and French alongside knowledge of the individuals and their partnership. However, based on their theme, Blaze may have had a hand in some publications by ‘H. Blaze de Bury’. For example, H. Blaze de Bury, *Souvenirs et récits des campagnes d’Autriche* (Paris: Michel Lévi Frères, 1854); H. Blaze de Bury, *Épisode de l’histoire du Hanovre: les Koenigsmark* (Paris: Michel Lévi Frères, 1855); M. H. Blaze de Bury, *Le Comte de Chambord: un mois à Venise* (Paris: Michel Lévi Frères, 1850). Reversely, Blaze’s display of extensive knowledge of music in her texts may have been influenced by Henri Blaze. Furthermore, the same publisher released two texts anonymously, (which have since been attributed to Henri Blaze), which might indicate Rose Blaze’s involvement. Henri Blaze de Bury [Anon.], *Les salons de Vienne et de Berlin* (Paris: Michel Lévi Frères, 1861); Henri Blaze de Bury [Anon.], *Hommes du Jour* (Paris: Michel Lévi Frères, 1859).

<sup>50</sup> Marie-Louise Pailleron, ‘Les Blaze de Bury en l’autriche’, *La revue de Paris* (July 1922), 126-52, (p. 149). Blaze detailed military plans, quoted Prince Ferdinand’s political speeches, and listed numerically the gains of the Bank of Vienna.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. Translation: ‘Everybody knows the person that is hiding behind this signature. Nobody would think that I could have written this article’.

published the decidedly more political and racy novel *Mildred Vernon* (1848), the pseudonym Hamilton Murray was adopted. *Léonie Vermont* (1849), published by Bentley, was signed ‘by the Author of Mildred Vernon’. However, after the publication of Blaze’s two novels Bentley did not stick to one signature for her subsequent articles. ‘The Black Ring’ was published ‘by the Author of Léonie Vermont’ (i.e. Hamilton Murray). Whether this was to promote further sales of *Léonie Vermont*, to ride on its success, or simply to maintain the camouflage of authorship is unclear. However, after the publication of *Germania* (1850), which had conclusively linked Hamilton Murray to Blaze, Bentley published ‘The Battle of Novara: A Tale by Baroness Blaze de Bury’. Surprisingly, just a few months later ‘Pianist and Patriot’ was published ‘by the Author of Léonie Vermont’ and in December the same year ‘The Twin Shots’ was published anonymously.<sup>52</sup> Blaze was published over the span of five decades. This may, in part, explain why her range and choice of signatures was so varied. However, as a rule Victorian women authors, particularly in the span of only a few years and with the same publisher, published under their own names, (and) under one particular pseudonym, or anonymously.<sup>53</sup> Content, reputation, publisher, and cultural targeting of Blaze’s works in different genres and formats, as well as perhaps worries about market oversaturation, determined her, or her publishers’, ever changing choice of signature. Though the

---

<sup>52</sup> Blaze’s life writing was signed Baroness Blaze de Bury. In 1789 John Bennett wrote that for reading ‘biography is by far the most useful and interesting to a woman’ as it focused on people not on history. More contemporarily, Gary Kelly argued that biographical writing was a way in which women could discuss cultural or political history ‘without transgressing gendered limits of discourse’. It could have been the distinction between memoirs and biographies, the former considered a non-literary, factual style, the latter a literary, high culture art, that allowed the female signature. Tuchman’s findings that women were more accepted as writers of low culture novels as opposed to high culture novels applies also to forms of life writing. John Bennett, *Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects: Calculated to Improve the Heart, Form the Manners, and Enlighten the Understanding*, 2 vols (London: Warrington, 1789), II, p. 184; Gary Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790-1827* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 175.

<sup>53</sup> For example the before mentioned George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell, and Charlotte Brontë.

reasons for Blaze's use of different signatures were multifarious, it is pertinent that she never wrote under a female pseudonym. Therefore, her rationale for choosing pseudonymous signatures was probably influenced by considerations surrounding perceived gender and the potential for cross-gender alteration and gender hybridity. Gender perception was a vital part of the equation and, as the following pages will show, the reception of Blaze's texts would depend on it.

Table 5: Blaze's publications for Bentley and Colburn 1846-1853

Published by*	Title*	18..	Signature	Identity
Bentley's	The Two Bouquets	46	Arthur Dudley	pseud
Colburn	Mildred Vernon	48	Hamilton Murray	pseud
Bentley	Léonie Vermont	49	The Author of Mildred Vernon	pseud
Colburn	Germania	50	Baroness Blaze de Bury	known
Bentley's	The Battle of Novara	50	Baroness Blaze de Bury	known
Bentley's	The Black Ring	50	The Author of Léonie Vermont	pseud
Bentley's	The Twin Shots	51		anon
Bentley's	Pianist and Patriot	51	The Author of Léonie Vermont	pseud
Colburn	Falkenburg	51	The author of Germania	known
Bentley	Memoirs of the Princess Palatine Princess of Bohemia	53	Baroness Blaze de Bury	known

\* Short/abbreviated forms of the titles of magazines and works are used. Bentley's = Bentley's Miscellany; pseud = pseudonymous; anon = anonymous.

### 3.b. The Reception of Blaze de Bury's Work in the Press

Gender bias influenced more than the chances of being published and the choice of signature. Once a text was published it was read through a gendered voice and its reception would depend on this gendered reading.<sup>54</sup> Tuchman and Fortin argued that gendered reviews of women's novels created a critical double standard that undervalued women authors.<sup>55</sup> Casey found that in the *Athenaeum's*

<sup>54</sup> Wilkes, p. 35.

<sup>55</sup> Tuchman and Fortin, pp. 182-84. Per George Eliot the critical reception of women novelists widened the disparity between men and women's writing, due to the varying quality of women's work - those of lesser quality overshadowing those of high quality. 'By a peculiar thermometric adjustment, when a woman's talent is at zero, journalistic approbation is at the boiling pitch; when she attains

reviews, ‘one of the most striking features is the energy with which reviewers speculated about gender’.<sup>56</sup> Reviews of fiction ascribed ‘particular characteristics to writing on the basis of its author’s sex’.<sup>57</sup> Gendered reading of texts affected both men and women. Yet, as Nicola Thompson argued, ‘the practice was more common in discussions of women’s publications [...and...] fostered a reductive approach to women’s writing [...which was] considered less substantial and significant than men’s’.<sup>58</sup>

When considering the reception of Blaze’s work, male pseudonymous, anonymous, and publications in her own name must be differentiated.<sup>59</sup> The reception of two pseudonymous novels (*Mildred Vernon* and *Léonie Vermont*) is studied (3.b.i). There are no book length texts by Blaze published anonymously (i.e. without a signature). However, the debate about anonymous publications was relevant at the time she was published and picked up force as the century progressed. Therefore, the reception of two of Blaze’s anonymous journal articles is briefly examined (3.b.ii). The treatment of Blaze’s travel writing and a novel published under her own name (*Germania* and *Falkenburg*) is deliberated (3.b.iii). It is not the purpose of this chapter to prove or disprove individual reviewer’s opinions, but to paint a picture of the general reception of Blaze’s work and to pick out the main talking points at the time.

This chapter’s title quoted Blackwood’s surprise at Blaze’s seemingly contradictory gender behaviour. In particular, he voiced

---

mediocrity, it is already at no more than summer heat; and if ever she reaches excellence, critical enthusiasm drops to the freezing point’. George Eliot, ‘Silly Novels by Lady Novelists’, in *The Essays of "George Eliot"*, ed. by Nathan Sheppard (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883), pp. 178-204 (p. 202).

<sup>56</sup> Reviews from 1860-1900. Casey, p. 154.

<sup>57</sup> For example, George Eliot was called ‘a gentleman of high church tendencies’ in *Adam Bede* (1859). In a review of *The Mill on the Floss* (1860): ‘there is a good deal of coarseness, which it is unpleasant to think of as the work of a woman; and, [...] the influence which these novels are likely to exercise over public taste is not altogether such as a woman should aim at’. Wilkes, p. 35; [Anon.], ‘Scenes of Clerical Life’, *Quarterly Review*, 108, July-October 1860, pp. 469-99 (p. 471); Some made similar claims about the reception of the Brontës. Allot, ed; Showalter.

<sup>58</sup> Nicola Diane Thompson, *Reviewing Sex: Gender and the Reception of Victorian Novels* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 35.

<sup>59</sup> See Introduction d. for scope and rationale for selection.

his astonishment at how Blaze's political writing challenged gender customs. This surprise also featured in reviewers' receptions of Blaze's work. It was her engagement in hard European politics in her mid-nineteenth-century writing which was the catalyst for the unease in reviewers' gendered perception of Blaze – placing her in a hybrid position of an in-betweeners both culturally and in terms of gender.<sup>60</sup> Examining the reception of this woman in-betweeners in “hard” politics continues the counter-narrative of women's involvement in nineteenth-century politics.

### 3.b.i. Male Pseudonyms: *Mildred Vernon* and *Léonie Vermont*

Most reviewers thought that the pseudonym Hamilton was male. However, speculation about the gender of the author behind the pseudonym was nevertheless rife.<sup>61</sup> Gender and national affinity were the main areas of conjecture when *Mildred Vernon* appeared. Once *Léonie Vermont* was published ten months later, speculation about the author had lessened, but reviewers still speculated about gender, nationality, and expressed puzzlement about genre. ‘Who is Hamilton Murray’ was the opening line of the review in the radical *Daily News*, while the Tory-toned *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist's* ran with ‘Who wrote Mildred Vernon’.<sup>62</sup> The novel's title, *Mildred Vernon*, may have sown the seed of the gender misconception. Reviewers assumed that men and women chose to narrate from the viewpoint of their own sex.<sup>63</sup> Although *Mildred Vernon* was narrated in the third person, the plot nearly always followed Mildred as the main character.

---

<sup>60</sup> The link between hard and soft politics and gender was discussed in 1.c.

<sup>61</sup> For example, [Anon.], ‘The Literary Examiner: Recent Novels’, *Examiner*, 2121, 23 September 1848, pp. 611-12 (p. 611); [Anon.], ‘Literature’, *Morning Post*, 23367, 28 October 1848, p. 6.

<sup>62</sup> *Daily News* was founded by Charles Dickens and the *New Monthly* was published by Colburn – so the publisher of the novel himself fuelled the speculation about the author's identity. [Anon.], *Daily News*, 14 April 1849, p. 2; Charles Harvey Esq., ‘The Habitue's Note-Book’, *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 84.335, November 1848, pp. 395-400 (p. 395).

<sup>63</sup> For example; ‘It is generally safe to judge the writer's sex from that of the personage who forms the centre of the story’. [Anon.], ‘My Cousin Maurice’, *Athenaeum*, 2328, 1872, p. 717.

The above mentioned *Daily News* seems to have had some accurate, though not all-encompassing, information about Blaze.

[C]ommon rumour assigns the authorship, editorship, or correctorship to a noble peer, well known by his talents, and still better known by his intellectual eccentricities. [...]. The noble peer and a lady from the north, but for some time past resident in Paris, divide the various honours [...] of the composition and publication of 'Mildred Vernon.' Whether it is written by Lord B. or Madam B. we don't pretend to say.<sup>64</sup>

The reviewer guessed correctly that both Brougham and Blaze were involved in the publication.<sup>65</sup> For readers who were themselves close to the literary world, the reviewer undid Blaze's anonymity adding that: 'If the authors dare to avow their work, let them inscribe their name and titles on the title-page; if in modesty they shrink from such an avowal, we are not called upon to blazon their names to the world'.<sup>66</sup> The word blazon was hardly coincidental and pointed to Blaze. The *Daily News*' reviewer did not provide any basis for their claims. However, they discussed the narrator's confusing ability to address both "male" and "female" subjects as 'a competent master', the text being 'powerfully' written yet 'naturally developed', thereby causing 'confusion' and leaving 'the mind of the reader in a state of passionate melancholy, which proves only too well that he has been under the spell of a veritable magician'.<sup>67</sup> There was, according to the reviewer, something unnatural about the combination of masculine and feminine traits and styles in the text. Underlining this gender divide, the reviewer settled that 'the writer is at fault in the intellect rather than in the feeling; in the head more than in the heart'.<sup>68</sup> Some reviewers, like Charles Harvey Esq. in the

---

<sup>64</sup> [Anon.], *Daily News*, 14 April 1849, p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Brougham was an advisor and intermediary between Blaze and Colburn.

<sup>66</sup> [Anon.], *Daily News*, 14 April 1849, p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

*New Monthly Magazine*, may have known of Blaze in Paris and been aware of her authorship.<sup>69</sup> He considered the style of some passages too feminine to be by a man, for example Blaze's detailed descriptions of physical appearance and attire.<sup>70</sup>

For the most part, reviews attempted to dismantle Blaze's arguments about male/female virtue and British/French morality in the novel. As described above, the explosion of literacy and the invigorated demand for novels to have an educational purpose, meant that the discussion of morals in *Mildred Vernon* was of particular concern.<sup>71</sup> The general consensus among reviewers was that the level of moral corruption in the novel could only have been proffered by a woman. For example, the sardonically entitled 'Morals for the Million' in the *Mirror Monthly Magazine* wrote that:

Our [English] novels once were distinguishable for the quaint purity of their pages. A new era is now beginning. [...] One or two women stepped forward and set the example of preceding ages at defiance, threw aside the natural garb of gentleness which nature gave them, and smilingly invited the world no longer to be shocked at the breaking through of a few conventionalities, and the trampling down of a few moral ties which had hitherto preserved society steadily on its foundation. [...] Not to be behind-hand, we have now a few gentlemen following in the rear.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> There is no evidence of Charles Harvey and Blaze meeting in Paris. Yet, as Elisabeth Jay points out, the British literary community in Paris was a closely knit one. See Elisabeth Jay.

<sup>70</sup> Harvey Esq., *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, November 1848, pp. 395-400 (p. 395). Characteristic subjects: War, theology, and sports for men, fashion and relationships for women. E.g. it was Currer Bell's ignorance of kitchen etiquette and ladies' fashions that convinced reviewers that he was a man. Showalter, pp. 91-93.

<sup>71</sup> Novels had an educational purpose pre-Victorian era, - exemplified by the ironic discussion in Northanger Abbey. Yet this purpose picked up force throughout the century.

<sup>72</sup> [Anon.], 'Morals for the Million', *Mirror Monthly Magazine*, 41.1399, November 1848, pp. 548-54 (pp. 549-50).



The biblical reference to the immoral Eve being tempted into sin by the older immoral female and leaving the Adam writers no choice but to follow, are apparent.<sup>73</sup> Yet, inverting Genesis, women ‘threw aside their garbs’ instead of covering themselves with fig leaves. According to the reviewer, it was women who corrupted others and propagated sin. Therefore, they speculated that the author of the sinful novel was a woman.

The discussion of morals was also linked to women in the *Morning Post*.<sup>74</sup> It ironically reported that:

Like an accomplished seducer, the author sets out with professing that his object in writing is [...] to reform the inconvenient false delicacy of his immoral countrywomen. [...] Having been deprived of the affections of her [Mildred’s] husband, she consoles herself with an *amant*. [...] all the consequences of their unholy amour, are described by the writer of this moral and instructive work with warmth, *con gusto*, and with all the apparent earnestness of one fully satisfied that he was imparting a great, wholesome, moral lesson to his countrywomen.<sup>75</sup>

Moral agency lay with the female seducer – the author’s seduction of her reader parallels Mildred’s supposedly seduction of Gaston in the novel. Furthermore, the *Literary Gazette* described how ‘vendors of laudanum and arsenic’ tempt ‘unhappy persons’ into addiction, and then compared this to Blaze’s seduction of the reader into immorality.<sup>76</sup> Pertinently, it was the authors ‘deleterious mixture’ – an unknown concoction of drugs – which posed the danger. This echoed the criticism of the novel’s unwholesome hybridity.

---

<sup>73</sup> ‘Following in the rear’ is possibly an allusion to homosexual men writers.

<sup>74</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Post*, 28 October 1848, p. 6.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> [Anon.], ‘Reviews of New Books: French-School Novel’, *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 1659, 4 November 1848, pp. 721-23 (p. 721).

The *Daily News* said the production of *Mildred Vernon* was a ‘crime in face of the gallows’ comparable to those carrying capital punishment and compared the author to ‘Ned Newgate’.<sup>77</sup> A common reaction to female writers who wrote outside of the acceptable box was to dismiss them as eccentric or criminal.<sup>78</sup> Victorian women ‘were not supposed to speak in public, were not supposed to speak forth at all, and those that did [...] were savagely spoken about’.<sup>79</sup> The reviewer suggested, referencing the physical punishment of ‘gibbeting’ (outlawed in England in 1834), that a public example should be made of this outspoken authoress.<sup>80</sup> The reviewer’s strong approach was furthered by the popularity of the Newgate novels the previous decade.<sup>81</sup> The reviewer further believed its immorality arose ‘from absolute want of moral perception’ and warned that ‘false doctrines in morals may undermine principles, and produce an irreconcilable wreck of all high feeling and manly resolution’.<sup>82</sup> The author was seen not as immoral but amoral (i.e. without any morals at all). The novel’s moral shortcomings were attributed to the feminine aspects of its gender-bending author. The root of the anxiety that ‘all high feeling’ and ‘manly resolution’ would be wrecked and that women would become undomesticated by this novel, lay in its female author. Furthermore, by mentioning the danger to manly resolution the reviewer suggested that *Mildred Vernon* also had a male readership and that Blaze, the female writing seductress, could cause the downfall of male moral superiority. But, the reviewer feared female

---

<sup>77</sup> [Anon.], *Daily News*, 14 April 1849, p. 2.

<sup>78</sup> See Susan Hamilton’s Victorian essay collection; *Criminals, Idiots, Women, & Minors* (2004) based on Frances Power Cobbe’s 1868 essay, or Rédouane Abouddahab and Josiane Paccaud-Huguet’s essay collection *Fiction, Crime, and the Feminine* (2011).

<sup>79</sup> George Landow, ‘Aggressive (Re)interpretations of the Female Sage’, in *Victorian Sages and Cultural Discourse: Renegotiating Gender and Power*, ed. by Thaïs E. Morgan (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), pp. 32-45 (p. 39).

<sup>80</sup> Geoffrey Rivlin, ‘Punishments through the Ages’, in *Understanding the Law*, 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 243-58 (p. 250).

<sup>81</sup> [Anon.], *Daily News*, 14 April 1849, p. 2.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

readers in particular would be tempted away from the hearth and home, declaring that '[h]ome is the English wife's field of action. If she fail [sic] there, she will not succeed elsewhere'.<sup>83</sup> The *Mirror Monthly Magazine* similarly concluded that 'rather than behold our daughters and our wives making the novels of our French brethren their sources of amusement, we would deny them access to literature of every kind'.<sup>84</sup>

Perceived gender hybridity was underlined by comparisons between the author of *Mildred Vernon* and George Sand, the prolific liberal and rumoured queer writer.<sup>85</sup> The *Morning Post* proposed that the novel 'is of the George Sand school, and worthy to emanate from the impure intellect of that fatally-gifted person'.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, the *Daily News* suggested that the novel 'arises, not like some of George Sand's more reprehensible stories, from the excess of sentiment and the too great warmth of tender descriptions, but from absolute want of moral perception', echoing the *Morning Post's* comments on amorality.<sup>87</sup> The *Critic* proposed that '[i]n imitation of the whim of George Sand', the writer 'has assumed the above cognomen. Whether, with the name, she has taken also the costume of a man, we are not informed'.<sup>88</sup> This insinuated the transference of the gender-hybrid textual style of the page to the cross-gendered body of the author – clothed perhaps as a woman, perhaps as a man. Yet, there was no in-depth interest in comparing the works of Blaze and Sand. Sand was instrumentalised as a symbol of women in male pseudonymous writing.<sup>89</sup> However, Sand also represented a French

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> [Anon.], *Mirror Monthly Magazine*, November 1848, pp. 548-54 (p. 550).

<sup>85</sup> For more on Sand and her relationships see Anna Faktorovich, *The Romances of George Sand* (Stone Mountain, GA: Anaphora Literary Press, 2014), pp. 10-11, 178. Also, Evelyne Bloch-Dano, *The Last Love of George Sand: A Literary Biography* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2013 [2010]).

<sup>86</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Post*, 28 October 1848, p. 6.

<sup>87</sup> [Anon.], *Daily News*, 14 April 1849, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup> [Anon.], 'Mildred Vernon: a Tale of the Last Days of the Monarchy', *Critic*, 7.184, 1 December 1848, pp. 467-68 (p. 467).

<sup>89</sup> Sand was also compared to other women writing under male pseudonyms. For example, Charlotte Brontë who '[i]n Passion and Power – those noble twins of Genius – Currer Bell has no living rival except George Sand'. George H. Lewes, 'Villette', *Leader*, 12 February 1853, pp. 163-64 (p. 163).

type of novelist, notorious in Britain for their lax moral footing. The *Literary Gazette* observed that ‘George Sand, *culottè* Mme. Dudevant, met with much success; and it seems that her example, both as to incognita and class of writing, has stirred up *Master* Hamilton Murray, *alias* Madame S de B-, to approach us with corruptions modelled on the worst species of the Parisian novel school’.<sup>90</sup>

The subversive morality of the novel was also attributed to the author’s cultural elusiveness. Various newspapers picked up on Blaze’s preface message and reported that ‘[t]he moral tendency of the book [...] is to show [...] that we are not a bit more moral than our neighbours’ – part of her transcultural message and probably an awareness that this provocative statement might sell well.<sup>91</sup> Initially, the novel’s Frenchness was used as a positive advertising mechanism.<sup>92</sup> However, once full-length reviews of the novel started to emerge, the novel’s Frenchness became a negative attribute. Perhaps this was because advertisements for *Mildred Vernon* appeared in print before the June Days Uprising in Paris, but the full devastation caused by this sanguinary clash of class only became apparent later. This may have accounted for the fervent anti-Frenchness in the reviews quite apart from the actual content of the text.

Interestingly, however, it was not the French novel *per se* which was under attack from reviewers. Specifically, it was the transmittal of a French-like novel to the British reader, the mélange of French and British moral compasses within the story, and the author’s assumed hybrid transcultural identity which alarmed reviewers. The *Critic* condemned not only the author but also the publisher for importing Frenchness into Britain: ‘The authoress has studied in the worst school of the French novel, and has produced a

---

<sup>90</sup> The ‘S’ probably refers to Stuart. [Anon.], *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 4 November 1848, pp. 721-23 (p. 721).

<sup>91</sup> See for example: [Anon.], ‘Mildred Vernon’, *Standard*, 7513, 12 September 1848, p. 1; ‘Mildred Vernon’, *The Morning Post*, 23336, 1848, p. 4.

<sup>92</sup> [Anon.], *Standard*, 12 September 1848, p. 1.

work in imitation of its worst characteristics, which should have been published in Holywell-street, and not in so respectable a quarter as Great Marlborough-street'.<sup>93</sup> The *Literary Gazette*, too, concluded that '[w]e cannot but consider and denounce it as a blot upon our country's press and language'.<sup>94</sup> Meanwhile, the *Daily News* referred to the mélange of French and British moral compasses suggesting that:

There would seem indeed to be no healthy, self-sustained, English virtue known in the Faubourg. Every woman introduced into the narrative is a devotee or a debauchee, or both in turn. There is nothing healthy about its manners or its mind. And it strikes us as a part of the general perplexities of the brain of Hamilton Murray that he, she, or they, should have told us all this story of sin, and crime, and suffering in France, in order to prove to us that we in England 'Are not a moral people, and we know it'.<sup>95</sup>

The argument became increasingly about national differences rather than about individual differences in moral standards. The reviewer claimed English moral superiority over the French and was offended by the suggestion that 'we [the English] should know them [the French] better and judge of them more justly'.<sup>96</sup> The *Daily News* was appalled at the thought of judging English morality by French standards, although it judged the novel's French characters' morality by its English standards. The *Mirror Monthly Magazine* described a 'sea reptile' which 'nears the shore' and tried to 'temper [...] the ground on which the creature sought to set its foot'.<sup>97</sup> This alluded to the crossing of the Channel by the fantastical and threatening French novel, and feared French immorality. The *Literary Gazette*

---

<sup>93</sup> [Anon.], *Critic*, 1 December 1848, pp. 467-68 (p. 467).

<sup>94</sup> [Anon.], *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 4 November 1848, pp. 721-23 (p. 721).

<sup>95</sup> [Anon.], *Daily News*, 14 April 1849, p. 2.

<sup>96</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. i.

<sup>97</sup> [Anon.], *Mirror Monthly Magazine*, November 1848, pp. 548-54 (pp. 549-50).

compared the French novel to an uncontrollably spreading poison writing that ‘it might have been thought that, after it had been drained to the last dregs of impurity in its aboriginal soil, it might not have occurred to any one, far less to a female, to endeavour to spread the noxious poison over another land’.<sup>98</sup> The *Literary Gazette* highlighted this fear of the novel spreading revolutionary fervour across Britain: ‘we have only to express a hope that we may never again meet with such a novel in the English tongue as Mildred Vernon. France, or at least Paris, has been greatly corrupted by her novelists, and the community is paying the penalty’.<sup>99</sup> This is particularly surprising given Blaze’s own anti-revolutionary messaging in her novels. The insistence on the author’s Frenchness is additionally surprising given the pseudonym Hamilton Murray – not a French name.<sup>100</sup> Most reviewers expressed fear of the unknown, unseen French immoral Other, its revolutionary spirit, and the arrival of these in Britain. It was not per se that the novel was transnational by featuring France. It was that the depictions of France and Britain (and the French and British) were not centred around a British hierarchical viewpoint. Instead, the novel advocated questioning perceived differences from Blaze’s transcultural standpoint.

In contrast to the general consensus among reviewers, Charles Harvey posited in the *New Monthly Magazine and Humourist* that the depictions of France were first class.<sup>101</sup> As a British national resident in Paris, he was arguably in a better position than most to judge Blaze’s representations. By claiming that Blaze’s descriptions of society were ‘invaluable’, he aligned himself more with her way of thinking, namely that of increased cultural transfer

---

<sup>98</sup> [Anon.], *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 4 November 1848, pp. 721-23 (p. 721).

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 723.

<sup>100</sup> Only two reviews remarked on the Scottish-sounding signature. Harvey Esq., *New Monthly Magazine and Humourist*, November 1848, pp. 395-400 (p. 395). [Anon.], *Examiner*, 23 September 1848, pp. 611-12 (p. 611).

<sup>101</sup> Harvey Esq., *New Monthly Magazine and Humourist*, November 1848, pp. 395-400 (p. 395).

and understanding. The *Examiner* was one of few papers which considered Blaze's message of increased understanding between Britain and France. They reported that '[t]here is an idea in the book of some importance', namely 'that the English are too apt to misjudge all things foreign, and to fall from ignorance into worse immoralities of their own than any they condemn in others'. They nevertheless condemned Blaze's solution which seemed to be 'that *les convenances* do not enter sufficiently into our English educational code, and that we should be better moralists if we could put a better face on immorality'.<sup>102</sup>

By November 1848 the controversy about the authorship of *Mildred Vernon* was so great that Colburn issued a statement, parts of which the *Athenaeum* reprinted:

'Mildred Vernon,' [...] we hear has been affiliated to as many noble persons, likely and unlikely [...]. Mr. Colburn does not give up the 'nobility' of the authorship; but [...] he announces that the writer is resident in Paris, - which removes 'the sin' from the door of any English peer or peeress.<sup>103</sup>

This accreditation of authorship to an ex-patriot of the British Isles was driven by the speculations and false attributions of the press, which risked sullyng the reputation of British writers and nobles. However, Colburn insisted upon maintaining the author's class status (and by default also their perceived uncertain gender) whilst eagerly deflecting suspicions of their Britishness. The need for Colburn's statement suggested that the publication of *Mildred Vernon* had caused quite a stir, which may have been further fuelled by Colburn.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, it underlined that it was the author's and

---

<sup>102</sup> [Anon.], *Examiner*, 23 September 1848, pp. 611-12 (p. 611).

<sup>103</sup> [Anon.], 'Our Weekly Gossip', *Athenaeum*, 1097, 4 November 1848, p. 1103.

<sup>104</sup> It is not clear why Colburn published this memo. It could have been public pressure or a marketing device.

the text's non-exclusively-British-centred perspective, which was the main cause of contention.

When *Léonie Vermont* appeared in July 1849, speculation about the author's identity was not as prevalent in reviews. The discussion about the pseudonym Hamilton Murray and the author's identity was only a few months old, which may in part explain this difference.<sup>105</sup> Most referred to either 'he' or 'she' as the author or to a gender neutral 'author' throughout. Nevertheless, the *Spectator* picked up on the confusing combination of both supposedly feminine and masculine traits:

The rhetorical predominates over the dramatic in his or we believe in her mind, (notwithstanding the mascuffne [masculine] tone of the book, and the unfeminine character of parts of it,) so that the persons are not always true or consistent in dialogue, and there is too much leaning to 'effects', both in scenes and situation.<sup>106</sup>

It was the combination of masculine 'tone' and 'character' with feminine 'effects', which lead to inconsistency in the novel and therefore meant poor literary quality. The *Examiner* found that though '[t]he principal characters of the story [...] are truthfully sketched, and with considerable power. [...] There is delicacy and womanly tact in the indications alike of the strength and weakness of each', suggesting that alongside 'power', feminine 'delicacy' too made up the fabric of the tale.<sup>107</sup> The *Morning Post* reminded its readers that they had encouraged the author 'to devote her large powers of observation, her flowing wit, and her biting sarcasm to the portraiture of less vitiated circles, and to the inculcation of less

---

<sup>105</sup> Reviews of *Mildred Vernon* stopped by July 1849.

<sup>106</sup> [Anon.], 'Léonie Vermont', *Spectator*, 1102, 11 August 1849, pp. 757-58 (p. 757) <<http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/11th-august-1849/17/leonie-vermont-mildred-vernon-a-previous-productio>> [accessed 21 March 2015].

<sup>107</sup> [Anon.], 'Léonie Vermont', *Examiner*, 2169, 25 August 1849, p. 534.



pernicious principles than those she had first chosen'.<sup>108</sup> They 'now congratulate her on having done so'.<sup>109</sup> According to the reviewer, this was achieved by shedding the female seductive role of the author.

This reflects the more favourable reception of Blaze's second novel *Léonie Vermont* as opposed to *Mildred Vernon*. There are two likely explanations. Firstly, *Mildred Vernon* was published hot on the heels of the 1848 Paris revolution whereas *Léonie Vermont* was, in part, a critical reflection on it. The *Morning Post*, quoting *Bentley's Miscellany*, wrote that the novel 'is beyond comparison, the ablest exposition in this form which has been given to the world of the secret history of that event [i.e. 1848 revolution] which, communicating its influence to surrounding countries, threw the whole of Europe in to blaze'.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, an advertisement for *Léonie Vermont* concluded that it threw 'considerable light on the natures of the various political parties in France. [...] The work is quite free from such things as were open to objection in *Mildred Vernon*'.<sup>111</sup> Secondly, *Mildred* is an Englishwoman with lax morals, whereas *Léonie* is French and less overtly immoral. Though *Léonie Vermont* was not considered a threat to British readers, the immoral influence of the French novel remained suspect to some reviewers.<sup>112</sup> Perhaps because there was less mixing of British and French, both in the text itself and therefore supposedly in the author, the *Spectator* concluded that, '[a]ltogether, though not free from defects and blemishes, the book may be read with interest, as a good picture of Frenchmen and Parisian incidents during a remarkable period of history, from an English point of view in politics'.<sup>113</sup> The

---

<sup>108</sup> [Anon.], 'Literature: Léonie Vermont. A Story of the Present Time', *Morning Post*, 23647, 21 September 1849, p. 5.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> [Anon.], 'Léonie Vermont', *Morning Post*, 23607, 4 August 1849, p. 4.

<sup>111</sup> [Anon.], *Sharpe's London Journal*, 10, July 1849, p. 246.

<sup>112</sup> For example, 'Celestine, a grisette, is the type of a class numerous everywhere, but in her circumstances and characteristics peculiarly French, though the subject is rather forbidden in English novels, and is not very original in foreign'. [Anon.], *Spectator*, 11 August 1849, pp. 757-58 (p. 757).

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 758.

reviewer thought the novel was safer because it had a clear British narrator, supposedly filtering the depicted Frenchness to suit a British audience and its moral tastes. The perceived immorality and political threat of Frenchness was contained within France in the novel – there was less potential for British/French mixing.

Reviewers seemed less critical about *Léonie Vermont*'s pseudonymous signature and its immorality. However, what did elicit criticism was the author's choice of genre and the author's hybrid style of writing respectively. According to some, *Léonie Vermont* was too factual to be a fictional novel, yet other parts resembled too much a typical romantic novel to be factual. The *Literary Gazette*, for example, observed that 'a break-down is the common consequence of endeavouring to reconcile together the serious and frivolous, the profound and superficial, the sacred and profane'.<sup>114</sup> The reviewer, however, concluded that in combining these varying genre styles the author's 'success is greater than usual'.<sup>115</sup> The *Examiner* also criticised the mismatch of styles: 'It is fitter for essay-writing or character-sketching than for the invention of a prose tale'.<sup>116</sup> The *Morning Post* attributed this unusual style to the novel's politics: 'the artist [...] has produced a series of *tableaux vivants* which represent in striking colours the dread events of the memorable days of February, May, and June, 1848'.<sup>117</sup> By singling out the descriptions of political events in the novel as difficult to unite on one 'canvas' the reviewer suggested this aspect led to its hybridity.<sup>118</sup>

Notwithstanding their general negative critical reception, both novels seem to have enjoyed popular success in terms of distribution. Some reviewers thought that both novels would be widely read and Colburn's public letter supports their speculations.

---

<sup>114</sup> [Anon.], 'Original Novel', *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 1700, 18 August 1849, p. 605.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> [Anon.], *Examiner*, 25 August 1849, p. 534.

<sup>117</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Post*, 21 September 1849, p. 5.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

Furthermore, Blaze herself stated that ‘[redacted]’<sup>119</sup> Not least because, as one of Blaze’s harshest critics pointed out, ‘[t]o the shame of our English readers be it spoken, “Mildred Vernon” will of course be read, because when once a novel is pronounced bad everyone is eager to see what it contains’.<sup>120</sup> And the *Literary Gazette* concluded about *Léonie Vermont* that ‘[w]e consider it to be altogether one of the foremost hits of the season’.<sup>121</sup>

Despite speculations, some more accurate than others, about the identity of Hamilton Murray, Blaze’s authorship remained unknown to the wider reviewership of the time. Her pseudonymous cover, however, was blown in print upon the publication of *Germania*, which was published under her own name in June 1850.<sup>122</sup> The reception of *Germania* as well as the novel *Falkenburg*, published under the author’s own name, will be discussed in 3.b.iii. after a brief discussion of the reception of Blaze’s anonymous publications, focusing on two articles as a case-study.

### 3.b.ii. Anonymous: ‘The Political Press: French, British and German’ and ‘The Austrian Empire in 1862’

The four main texts under discussion in this thesis were published with signatures - either pseudonymous (i.e. Hamilton Murray) or personal (i.e. Baroness Blaze de Bury). However, the acceptability of unsigned anonymous publications was debated in the press (see 3.a.i.). Therefore, to create a fuller picture of the gendered reception of Blaze’s work as a whole, two of her unsigned anonymous publications will be briefly discussed here. These anonymous

---

<sup>119</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 4 May 1849, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16108.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.; Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 17 August 1849, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16115; [Anon.], *Mirror Monthly Magazine*, November 1848, pp. 548-54 (p. 554).

<sup>121</sup> [Anon.], *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 18 August 1849, p. 605.

<sup>122</sup> [Anon.], ‘The Author of “Germania”’, *Morning Post*, 24088, 21 February 1851, p. 7.

articles were published in the *North British Review* in the early 1860s when all articles were unsigned in the journal.

Theoretically, a lack of signature could enable a gender-free perception of a text. Easley estimated that over 1,500 women made anonymous contributions to the periodical press during Victoria's reign.<sup>123</sup> Susan Hamilton suggested that the majority of women wrote on literary matters in the mainstream press, which was more acceptable for women.<sup>124</sup> However, alongside mainstream literary matters, Blaze explored conventionally masculine hard political topics anonymously.<sup>125</sup> In November 1862, the *Standard* wrote about Blaze's article 'The Austrian Empire in 1862' that it:

is one of the most remarkable that has appeared for several years in any quarterly; and it is all the more remarkable because [...] in the circles which the *North British* represents, we are not used to look for so much manly earnestness in the demonstration of the falseness and hollowness of a 'Liberal' cry.<sup>126</sup>

This was testament to the uniqueness of Blaze's talent and importance as a periodical contributor at least amongst a Scottish, liberal, predominantly Catholic, and internationally oriented circle. There was no speculation about the gender of the author. They simply assumed that the article was penned by a 'he'. The *Standard's* referencing of 'manly earnestness' underlined the supposed male authorship of this political piece. The topic and title

---

<sup>123</sup> Easley, p. 1.

<sup>124</sup> *Criminals, Idiots, Women and Minors: Victorian Writing by Women on Women*, 2 edn., ed. by Susan Hamilton (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004), p. 13.

<sup>125</sup> There is less evidence about the reception of Blaze's anonymous publications. First, because her article-length texts received less critical attention. Second, reviews of her anonymous publications do not reference the author's name – making them harder to trace. Third, the majority of reviews of Blaze's anonymous articles were notices and summaries. Fourth, the topics Blaze wrote about (e.g. the Austrian Empire) were in a niche area. Periodicals would, therefore, have needed reviewers who were themselves acquainted with the topics to have produced good full-length reviews of them.

<sup>126</sup> [Anon.], 'The November Quarterlies', *Standard*, 11294, 11 November 1862, p. 6.

of the article were probably the main indicators. Moreover, Blaze took on an authoritative voice, as in many of her articles, by using a high-handed tone, by citing little known German sources, and by claiming an educational role. She framed her piece by juxtaposing how Austria was ‘formed to be the natural ally of Great Britain’ and how ‘Austria is, of all continental countries, the most unpopular in Great Britain’.<sup>127</sup> In so doing she distinguished between the “hard” political power structures of nations and their “soft” cultural awareness. At the same time, she injected a hint of gender contention into the debate by describing the partnership as ‘useful’ and ‘obvious’ and the animosity as ‘purely sentiment’ and consequently ‘irrational’, traits commonly ascribed to women active in public life. As well as “male” being the default position, these textual strategies as well as the title of the article seem to have led reviewers to believe the author was male, even though, or perhaps because, no signature was given.

Epistolary evidence from people in the know about Blaze’s authorship can enrich the picture of the reception of her anonymous writing, particularly about the level of gendered reception it was awarded. In a letter to her friend Brougham, Priscilla Fane, Countess of Westmoreland, discussed Blaze’s newly published unsigned article ‘The Political Press: French, British and German’ in the *North British Review*. She was well aware that knowledge of the author’s sex could lead to a gendered, and in this instance, less favourable reading of the article.

I sent M<sup>me</sup> B’s article to Vienna where it has given great pleasure & I have some Letters speculating upon who the Author can be – (have not let it out – because I know that it will have much more effect anonymously than with a name – particularly a female name).<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, ‘The Austrian Empire in 1862’, *North British Review*, 37 (November 1862), 285-322, (p. 285).

<sup>128</sup> Fane, 16 February 1861, *UCL*, MS Collection, 128370.

In this article Blaze's tone was also an authoritative one. It commenced:

Nothing is that remains unuttered. Utterance is a sign of life. Whatever lives will in the end express itself. The *public* life expresses itself in the press. It is we think, from an insufficient apprehension of this truth, that so many errors are committed in appreciating that tremendous power; the natural product of modern thought.<sup>129</sup>

By arguing about the power of expression, and about public life, participation in which was, on the whole, reserved for men at the time, Blaze took on a masculine tone as an author. In the *Saturday Review*, after a fairly bland summary of the article the reviewer made a poignant statement about preserving anonymous publications:

What we look for in an article in an English journal is, not merely what such and such a party, or such and such a writer, will say upon any given subject. If this were the case, why should articles remain anonymous? It is by no means for the interest of the writers themselves that the veil of incognito should be preserved.<sup>130</sup>

The reviewer, retaining anonymity him/herself, picked up on the importance, described by Blaze, of being able to publish anonymously. They further describe the ability of transcending party political lines. Blaze's inability of being a party politician enabled her to broaden conventional understandings of politics. However, the reviewer failed to consider that some writers, even though they may have wished to publish under their own name, were glad to have the opportunity to be published anonymously, whether because of

---

<sup>129</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, 'The Political Press: French, British and German', *North British Review*, 34 (February 1861), 184-209, (p. 184).

<sup>130</sup> [Anon.], 'Public Opinion and Journalists', *Saturday Review*, 11, 16 February 1861, pp. 162-63 (p. 163).

their gender, position, or controversial views. Blaze, at least in the opinion of Priscilla Fane, was wise to use anonymous publication (that is a journal that published anonymously) in order for this article to be printed in the first place and to avoid negative criticism of it based on her gender.

### 3.b.iii. Personal: *Germania* and *Falkenburg*

Upon its publication in 1850 there was almost unanimous consensus among reviewers that, for better or worse, *Germania; its Courts, Camps, and People* was different to anything they had ever seen before. Reviewers termed the production ‘unique’, ‘extraordinary’, ‘important’, and ‘remarkable’. The focus was on the book’s ‘revelations [that] will be of the most singular and startling kind’.<sup>131</sup> It was ‘a work that will take the reading public by surprise’, and ‘has excited so much interest and curiosity’.<sup>132</sup> The *Morning Post* felt that Blaze’s ‘account of what she saw, heard, and thought is well worthy of attention, both from the politician and the *dilettante*’.<sup>133</sup> Blaze’s ability to educate both the seasoned politician and the light reader about labyrinthine German politics was praised and *Germania* was deemed ‘the most important work on Continental matters’.<sup>134</sup> Reviewers pointed to *Germania*’s author, its genre format, and its politics as the unique features, which set it apart from previous publications. Similarly to Blackwood, reviewers voiced puzzlement at the contradiction between the author’s gender and the text’s politics. The text discussed, for example, Austria’s military engagements in northern Italy, the recent revolutionary uprisings in various parts of the German-speaking world, and the position of Austria’s non-German speaking territories to the east. *Germania* put gender norms to the test and caused critical unease. Specifically, her

---

<sup>131</sup> [Anon.], ‘Literature’, *Morning Post*, 23933, 24 August 1850, p. 6.

<sup>132</sup> [Anon.], ‘Colburn’s List’, *Standard*, 8115, 15 August 1850, p. 1; [Anon.], ‘Germania’, *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 90.357, September 1850, pp. 123-24.

<sup>133</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Post*, 24 August 1850, p. 6.

<sup>134</sup> [Anon.], ‘Mr. Colburn’s New Publications’, *Athenaeum*, 1193, 7 September 1850, p. 960.

engagement in hard European politics was the catalyst for the apprehension in reviewers' perception of Blaze's gender and cultural identity – placing her in the position of an in-betweenner.

*Germania* was published under the name Baroness Blaze de Bury. Although a real name was given and the identity of the author was known, the signature and person behind it were nevertheless a talking point.<sup>135</sup> The *Literary Gazette* stated that:

if we were now to ask what's in a name, that on the above title-page would almost frighten us. But [...] instead of fear we take pleasure in hearing the Baroness blaze away at the Anarchists, and after she has destroyed the pestilent rascals, bury them with as little honour as if they were drowned kittens.<sup>136</sup>

This comical caricature of Blaze in a public unfeminine role of the political activist was compared to that of the domestic kitten slayer. Though the review was a positive one, these opening sentences sarcastically remarked on the abnormality of a woman's activity outside her natural sphere, underpinned by the play on Blaze's name. The *Morning Post* partly praised Blaze's unfeminine style. It mentioned that Blaze did not report her travels, as a lady might have by talking about 'the still [life] of Johann Maria Farina' in Cologne, but instead by noting 'down what she could discern of the political and social condition of the inhabitants'.<sup>137</sup> Meanwhile, the *Standard's* review established that:

We gave, as we have said, to the fair authoress of "Germania," full credit for extensive reading, for a sound critical judgment, and for a delicate taste; but we were not at all prepared for the masculine vigour, the bold excursiveness, and the

---

<sup>135</sup> Blaze must have been well enough known, that her unusual sounding name was not mistaken for a pseudonym.

<sup>136</sup> William Jerdan, 'Germany', *Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 1752, 24 August 1850, pp. 601-03 (p. 601).

<sup>137</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Post*, 24 August 1850, p. 6.



graphic power which distinguishes her latest work.<sup>138</sup>

In so doing, the *Standard* distinguished between what were considered skills attainable by intellectual women, (i.e. extensive reading, critical judgment, and delicate taste), and those reserved for men, (i.e. masculine vigour, bold excursiveness, and graphic power), in the conventional mid-nineteenth-century philosophy of separate spheres of the sexes. But it is the reviewer's voicing of surprise at the ability to combine both supposedly feminine and masculine traits in one text, which is of particular remark, and points to Blaze's gender and political non-conformity at the time.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, the *Morning Chronicle* stated that it was 'the work of a lady, indubitably, in its softer, brighter passages, but in others we find a masculine power that could scarcely belong to the same pen', voicing their incredulity at a woman having written something as good as *Germania*.<sup>140</sup> The staunch Whig newspaper further said that 'the aristocratic old-fashioned Tory tone, however, sits gracefully enough upon a lady, especially when her theme is Revolution' suggesting that Blaze's incursion into the supposedly male field of politics could be overlooked due to her purported conservative politics and her invoking of a familiar 'old-fashioned' political framework.<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, the reviewer placed the agency of the sentence with the politics (i.e. the Tory tone, which sits upon Blaze), not with Blaze who was in fact disseminating the politics.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> [Anon.], 'Literature', *Standard*, 8120, 21 August 1850, p. 3.

<sup>139</sup> This Victorian assertion was based on a two-sex model of man and woman as 'incommensurable opposites' (see 1.c.). Yet, Blaze's texts evoked fear of a one-sex model. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. viii.

<sup>140</sup> [Anon.], 'Germania', *Morning Chronicle*, 26152, 25 September 1850, p. 8.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> They concluded that 'we commit the grammatical errors to the author, and the prejudices to time, to correct'. Poor spelling and grammar were often ascribed to women writers. Elizabeth Sklar investigated how eighteenth- and nineteenth-century grammars were 'rich in assertions, examples, and theories that either slight or derogate women'. Even more recently, linguistic psychologists examined how 'grammar and word choice [...] can impact a reader's, or listener's, perception of power relations'. Furthermore, Dena Goodman explored how already in the eighteenth century, 'poor spelling was the mark of intellectual inferiority' and

Whether to praise or to ridicule, these reviewers expressed surprise at the author's gender and the mélange of female penmanship and male political contents and style. Multiple reviews described the author as 'fair'.<sup>143</sup> The three-way equivocality of the word however evoked not only the idea of a just and a moderately good authoress but also of a beautiful one.<sup>144</sup> Through the use of the word 'fair' reviewers, consciously or not, used the woman's body as a conveyor of meaning to betray their unease about the perceived gender hybridity of the author and text a physical underpinning.

Apprehension about Blaze's gender hybridity was echoed in the perceived cultural identity of the author. The *Morning Chronicle* tried to untangle the divergence between Blaze's French-sounding name and her British affiliation by pigeonholing her into a clear national identity. It reported that 'her name notwithstanding [she] is evidently of English birth and English feelings'.<sup>145</sup> However, the reviewer offered no further explanation to support this assertion. On the other hand, the *Critic* observed that '[t]he baroness has not lived so long in France without catching something of its lax morality. As witness [by] her DEFENCE OF LOLA MONTES'.<sup>146</sup> The reviewer qualified Blaze's supposed lax morality by discussing the decadent Irish-Spanish Lola Montes (performer and companion of King

---

ascribed to the woman writer to keep her in her place. [Anon.], 'Germania: Second Notice', *Morning Chronicle*, 26161, 5 October 1850; Elizabeth Sklar, 'Sexist Grammar Revisited', *College English*, 45.4 (April 1983), 348-58, (p. 348); Marianne LaFrance, Hiram Brownell, and Eugene Hahn, 'Interpersonal Verbs, Gender, and Implicit Causality', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60.2 (1997), 138-52, (p. 138); Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), p. 116.

<sup>143</sup> For example, in the *Standard* and the *Morning Post*.

<sup>144</sup> The word 'fair' had many mid-nineteenth century meanings – including 'applied to a woman or to women collectively, as expressing a quality considered as characteristic of the female sex', 'beautiful to the eye; of attractive appearance; good-looking', 'excellent, admirable; good, desirable; noble, honourable; reputable', (now obsolete but still in use in the first-half of the nineteenth century, and 'free from blemish, imperfection, or fault; just, proper, equitable; reasonable'. 'Fair' in *Online OED*.

<sup>145</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Chronicle*, 25 September 1850, p. 8. As described in 2.c.ii. Blaze's cultural identity conveyed through *Germania* was English (also as an overextension for British), Scottish, and French.

<sup>146</sup> [Anon.], 'Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People by the Baroness Blaze de Bury and Pictures of Rural Life in Austria and Hungary', *Critic*, 9, 1 November 1850, pp. 520-23 (p. 522). Original emphasis.

Ludwig I of Bavaria) and by underlining Blaze's residence in France and assimilation into its culture.<sup>147</sup> In so doing, the reviewer undid Blaze's supposed Englishness and underlined her distasteful interwoven European cultural identity. The *Critic's* reviewer ironically stated:

who *is* this Baroness with a fine name who writes an English book? Be it known, then, that she is an Englishwoman, albeit boasting so novelish a title. She obtained that title by marriage. [...]. The perusal of a few pages of her present enterprise will prove her to be precisely what from this account the reader will already have guessed her to be – a *Frenchified Englishwoman* – a composition, we must confess, not at all to our taste, and not likely to be more pleasing to the mass of our country-folk.<sup>148</sup>

The *Critic* censured *Germania* because of the seeming incompatibility of multiple national identities. Its judgement echoed that of the *Morning Chronicle* in that it was specifically the publication of a political text on Germany specifically by an Englishwoman – two reasons (English and woman) which meant Blaze should have known better – which alarmed the reviewer. The adjectivization of French to modify Englishwoman further underlined the hybridity of Blaze's national/cultural identity, which was seemingly difficult to describe in proper grammar and syntax. In a discomfort similar to that caused by Blaze's ability to attain the writing skill/style of a man, reviewers stressed their bafflement and unease at her transcultural approach.

Alongside the author's gender hybridity, and her cultural elusiveness, the book's hybrid genre and style were also considered

---

<sup>147</sup> Both Blaze and Montes were internationally travelled and Catholic, which must have fed into this apprehension about cultural difference. As discussed in section 2.c.i. Britain was, throughout its historical relations with continental Europe, wary of a French-Spanish Catholic power alliance. Furthermore, this motive had been widely used in gothic fiction in the Romantic era.

<sup>148</sup> [Anon.], *Critic*, 1 November 1850, pp. 520-23 (pp. 520-21).

unusual. The *Literary Gazette* praised *Germania*'s 'heterogeneous contents'.<sup>149</sup> The book was presented as travel writing on the outside, but little between its covers was in the form or style of travel writing.<sup>150</sup> *John Bull* posited that '[w]ithout a fuller knowledge than is usually to be met with, [...] it is impossible to account for the confusion, the rivalries and cross-purposes, exhibited since the revolution of 1848 in the general aspect of German affairs'.<sup>151</sup> This highlighted the need for a book on the German-speaking world focusing on its politics rather than as a tourist destination. Indeed, the *Morning Chronicle* wrote that 'there is very little of the "handbook" in these volumes; but our traveller has keen perception and appreciation for things as well as persons'.<sup>152</sup> The *Morning Post* declared that 'the work is remarkable for the exceeding variety of the style'.<sup>153</sup> The genre hybridity and the variety of style in *Germania* could have led to negative reviews based on its incoherence. The *Morning Chronicle* did consider that Blaze's 'course of recent travels appears to have been very erratic, and her style is as discursive as her route'.<sup>154</sup> However, they continued that 'in the fitful transactions of the German revolutions, it would be difficult for any writer to class them, or to treat of them systematically'.<sup>155</sup> In this instance, Blaze's style and politics were considered erratic yet in harmony with her subject matter.<sup>156</sup> The *Standard* highlighted Blaze's 'most amusing repertory of political facts and political gossip'.<sup>157</sup> In so doing, they touched upon the question of fact versus fiction in political reporting. Similarly, *John Bull* commented on the hybridity of the text, stating that *Germania* was 'a work which in no ordinary degree combines amusement with

---

<sup>149</sup> Jerdan, *Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 24 August 1850, pp. 601-03 (p. 603).

<sup>150</sup> See Chapter 4 for on travel writing and genre.

<sup>151</sup> [Anon.], 'Literature', *John Bull*, 1552, 7 September 1850, p. 571.

<sup>152</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Chronicle*, 25 September 1850, p. 8.

<sup>153</sup> [Anon.], 'Germania', *Morning Post*, 23946, 9 September 1850, p. 2.

<sup>154</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Chronicle*, 25 September 1850, p. 8.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> [Anon.], *Standard*, 8122, 23 August 1850, p. 2.

instruction, and which we strongly recommend to those who would obtain a thorough insight into the causes of the recent political vagaries of Germany'.<sup>158</sup> Like most, *John Bull's* reviewer appreciated Blaze's political genre hybrid reporting, notwithstanding the disquieting confusion surrounding her gender and cultural identity.

However, the *Morning Post* issued a caveat about Blaze based her gender when they wrote that:

On a subject of this kind we would rather have the testimony of a lively and intelligent woman than of a man. The fair authoress receives her impressions with less of a preconceived bias, and details them with greater vivacity and fidelity. We should certainly go to her for our premises, though for the conclusions and the generalizations we must look to the rougher sex.<sup>159</sup>

The reviewer, as if in a court of law, contrasted between individual testimony and premise with a judge's conclusions and generalisations. Though praising Blaze for reporting her experiences, the reviewer simultaneously criticised her stepping across her gender boundary into the male field of truth and decision making. Whether to praise the text and its author or to condemn it, the hybridity of both was highlighted by most reviewers. The author's female signature did not match its hybrid gendered political topic and style, her transcultural affinity was untenable, and its hybrid genre incurred particular notice. The last talking point was also of concern a few months later when *Falkenburg* appeared.

The novel *Falkenburg* was signed 'by the author of *Germania*'. However, it was less widely reviewed than *Germania*. Most reviews and advertisements referred back to the novel *Mildred Vernon* and

---

<sup>158</sup> [Anon.], *John Bull*, 7 September 1850, p. 571.

<sup>159</sup> [Anon.], *Morning Post*, 24 August 1850, p. 6.

not to *Germania* in their analyses. The *Observer* issued a descriptive summary of the novel stating that: ‘As a work of amusement *Falkenberg* [sic] holds a pre-eminent place among books of its class [...]. It can scarcely fail to find a large circle of readers, and, it may be added, a sufficient proportion of admirers’.<sup>160</sup> The *Athenaeum* reported that ‘for originality of thought and eloquence of expression this novel will take a high position’ and others thought likewise.<sup>161</sup> The overall reception of *Falkenburg* was positive. Although it was linked to the sceptically received *Mildred Vernon* there was not as much contention about the story. One reviewer in *Bentley’s Miscellany* however, did questioned the wisdom of portraying an immoral hero; ‘We marvel that she should have taken so much trouble with a worthless fellow like Falkenburg, and sincerely hope that the fate to which she has consigned him, is one of her matters of fact’.<sup>162</sup> Other than this, the novel was not criticised for any portrayal of immorality beyond describing the machinations at German watering-holes. The main critical focus, as voiced in *Bentley’s Miscellany*, was on genre hybridity.

Reviewers picked up on the seeming contention between fact and fiction, as well as reality and romance, in the novel. *Bentley’s Miscellany* voiced its bafflement at the seeming contradiction between *Falkenburg’s* preface declaration and its later story-line.

We are told in the preface that the authoress has merely endeavoured to record events that she has witnessed [...]. But [...] a succession of more novel-like scenes, and a more general introduction to characters that wear the garb of fiction, we do not usually see and meet with.<sup>163</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> [Anon.], ‘Mr. Colburn’s Falkenburg’, *Observer*, 23 November 1851, p. 7.

<sup>161</sup> [Anon.], *Athenaeum*, 1257, 29 November 1851, p. 1259.

<sup>162</sup> [Anon.], ‘Literary Novelties for the Winter Season’, *Bentley’s Miscellany*, 31, 31 January 1852, pp. 101-06 (pp. 105-06). Bentley may have held a grudge because Blaze had negotiated behind his back for *Léonie Vermont*.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

The *New Quarterly Review* sarcastically remarked that though the characters mostly seem real ‘we require a better authority than even the “ower true tale” to induce us to believe that he actually fell lifeless when seated at the pianoforte performing a melody composed in honour of his goddess’.<sup>164</sup> *John Bull* meanwhile emphasised the contrast between romance and reality in the novel: ‘Not that the story loses in interest by being tied down to reality; it is sufficiently romantic to satisfy the most extravagant lover of romance, and at the same time it wears throughout a strikingly life-like aspect’.<sup>165</sup> To this reviewer the hybridity between reality and romance sat comfortably alongside one another in the novel. However, the *Morning Post* declared that ‘[i]n what relative proportions Truth and Fancy may have contributed the constituents of the story called “Falkenburg,” is a question which we cannot take upon us to decide’ and that ‘[t]he book, it appears, is a history – not a novel – and to call in question the events which it professes to record, were scarcely less presumptuous than to sit in judgment upon the decrees of the inexorable Themis himself’.<sup>166</sup> However, the reviewer went on to do just that, dedicating most of the review to the discussion of fact versus fiction.<sup>167</sup> The reviewer concluded that the author ‘must forgo the merit of what painters term “composition,” and content himself with such a wreath as encircles the brows of these artists who merely “copy”’, and that the characters ‘sat to him for their pictures, and are now hung up in his book, like the “portrait of a lady,” or “portrait of a gentleman,” at the Royal Academy’.<sup>168</sup> Nevertheless, quoting the writer Gerald Griffin, the *Morning Post*

---

<sup>164</sup> ‘Ower’ means too (i.e. a better authority than even the too true tale) [Anon.], ‘Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine’, *New Quarterly Review and Digest of Current Literature, British, American, French and German*, 1, 1 January 1852, pp. 65–66 (p. 66).

<sup>165</sup> [Anon.], ‘Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine’, *John Bull*, xxxi, 29 November 1851, p. 768.

<sup>166</sup> [Anon.], ‘Literature’, *Morning Post*, 29 November 1851, p. 2.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. Oddly, the reviewer described the author as male. Whether because of the link to *Mildred Vernon* or because the reviewer was ill informed is unclear.

concluded that '[b]e it truth or romance – "be it a dream or a mystic revealing" – it is a capital story'.<sup>169</sup>

This chapter's analysis of Blaze's reception in the context of the mid-nineteenth-century press has highlighted the significance of her work at the time. Recuperating and examining her critical reception has started to fill the gap that the lack of other pre-existing critical examinations of her work had left. Furthermore, the analysis of reviews has revealed gender hybridity, national/cultural identity, and genre hybridity as particular areas of interest to reviewers at the time. Thus, the chapter strengthened the counter-narrative to the discourse about women's involvement in nineteenth-century European politics by illustrating that Blaze's female gender and her participation in discussions of masculine "hard" politics were perceived as a mismatch – particularly in *Mildred Vernon* and *Germania*.

Having detailed Blaze's position, biographically (chapter 2) and in reviews (chapter 3), as an in-between and a crosser of borders (geographically, culturally, and in terms of gender), we focus in Part 2 on the identified gender-hybrid, transcultural, and genre-hybrid aspects of her texts. Chapter 4 will consider genre hybridity regarding travel and political writing. Chapter 5 will further examine genre by examining Blaze's transcultural texts through intertextuality and translation and the (national) novel. Finally, Chapter 6 will consider difference and homogeneity as a transcultural approach in her work.

---

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., p. 482; D. Griffin, 'To L---', in *Life of Gerald Griffin Esq. by his Brother* (London: Simpkin and Marshal, 1843), I, pp. 482-83.



## **Part 2**

*[E]lle n'a rien de l'héroïne romantique, elle est bien portante, fraîche et rose comme son nom; elle n'a ni vapeurs, ni crises de nerfs; elle ignore la chaise-longue: en revanche, elle voyage volontiers, et monte à cheval avec passion.<sup>1</sup>*

#### **4. From Travel Fact to Travel Fiction: Genre**

##### **Hybridity**

Blaze de Bury instrumentalised genre to translate her transcultural stance into the dissemination of her transcultural message. Texts of travel enable the dissemination of cultural content. The global movement of commodities and cultures is linked.<sup>2</sup> Yet whilst commodities are tangible, culture is less so. Blaze travelled ‘*volontiers*’ and turned her cultural experiences whilst travelling into commodities (i.e. into the written word, to be disseminated on the literary market). In this way, Blaze transcultural view kept evolving and she brought other cultures closer to home in material/intellectual text form. Yet, what is the travel writing genre? As Gunther Kress pointed out, each genre ‘positions those who participate in a text [...]’; each of these positionings implies different possibilities for response and for action’.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, every ‘written text provides a “reading position” for readers, a position constructed by the writer for the “ideal reader” of the text’.<sup>4</sup> It follows that writer, publisher, reader, and reviewer – all those ‘participating’ in a text – are influenced by its genre. Genre, through the author, positions the text and infuses the reader with new identity.

---

<sup>1</sup> Marie-Louise Pailleron, 'François Buloz et ses amis au temps du Seconde Empire: Henri Blaze de Bury et la Baronne Rose', *Revue des deux mondes*, 5 (1921), 100-36, (p. 111). Translation: 'She has nothing of the romantic heroine, she is healthy, fresh and rosy as her name; she has neither vapours, nor fits of nerves; she ignores the chaise-longue: On the contrary, she travels willingly, and rides with passion'.

<sup>2</sup> See 1.b. and Paul Jay, *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2010), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Gunther Kress, *Communication and Culture: An Introduction* (Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1988), p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

In this chapter, we reflect upon how genre influenced the participants in Blaze's mid-nineteenth-century texts. We examine how genre, through Blaze's preface statements in particular, influenced the reader. Also, we discuss how genre complemented the promotion of Blaze's transcultural message. Her travels were the result of her political endeavours, yet at the same time her politics were sometimes the result of her travels. Travel texts and political texts are inherently genre hybrid.<sup>5</sup> Here we focus on how Blaze dealt with travel fact versus travel fiction. Specific strategies Blaze used were subverting her publisher's guidelines, highlighting her agency as a traveller (including merging autobiographical fact and fiction), questioning and simultaneously claiming truth, and juxtaposing the historical with the contemporary, as well as the practical guide with the political report.

#### **4.a. Blaze de Bury and Genre**

Blaze de Bury understood the impact genre had on the reader and the importance of genre for her political messaging. In *Mildred Vernon*, she wrote:

[t]here are two kinds of writers: the men who write for writing's sake, and those who write to support an idea, or attain an end, wholly unconnected with literary vanity. The former (or ornamental portion of *littératures*, the mere *gens de lettres*) include, we may say, all the novel-writers and some of the inferior poets; the latter (whom we would style as the useful portion) consist of men who, having an office to fill in the state, being either deputies, diplomats, or in some other way attached to public functions, have recourse to their pen either to defend the acts of the Government, or, through the medium of some grave science – whether historical, philosophical, or political, deeply studied – to elucidate its

---

<sup>5</sup> See 4.a.i.

principles and lead the public mind to the habitual consideration of serious topics.<sup>6</sup>

This linked the writer's choice of topic and genre to their station and politics. While the passage does not refer to Blaze, she may have considered her own choice of genre from this perspective. Although Blaze was not a man in an official public office, she wrote both 'ornamental' novels and 'useful' prose. Yet, in all genres, Blaze wrote to support her transcultural idea, namely, 'that we should know them better' and counteract our 'ignorance' and 'contempt' about other European cultures, for example, by increasing our intercultural literacy.<sup>7</sup> She attempted to achieve this through genre hybridity, which reflected the depicted hybridity of European culture(s). The four texts under consideration in this thesis are three novels and a two-volume prose text, packaged as travel writing. However, the categorisation of these texts into novels and travel writing as well as fiction and non-fiction is misleading.<sup>8</sup> Reviews in the press voiced surprise at their genre.<sup>9</sup> Travel was central to the novels *Mildred Vernon* and *Falkenburg* and served as the frame narrative for *Léonie Vermont*.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, it is in vain to look for some aspects of travel writing in *Germania*. Furthermore, as Blaze admitted, some occurrences and characters in her novels of "fiction" were only loosely camouflaged facts and real individuals, whilst it is doubtful whether all the "factual" events relayed in *Germania* actually took place.<sup>11</sup> But first, we turn to the theoretical

---

<sup>6</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1848), I, p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. i; Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850), I, p. ix.

<sup>8</sup> For fact versus fiction in historical writing see Hilary Mantel, 'Can these Bones Live?', in *Reith Lectures 2017*, (BBC Radio 4, 8 July 2017); Hilary Mantel, 'Adaptation', in *Reith Lectures 2017*, (BBC Radio 4, 15 July 2017); Hilary Mantel, 'The Day is for the Living', in *Reith Lectures 2017*, (BBC Radio 4, 17 June 2017).

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Léonie Vermont* opens and closes with a French character telling the story to a British traveller.

<sup>11</sup> For example, it is unclear whether Blaze travelled along the Rhine in a steam boat or spent time in the New Forest, as featured in *Falkenburg*. *Germania* describes Baden, yet currently, no available data evidences Blaze's presence in Baden.

demarcations of genre hybridity (4.a.i.), to a brief discussion of travel writing (4.a.ii.), and to continue our counter-narrative, to women and travel (4.a.iii). Then we analyse genre hybridity, focusing on travel fact versus travel fiction in *Germania* and *Falkenburg* (4.b.).

#### 4.a.i. Genre Hybridity

Robert Allen described how genre studies has always been 'nominological and typological in function. [...] it has taken as its principal task the division of the world of literature into types and the naming of those types – much as the botanist divides the realm of flora into varieties of plants'.<sup>12</sup> Types of poetry, prose, and drama in literature have been further subdivided. However, though 'genres contain and encode meaning' the scientific and hierarchical classification of genre remains suspect.<sup>13</sup> Building on De Saussure and deconstructing western culture's system of binaries, Jaques Derrida viewed texts as constructed around binary oppositions so that they can make sense, leading to genre hybridity.<sup>14</sup> From this perspective a genre cannot be viewed as a single fenced-off entity but must be seen as a work in constant progress, constantly 'referring back to other traces, and the traces of other traces' (called *le renvoyer*).<sup>15</sup> Jane Feuer pointed out that 'genre is ultimately an abstract conception rather than something that exists empirically in the world' and David Bordwell observed that 'any theme may appear

---

<sup>12</sup> Robert Allen, 'Bursting Bubbles: "Soap Opera" Audiences and the Limits of Genre', in *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power*, ed. by Ellen Seiter, et al. (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 44-55 (p. 44).

<sup>13</sup> Dallas Liddle, *The Dynamics of Genre: Journalism and the Practice of Literature in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2009), p. 1. Also, see Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957). There are endless genres and sub-genres, which are not (yet) classified. Alastair Fowler, 'Genre', in *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, ed. by Erik Barnouw (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), II, pp. 215-17 (p. 216); Katie Wales, *A Dictionary of Stylistics* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 206.

<sup>14</sup> See Jacques Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena: And Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973); Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

<sup>15</sup> Jacques Derrida, 'Sending: On Representation', *Social Research*, 49.2 (Summer 1982), 294-326, (p. 324).

in any genre'.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, most texts "belong" to different genres in different places or at different times.<sup>17</sup> The themes of texts, their place and time of production, as well as their social context, complicate genre in its definition and materially.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, as Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress put it: 'genres only exist in so far as a social group declares and enforces the rules that constitute them'.<sup>19</sup> Yet, as Dallas Liddle pointed out, a 'text without genre is as difficult to imagine, and would be as difficult to interpret, as speech without language. [...] In very highly conventional genres, [...] genre conventions alone may well determine the meaning of an entire work'.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, David Buckingham explained that genre changes and negotiates with culture.<sup>21</sup> This further underlines how text production and reception are reciprocally pivotal to genre. It is 'in the interaction and conflicts among genres we can see the connections between textuality and power'.<sup>22</sup>

The consequence of identifying these problems with genre has been the emergence of the concept of genre hybridity – borrowing from the general trend of hybridity as a 'ubiquitous

---

<sup>16</sup> Jane Feuer, 'Genre Study and Television', in *Channels of Discourse, Reassembled: Television and Contemporary Criticism*, ed. by Robert Allen (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 138-59 (p. 144); David Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 147.

<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, 'the number of genres in any society [...] depends on the complexity and diversity of society'. Carolyn Miller, 'Genre as Social Action', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 70 (1984), 151-67, (p. 163).

<sup>18</sup> Some, following Wittgenstein, controversially consider genres 'family resemblances' rather than definitional. However, no text selection to illustrate resemblance is 'innocent'. John Swales, *Genre Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 49-50.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, *Social Semiotics* (Cambridge: Polity, 1988), p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> Dallas Liddle, *The Dynamics of Genre: Journalism and the Practice of Literature in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2009), p. 5. Leaning on Mikhail Bakhtin's theorisation of genre as language. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. by Michael Holquist, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981).

<sup>21</sup> David Buckingham, 'Sorting Out TV: Categorization and Genre', in *Children Talking Television: The Making of Television Literacy* (London: Falmer Press, 1993), pp. 135-55 (p. 137).

<sup>22</sup> Tony Thwaites, Lloyd Davis, and Warwick Mules, *Tools for Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (South Melbourne, VIC: Macmillan, 1994), p. 104.

buzzword' in the last few decades.<sup>23</sup> There is ongoing theoretical scholarship on what genre hybridity entails. Ann-Marie Riesner and Martin Danneck reported that there are two main unanswered questions. Namely, 'which aspects of a generic profile are attached to the hybrid "third"' as well as which criteria can be used 'to distinguish between different varieties or grades of blending – phenomena like intertextuality, intermediality, shifting "modes of writing", and genre hybridity'?<sup>24</sup> They suggested that the extent of genre hybridization might be gauged first by analysing the text itself, second by looking more closely at the author and revealing a specific 'genre consciousness' which influences 'genre design', and third by taking the reader into consideration, which uncovers 'conventional patterns' of genre reception.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, any theory of genre hybridity would be flawed without an understanding of the respective historical setting. These lines of enquiry, which echo Kress' observations about genre, are also proposed for this chapter. We analyse primary textual evidence, authorial preface statements, and epistolary evidence, as well as reconsider reviews including their historical placement in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

In light of the above statements about the interplay between genre, textuality, culture, and power, we also consider how genre hybridity in Blaze's texts interacted with her political views. The focus lies on questions surrounding fact versus fiction, in the context of writing on travel. For example, Blaze commenced both *Germania* and *Falkenburg* with scenes in which she conveyed the lack of

---

<sup>23</sup> Brooks Landon, 'A Cultural History of a Hybrid Genre', *Science Fiction Studies*, 33.1 (March 2006), 161-73, (p. 161). Etymologically, "Genre" was adopted from the French *genre* (i.e. type or kind, heralding back to the Latin *genus*, meaning birth, origin, kind, type, class, species, group, gender). "Hybrid", in English, comes from the Latin *hybrid*/*hibrida* (probably also via French *hybride*, meaning 'offspring of tame sow and wild boar' and hence 'of human parents of different races').

<sup>24</sup> Ann-Marie Riesner and Martin Danneck, 'Blending, Mixture, Hybridisation: Theoretical Approaches to Genre Blending', in *Journal of Literary Theory Online* (2015), <<http://www.jltonline.de/index.php/conferences/article/view/689/1587>>. The report previews a forth-coming book publication *Gattenmischung: Poetik und Ästhetik eines literarischen Phänomens*, edited by the conference organizers Sylvia Brockstieger and Cornelia Rémi.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

cultural understanding between British and German peoples by juxtaposing travelling characters with one another or with herself. In so doing, Blaze created a transnational space: a 'space of intercultural, interracial encounter of England and Englishness made possible through the journey'.<sup>26</sup> However, due to the tension between fact and fiction these spaces were observed with anxiety.<sup>27</sup> Blaze's engagement with this genre hybridity and cultural hybridity was transcultural.

#### 4.a.ii. Travel Writing and Genre Hybridity

Tension between fact and fiction is familiar in travel writing, which is 'a loosely defined body of literature' whose experts struggle to capture its exact nature.<sup>28</sup> Tim Young pointed out that 'travel writing feeds from and back into other forms of literature'.<sup>29</sup> The genre's elusiveness has led experts to debate the degree to which travel writing depicts reality.<sup>30</sup> Arguably, the concept of any text as 'pure

---

<sup>26</sup> See Introduction and Pramod Nayar, *The Transnational in English Literature: Shakespeare to the Modern* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), in OUBL [accessed 25 September 2017].

<sup>27</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>28</sup> A seemingly endless array of terminology is used to label travel writing (e.g. travel text, travel book, travel story, travelogue, travel journal, or travel memoir). Jan Borm, 'Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology', in *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. by Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 13-26 (p. 13). This multitude of labels has increased since the critical examination of travel writing experienced a revival, parallel to the evolution of post-colonial studies during the latter half of the twentieth century. *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. by Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1815-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 8. Travel writing and related categories are too closely linked to be considered distinct genres, which is further complicated by the lapse of time and ever-changing classifications. For example, travel writing 'is a genre composed of other genres', like the 'modern novel'. Mary Bain Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400-1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 6. Similarly, travel writing is 'a subspecies of memoir in which autobiographical narrative arises'. Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 203. Yet again, criticisms of autobiography consider it 'as akin to fiction'. Hooper and Youngs, eds., p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> This forms part of a bigger debate about history versus fiction writing. Though Hayden White concluded that both 'are forms of literary writing', Maya Jasanoff somewhat bluntly declared that 'novelists make stuff up, historians don't'. David Lowenthal helpfully pointed out that what distinguishes history from fiction is purpose rather than content. Hayden White, *The Practical Past* (Oakland, CA: University of California, 2014), p. 163; Maya Jasanoff, *The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World* (London: William Collins, 2017), p. 10; David



fiction or pure non-fiction [is] theoretical'.<sup>31</sup> Charles Batten suggested that traditionally travel writing was read equally for pleasure as for instruction, tenuously suggesting that fiction was linked to pleasure reading and non-fiction to instructive reading.<sup>32</sup> The perception of reality changes over time.<sup>33</sup> Or, as Benedict Anderson's put it, 'fiction steeply and continuously into reality'.<sup>34</sup> Janet Malcolm even claimed that in 'nonfiction we almost never know the truth of what happened. The ideal of unmediated reporting is regularly achieved only in fiction, where the writer faithfully reports on what is going on in his imagination'.<sup>35</sup> However, most have concluded that, although travel writing is more often than not composed with a purpose of disseminating facts, it inevitably involves fiction, whether intended by the author, merely perceived by the reader, or undetected by either. *Germania* and *Falkenburg* reflect this mixing of facts and fictions.

What seems pivotal to the purpose of all travel writing is description (exact or embellished), the precursor of which is observation.<sup>36</sup> However, Richard Brathwaite, a poet himself, stated that 'travellers, poets and liars are three words of one significance'.<sup>37</sup> And here is the problem with observation – it is subjective.

---

Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country - Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 374.

<sup>31</sup> Gérard Genette quoted in Borm, p. 21. Zweder von Martels focused on how the genre is able to absorb both fact and fiction in *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, ed. by Zweder Von Martels (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

<sup>32</sup> Charles Batten Jr., *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 1-8.

<sup>33</sup> In the seventeenth century, travel writing was 'commonly regarded as a repository of wonderful lies'. Fussell, p. 165.

<sup>34</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2 edn. (London: Verso, 2006), p. 36.

<sup>35</sup> Janet Malcolm, *The Silent Woman: Silvia Plath and Ted Hughes* (London: Granta, 2012), p. 154.

<sup>36</sup> Samuel Johnson famously called Thomas Pennant 'the best traveller I ever read [because] he observes more things than anyone does'. Samuel Johnson and James Boswell, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), p. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman* (1631). Quoted in Jonathan Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing 1560-1613* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 23.

Furthermore, how does one describe the new/other, which has never before been described.<sup>38</sup> The traveller, encountering the new, may be forced to use metaphors, overextension, or underextension, and unavoidably risks misunderstanding. Such misunderstandings are detrimental to travel writers because, as Von Martels pointed out, '[f]rom a rhetorical standpoint, the author's main task is to convince his readers'.<sup>39</sup> Traditionally, travellers wrote about an unknown other, meaning that their readers would, more likely than not, know little or at least less about their subject matter. Such travel writing about other places and cultures could enable 'a wonderful opportunity for self- (and national) (re)invention'.<sup>40</sup> Observing, describing, and then reading about cultures can enable a transcultural re-examination of one's home culture and one's own cultural identity. Through reporting on her own and her characters' travels, Blaze's texts conveyed her transcultural ideas and created the opportunity for transcultural thought in the reader. However, being a woman complicated the production and reception of her writing on travel.

#### 4.a.iii. Women, Travel, and Genre

'There are only two plots in all of literature. You go on a journey or a stranger comes to town'.<sup>41</sup> Though this assertion is an overstatement, historically speaking women have been denied the possibility of travel.<sup>42</sup> Some have remarked on the lack of female involvement in travel writing. Linda Worley, for example, stated that

---

<sup>38</sup> Previous scholarship considered specifically British-published travel writing on Europe. For a historical overview see Richard Mullen and James Munson, *"The Smell of the Continent": The British Discover Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2009).

<sup>39</sup> Von Martels, ed., p. xvii.

<sup>40</sup> Hooper and Youngs, eds., p. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Quoted in: *Women Writers*, ed. by Mary Morris and Larry O'Connor (London: Virago Press, 1994), p. xv. Stated by John Gardner, but often attributed to other writers as well.

<sup>42</sup> Elaine Showalter develops the phenomenon: '[D]enied participation in public life, women were forced to cultivate their feelings and to overvalue romance [...]. Emotions rushed in to fill the vacuum of experience'. Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. xv.

‘very few women broke out of the domestic circle in the nineteenth century to venture into the wider world as self-acknowledged travellers’.<sup>43</sup> However, many women did travel and – with the break down of an approach based exclusively on a separate spheres model – such women have come into the awareness of literary research beyond texts ‘in the form of coffee table books, with lavish illustrations of these eccentric creatures’.<sup>44</sup> For example, Richardson, suggested that there was an ‘explosion of women’s travel writing after the Congress of Vienna had brought an uneasy peace to Europe’.<sup>45</sup> Yet, according to her, only twelve British female authors wrote about Germany between 1837 and 1870.<sup>46</sup> So, Blaze’s choice of Germany was unusual for a woman.

For British women, especially without a male chaperone, traveling was considered an inappropriate physical as well as moral activity. Physically, women faced additional hurdles due to their – on average – lesser physique, the impracticalities of dress, and increased threat of sexual violence. On a moral level (unaccompanied) travel was transgressive. As Mary Morris pointed out, throughout the centuries ‘explorers’ both ‘of the globe and the body [...]’, whether Marco Polo or Don Juan, have been men’.<sup>47</sup> By

---

<sup>43</sup> Linda Worley, ‘Through Others’ Eyes; Narratives of German Women Travelling in Nineteenth Century America’, *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 21 (1986), 39-50, (p. 40).

<sup>44</sup> Sarah Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 4. See also, Teresa Gómez Reus and Terry Gifford, *Women in Transit Through Literary Liminal Spaces* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). For separate spaces see Cathy Davidson and Jessamyn Hatcher, eds., *No More Separate Spheres! A New Wave American Studies Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Joan Scott and Debra Keates, eds., *Going Public: Feminism and the Shifting Boundaries of the Private Sphere* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

<sup>45</sup> Sarah May Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), p. 164. Richardson further mentions that travel books about general tours of Europe counted 36, those on India 35, on Italy 29, and on America 28. The Middle East and Africa were written about by 36 female writers, while specifically Egypt was described by 13 writers. See Richardson’s table 7.1 on p. 164.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* Richardson provides no authors or titles for the twelve books on Germany. Therefore, we do not know whether *Germania* is amongst her count or not. Probably more than twelve women wrote on Germany but, due to anonymous or pseudonymous publication, they are difficult to trace.

<sup>47</sup> Morris and O’Connor, eds., p. xv.

mid-nineteenth century, one of the best-known women travellers in the English-speaking world was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu who had travelled to the Ottoman Empire in 1716. In so doing ‘she created a scandal’.<sup>48</sup>

Though Blaze was not well-known like Wortley Montagu nor perceived to have created the same level of scandal, she and her work were nevertheless critically received as gender and political outliers – not least due to Blaze’s self-fashioning as a courageous explorer. For example, when a ‘kind Munich friend’ urged that ‘[y]ou had better stay here’, after Munich had been ‘swathed in snow’ and ‘[n]o railroad connects Bavaria and Austria [and] the Danube is frozen over’, Blaze simply retorted that ‘[i]t is provoking to be obliged, in the nineteenth, to do as people did in the seventeenth century, and travel à *petites journées* [as] in the year 1670’.<sup>49</sup> Even after ‘Madame de W---’ had further interjected that ‘[y]ou will be snowed up’, ‘[y]ou will be blown over a precipice’ and ‘[y]ou will be overturned in a ditch’, Blaze simply remarked that ‘we must go to-morrow’, ‘[t]he wind may change’ and the ‘[d]itches are dry’, revealing her adventurous traveller’s spirit and denying the gender expectation, much to the concern and consternation of her friends.<sup>50</sup> This focus on the physicality of women travellers affected Blaze and

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 3. Wortley Montagu was ostracised by society before going to Constantinople due to her satirical characterisations of individuals at court. In particular, an offensive poem about the Prince of Wales and her parody of Pope’s work. However, as Mary Louise Pratt described, women’s travel literature has scandalous utopian or ‘feminotopian’ qualities. Indeed, Nicole Pohl and Brenda Tooley point out, that Wortley Montagu’s ‘Orientalist feminotopia’, which celebrated ‘pleasure and homoeroticism amongst women, was particularly scandalous as she appropriated ‘the traditional preconceptions about enclosed and all-female spaces’ and projected her ‘own visions of freedom, intellectual perfectibility and sensual pleasures onto the sequestered space’. Furthermore, Frank Palmeri pinpointed Wortley Montagu’s contestation ‘of the gender definition of English superiority’ and her celebration of ‘hybrid cultural and biological identities’, which distinguished her from most eighteenth-century authors. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 166-68; *Gender and Utopia in the Eighteenth Century: Essays in English and French Utopian Writing*, ed. by Nicole Pohl and Brenda Tooley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 2-3; *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture: Representation, Hybridity, Ethics*, ed. by Frank Palmeri (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

is reflected in contemporary work. There is an emphasis on the personal/physical that a female traveller embodies rather than what she sees and experiences. This affects genre – or at least perceptions of genre. As a woman writer and traveller Blaze had to navigate this personal/physical compass, which added another layer of complexity to the already invariably hybrid genre of travel writing.

#### 4.b. From Travel Fact to Travel Fiction?

The question arises why Blaze, as a traveller and a writer of travel, converted her supposedly non-fiction travel writing (*Germania*) into so-called popular travel fiction (*Falkenburg*)? Was her travel writing what led to the genesis of her novel? Epistolary evidence between Blaze and Brougham sheds some light on the matter. A few months before heading on her travels Blaze wrote:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]<sup>51</sup> Blaze seemed sure that *Germania* would attract a large readership and make the endeavour financially viable.<sup>52</sup> However, about six weeks later she again wrote to Brougham quoting a written response she had received from Colburn.<sup>53</sup>

[REDACTED]

---

<sup>51</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 2 June ?1849?, UCL, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16109.

<sup>52</sup> Writing could be a means to financial independence. Yet, as George Saintsbury pointed out, Victorian writing had been where 'the professional man or woman of letters' made 'his plentiful or her scanty income'. Furthermore, Norman Feltes suggested that women were less likely to be published, were underpaid, and their work downgraded. Though Blaze was unhappy with the remuneration for her work, there is little evidence to suggest that she was less likely to be published or downgraded deliberately by her publishers. *The Later Nineteenth Century, Periods of European Literature*, 2 edn., ed. by George Saintsbury (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1923), p. 65; Norman Feltes, *Literary Capital and the Late Victorian Novel* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), p. 23.

<sup>53</sup> For more on Colburn as a publisher of women writers see Nigel Cross, 'The Female Drudge: Women Novelists and their Publishers', in *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth-Century Grub Street* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 164-203.



.<sup>54</sup>

Colburn was positing that the publication of popular fiction rather than travel non-fiction would be more lucrative. In effect, he was also inducing Blaze by offering to publish *Germania* only if she agreed to also produce a novel afterwards.<sup>55</sup> A year after this bribe was offered, Blaze wrote that:



.<sup>56</sup>

This epistolary evidence suggests that Blaze's motivation for writing *Falkenburg* was monetary and due to Colburn's bribe. Blaze's travel writing was the genesis of her novel. Yet, whilst Colburn was interested in the genre distinction for marketing and distribution purposes, Blaze broke the clear distinction between fact and fiction. 'The interaction and conflicts' between the two "genres" and between author and publisher are an example of 'the connections between textuality and power'.<sup>57</sup> Blaze chose to subvert the

---

<sup>54</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 17 August 1849, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16115.

<sup>55</sup> It seems that *Germania* was more successful than *Falkenburg*. Only a few months after the second volume of *Germania* appeared, Colburn published a second edition.

<sup>56</sup> Notwithstanding Blaze's enthusiasm, Colburn paid her only half for the novel than he had for *Germania*. Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 9 November 1850, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 24882.

<sup>57</sup> Thwaites, Davis, and Mules, p. 104.

publisher's guidelines and the popular fiction genre in the hope of maximising her income and her audience. We now turn to an analysis of fiction and nonfiction in Blaze's genre-hybrid *Germania* and *Falkenburg* (4.b.i.) and then consider how this genre hybridity links to her transcultural idea (4.b.ii).

#### 4.b.i. Blaze de Bury in Germany: Travel Writing and Popular

##### Fiction

After several previous trips, in the autumn of 1849 Blaze headed to the German-speaking world again. This time she documented her travels in what would be published as *Germania*. But is *Germania* travel writing? The text was written in prose and provided descriptions of the German-speaking world intended for an English-speaking audience. The book was prefaced with quotes from the first-century Roman Tacitus' *Germania* which described "German" territories for his Roman audience.<sup>58</sup> Although both Blaze and Tacitus wrote in the first person, unlike Tacitus, Blaze actually journeyed through some of the German-speaking world and adjoining areas. Tacitus never set foot in "Germania".<sup>59</sup> This distinction between visiting a country and reproducing the nation only through imagination underlines the genre's elusiveness. Blaze described her own agency as a traveller when she wrote that 'nothing save bad French could I extort from anyone, since the moment we crossed the frontier'.<sup>60</sup> This placed Blaze, the traveller, into the forefront which, '[f]rom a rhetorical standpoint', helps to 'convince' the reader.<sup>61</sup> First, because she described herself as an active traveller and observer, and second, because, unlike her fellow

---

<sup>58</sup> Derrida, p. 324.

<sup>59</sup> Stephen A'Barrow, 'The Early Germans: From Barbarians at the Gates of Rome to Holy Roman Emperors', in *Death of a Nation: A New History of Germany* (Sussex: Book Guild Publishing, 2015), (unpaginated); Mary Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 3 edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 9.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> Von Martels, ed., p. xvii. For more on *Germania* and witness reporting see Rachel Egloff, 'Rose Blaze de Bury and the 'Unfeminine' German and European Politics of Disunity', in *Union and Disunion in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by James Gregory and Daniel Grey (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

travellers (whose presence she had just described), it was only 'I' who was trying to extort information or conversation from other travellers and locals. Highlighting her agency as a traveller strengthened the credibility of her authorial voice.

Wilson pointed out that the 'widely recognized ambiguity' in novels between author and narrator is not considered in nonfiction.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, so far it has been assumed that the first-person narrator of the journey through Germany was Blaze herself. Although biographical information about the narrator is scarce, the points of information provided in *Germania* tie in with most archive-sourced biographical facts about Blaze.<sup>63</sup> Although *Germania* was autobiographical, it was not an autobiography.<sup>64</sup> Firstly, although Blaze wrote in the first person, the majority of references to herself were about either her thoughts and beliefs, or her journey, not about her biographical life. Furthermore, she camouflaged many semi-public minor real-life characters she met.<sup>65</sup> Secondly, *Germania* was not an autobiography, because Blaze's main purpose was not to document her life but to educate a British audience about the German-speaking world.<sup>66</sup> To achieve this, she instrumentalised herself and the first-person narration as the eyes and ears of her readers on the British Isles. 'I wish you [the reader] could have seen all this' she wrote.<sup>67</sup> Her person and narration became a vessel for a

---

<sup>62</sup> George Wilson, 'Narrative', in *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics*, ed. by Jerrold Levinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 392-407 (p. 398).

<sup>63</sup> The narrator was female, had previously spent time in Germany, spoke various languages, was Catholic, and had one daughter.

<sup>64</sup> There exists also the 'collective biography' which 'takes us closer to its subject matter than does other historical writing'. Carolyn Steedman, *Past Tenses: Essays on Writing, Autobiography and History* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1992), p. 163.

<sup>65</sup> For example, describing a ball in Vienna, Blaze mentioned that the Arch-Duchess Sophie was there, whom everybody knew about, but referred to other less public individuals as the 'Countess W-', the 'Princess L-', or 'Madame A-'. Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, p. 64.

<sup>66</sup> See Blaze de Bury, 'Preface', in *Germania*, I, pp ix-xii.

<sup>67</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, p. 4.



transcultural appreciation of other cultures.<sup>68</sup> Yet within this space facts and fictions remained obscure.

Blaze herself stated that *Germania* was not a standard text of travel. She wrote:

I am sadly afraid, my dear reader, you will be grievously disappointed, when I assure you it is not my intention to speak of any of the wonders of this wondrous town [Cologne], of those, dear reader, I have nothing to say, for I saw nothing; and, I entreat, let not the fault be held as mine, but as that of the super-excellent guide-books I had read upon the road, and which so admirably described everything to me, that I entirely lost any desire of seeing for myself.<sup>69</sup>

Blaze set out to provide different information than previous travel writers. *Germania* did not describe the practicalities of travel nor was it a tourist guide.<sup>70</sup> Blaze only once remarked about how difficult it was to find a *Gasthof* that would provide sheets; “‘Hamlet’”, played with “the part of Hamlet left out,” or an omelette made without eggs, are the only things I know of, that can compare with these curious Saxon couches’.<sup>71</sup> But in the novel *Falkenburg*, Blaze sometimes made reference to the practicalities of travel. For example, when Lady Marlowe and her fellow travellers ‘had secured for themselves, what in Germany (but nowhere else) might be called a very handsome apartment; that is to say, there was the precise number of chairs and tables necessary, to prevent its being called unfurnished’.<sup>72</sup> However, not only did *Germania* “lack” some staple trademarks of the travel (guide-)book and *Falkenburg* include some

---

<sup>68</sup> Dagnino similarly called this phenomenon writers becoming ‘bridges’. Arianna Dagnino, *Transcultural Writers and Novels of in the Age of Global Mobility* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press 2015), p. 160.

<sup>69</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, pp. 20-21.

<sup>70</sup> Blaze warned: ‘above all, do *not* stop at Düsseldorf’ because everybody knows the picture gallery already. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>72</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1851), I, p. 69.

of them, but fact and fiction were sometimes reversed creating a hybrid genre.

Throughout *Germania* Blaze repeatedly stressed what she set out in the preface. Namely, that she had ‘represented things as they are – as circumstances afforded me facilities for observing them, and I pretend to this only – to have spoken the truth: this book has at least one merit: *it is true*’.<sup>73</sup> *Falkenburg* was not advertised as travel writing but as a popular novel. Analogously, one would expect a work of fiction. *Falkenburg* was a narrative representing mainly realistic characters and actions. Furthermore, it was written by an author who had popular success with two previous novels. Indeed, though published as a three-volume novel, in *Falkenburg’s* preface Blaze wrote that:

If the work to which the few following lines are meant to serve as an introduction, were entirely a work of fiction, much of what it contains would be probably other than it now is. [...] my office has, in this instance, been more that of a chronicler than a Novelist [sic]. I have endeavoured to record events that I have witnessed, and to describe characters that I have known, and invention is the last merit that must be sought for in the ensuing pages.<sup>74</sup>

By stating that *Falkenburg* was not ‘entirely’ a work of fiction, Blaze conceded that some of its content was fiction. At the same time, she claimed that the events of the novel were not invented – as a ‘chronicler’, she had recorded facts. This further verified her alignment with ‘those who write to support an idea, or attain an end,

---

<sup>73</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, p. xii. Original emphasis. The etymology of truth: ‘[f]or its first few centuries “truth” meant loyalty or agreement (it shares its roots with “troth” and “truce”). It only later acquired the sense of conformity with reality’. Steven Poole, ‘Word of the Week: Truth’, *Guardian Review*, 25 August 2018, p. 4.

<sup>74</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, p. v. For similar considerations regarding William Makepeace Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* see Christina Richieri Griffin, ‘Experiencing History and Encountering Fiction in *Vanity Fair*’, in *Victorian Studies*, 58.3 (2016), 412-435.

wholly unconnected with literary vanity' and that, at the core, her publications were intended as political cultural, not literary, contributions.<sup>75</sup> Like in *Germania*, Blaze placed herself in the role of the eye-witness narrator of events.<sup>76</sup> The title of the novel *Falkenburg: a Tale of the Rhine* underlined Blaze's hybrid use of facts and fictions. The word tale has multiple meanings. A tale can be both factual history or fictional falsehood.<sup>77</sup> Published in 1851 but set in the early 1840s, *Falkenburg* was about the recent past. This was a time during which Blaze was in Germany herself and therefore able to have chronicled events. The word *tale* on the title page created some uncertainty about the novel's narrative form and fictionality. Both *Germania* and *Falkenburg* were hybrid – inevitably including facts and some elements of fiction. Their genre-hybrid form facilitated an entertaining fictional dissemination of Blaze's contents.

It would be an impossible task to pinpoint and differentiate between the factuality or fictionality of each of Blaze's accounts, characters, and events. Many of her purported truths are actually opinions and she sometimes used untraceable sources to verify her facts.<sup>78</sup> However, some verifiable data such as referenced documents, public speeches, architecture, modes of transportation, or fashion can be factually examined – a handful of which will be addressed below.<sup>79</sup> In *Germania*, Blaze described her journey – Paris, Brussels, Cologne, Baden, Frankfurt, Hanover, Brunswick, Leipzig, the Fichtelgebirge, Nuremberg, Munich, Berlin, Erfurt, Schleswig-Holstein, Austria, parts of northern Italy, including

---

<sup>75</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 188.

<sup>76</sup> This questioned a division of fiction and nonfiction based on an 'ambiguous' narrator. Wilson, p. 398.

<sup>77</sup> 'A thing now existing only in story; a mere matter of history or tradition; a thing of the past', '[a] mere story, as opposed to a narrative of fact; a fiction, an idle tale; a falsehood', or '[a] story or narrative, true or fictitious, drawn up so as to interest or amuse, or to preserve the history of a fact or incident'. 'Tale' in *Online OED*.

<sup>78</sup> For example, coachman Hans'l who served as a prototype Austrian peasant, or the Fratschenweiber (Fisher Women) of Vienna who underlined how there was a 'mark of mutual good-will' between the lower and upper classes of the imperial city. Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, p. 75.

<sup>79</sup> See Archduke Johann's speech in 5.b.i.

reports on Poland, Hungary, and the Balkans. However, according to postmarks and addresses on epistolary evidence, she took a sequentially different route.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, Blaze described being in Munich whilst the ‘June sun’ was shining.<sup>81</sup> However, she was actually in Munich in November.<sup>82</sup> It is not evident whether she had previously sojourned in Munich in June or whether she fictionalised sunny weather to make it more appealing to the reader. This discrepancy challenges Blaze’s pledge to truth. In *Falkenburg* Blaze listed, in detail, all the places the steamer passes. The passengers embarked in Cologne, (passed Godesberg, Marksburg, Stolzenfels, Boppard (Boppard), Liebenstein, St. Goar, Lorely Rocks, Ketzenellenbogen, Thurnberg), and disembarked at Friedrichshafen, travelling north to south. Whilst the Stolzenfels would have appeared before Marksburg, not the other way around, the timing of character’s conversation and passing landscape (from Marksburg to the Lorely Rocks) is realistic.<sup>83</sup> In this instance, Blaze’s fictional imaginary world created a verisimilitude that her actual travels did not. Therefore, whilst in *Falkenburg*, many travel facts were realistic, some of *Germania*’s travel details were not (biographically) accurate.<sup>84</sup>

Blaze translated her travels into first hand political advocacy, and then into a transcultural text. Dickson White wrote that ‘[s]he apparently knew not only everything, but everybody, and abounded in revelations and prophecies’.<sup>85</sup> Fröbel described how:

---

<sup>80</sup> Namely: Paris, Brussels, Hannover, Leipzig, Munich, Vienna, and Berlin. Moreover, her presence in some places is not evidenced by archival sources.

<sup>81</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, p. 230.

<sup>82</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 7 November 1849, UCL, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 24875.

<sup>83</sup> Based on a steamer travelling at a minimum of 15km/h. Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, pp. 13-14.

<sup>84</sup> Thackeray’s novel *Vanity Fair*, serialised 1847-1848 has some similarities with *Falkenburg*, particularly when considering that Thackeray had previously published the travel text *The Paris Sketch Book* (1840), amongst others. Thackeray had travelled in France and Germany. Christina Richieri Griffin discussed Thackeray’s use of both history and fiction in the novel. See Richieri Griffin, pp.412-435.

<sup>85</sup> Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White*, 2 vols (New York: Century and Co., 1905), I, p. 411, <<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1370/pg1370.html>> [accessed 11 May 2016].

[Es] steckte in der Frau mehr Willens- und Thatkraft, als ich in irgend einem österreichischen Staatsmanne habe entdecken [sic] können. Ich sah sie wütend über die Trägheit und Feigheit, mit welcher die österreichische Politik betrieben wurde. [...Sic] war von ihrem Wiener Standquartier aus in Pest, in Prag, in Venedig, war an allen Orten mit aller Welt bekannt, schrieb in die angesehensten englischen und französischen Zeitungen und hielt sich in vollständiger Kenntniss der politischen Tagesliteratur in Deutschland und Österreich.<sup>86</sup>

Fröbel underscored how travel and politics were inextricably linked for Blaze. Not surprisingly, she merged travel, history, and politics in *Germania*. Yet she also introduced such information in *Falkenburg*, when it had no bearing on the progression of the plot. For instance, once settled in their rented apartment Lilian looked out of her window. She saw, without realising it

the spot where an empire was lost and won. [...] Perhaps history has no example of a struggle for empire, the dénouement of which is more romantic in its details, than that between the Emperor Adolph and Albert of Hapsburg, decided in favour of the latter by the battle of the Donnersberg.<sup>87</sup>

In this way, Blaze mixed styles of writing forging the text's hybridity. She used the unwitting witness Lilian to channel historical information to the reader. For the reader familiar with German

---

<sup>86</sup> Julius Fröbel, *Ein Lebenslauf, Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: J. G. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1891), II, pp. 93-94. Translation: 'In this woman there was more willpower and drive for action than I have found in any Austrian statesman. I saw her enraged about the sluggishness and cowardice with which Austrian politics were performed. [...] She was, from her base in Vienna, in Pest, in Prague, and in Venice. She was known to the whole world in all places. She wrote in the most recognised English and French newspapers and was always in possession of full knowledge of the political daily news in Germany and Austria'.

<sup>87</sup> The battle was the Schlacht bei Gällheim between Herzog Albrecht von Österreich and the römisch-deutscher König Adolf von Nassau (2 July 1298), during which Albrecht reclaimed his hereditary Crown. Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, p. 71.

history this also conveyed a political (pro-Habsburg) message.<sup>88</sup>

Discussing *Germania*, the *Morning Post* wrote that:

The reader of these volumes, we must warn him, will find in them little or nothing of the ordinary staple of books of travel. ... She went to Germany with a purpose in view: to note down what she could discern of the political and social condition of the inhabitants; and this purpose she kept steadily in view.<sup>89</sup>

The *Quarterly Review* wrote about *Falkenburg* that ‘we have here a novel of the true orthodox stamp, wherein “Love rules the court, the camp, the grove”’ – linking it to its nonfiction predecessor *Germania*.<sup>90</sup> Placing love, a popular theme of novels, within circles of power and politics, like courts and camps, suggested that the genre-hybrid *Falkenburg* was also a political commentary as well as a popular novel.

Reviewers of *Germania* picked up on the seeming mismatch between the advertisement and published product, between truth and untruth, between historical and ahistorical, or practical guide and political report – all feeding the conundrum of fact and fiction.<sup>91</sup> Although packaged as travel writing, *Germania* was a political commentary on German, and more broadly European, affairs. Upon its publication, *The Critic* listed the book under the heading ‘Politics’ although they could have chosen their heading ‘Voyages and Travels’.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, the *Morning Chronicle* stated that *Germania* was ‘an important, yet most amusing work, throwing

---

<sup>88</sup> Blaze included other political commentary, not directly related to the plot (e.g. when Waldemar lamented that ‘[o]ur armies are in a deplorable condition – none of the smaller German sovereigns have fulfilled their compact with the Confederation – it is much if we be not taken totally au dépourvue. Whether the old system of Freicorps, so useful in 1813, would not be the best?’). Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>89</sup> [Anon.], ‘Literature’, *Morning Post*, 23933, 24 August 1850, p. 6.

<sup>90</sup> [Anon.], ‘Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine’, *New Quarterly Review and Digest of Current Literature, British, American, French and German*, 1, 1 January 1852, pp. 65-66.

<sup>91</sup> See 3.b.iii.

<sup>92</sup> [Anon.], ‘List of New Books, Music, Engravings, and Works of Art’, *Critic*, 9.225, 15 August 1850, p. 4111.

much and richly coloured light on the tangled subject of German politics'.<sup>93</sup> *Bentley's Miscellany* stated about *Falkenburg* that:

We are told in the preface that [...] 'invention is the last merit that must be sought for in these pages'. But for this announcement we should assuredly have ascribed no ordinary amount of that quality to our lady writer; for a succession of more novel-like scenes, and a more general introduction to characters that wear the garb of fiction, we do not usually see and meet with in professed works of that class.<sup>94</sup>

The reviewer, notwithstanding Blaze's own claims, described *Falkenburg's* novelesque qualities. However, they dismissed neither its factual nor fictional merits, but placed it somewhere in between by describing it not as a novel but as 'novel-like' and the characters not as fictitious but as 'characters that wear the garb of fiction'. Furthermore, labelling *Falkenburg* as a work 'of that class' ties in with Batten's assumptions about the link between non-fiction and education and popular fiction and pleasure.<sup>95</sup>

Blaze's characters wearing a 'garb of fiction' further suggested something theatrical. Indeed, in her preface Blaze continued that '[o]f the many who, like me, have known the actors of this Drama, some may, perhaps, divine their identity notwithstanding the mask they wear'.<sup>96</sup> Much of the opening chapters was written in direct discourse, which further mirrored the theatre and added another layer to the genre-hybrid text. Furthermore, Lilian, whilst visiting a stage rehearsal of Norberg's new opera, mused that the 'aspect of the whole' caused her

---

<sup>93</sup> [Anon.], 'Advertisement for Germania', *Morning Chronicle*, 26162, 7 October 1850, p. 1.

<sup>94</sup> [Anon.], 'Literary Novelties for the Winter Season', *Bentley's Miscellany*, 31, 31 January 1852, pp. 101-06 (p. 105).

<sup>95</sup> Batten Jr., pp. 1-8.

<sup>96</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, pp. iv-v.

some surprise, and indeed to say the truth, no little disappointment. This was reducing poetry into prose with a vengeance! To think that those dirty boards should be the garden of the *Puritani*, the wave-washed platform whence Faliero curses Venice, the “palace precincts” wherein “duff Harry” condemns Anne Boleyn!<sup>97</sup>

This contrast between reality and make-believe – the masking of the rough physicality of theatre production through props and performance – reflected the traveller’s superficial impressions, smoothed over by preconception and the wealthy traveller’s comforts. The question arose, whether what the traveller saw is real. This in turn was paralleled by the reader’s probing whether the story was real. This created a textual hybrid – neither *Germania* or *Falkenburg* sat perfectly in the travel writing or popular fiction genres.

#### 4.b.ii. A Transcultural objective through Travel

Paradoxes surrounding fact versus fiction are pertinent to writing, especially to the transcultural aspect of travel. In 1848 Blaze had written that:

The travellers of every other nation seek, in the study of each different race, to decipher a fresh page of that endless volume, called the human heart; the English, on the contrary, travel to see sights, or rather, to *have seen* them. Some there are who, without looking upon travel as a sort of duty to be performed, wander the world over, in obedience to that uneasy longing for adventure entailed upon them by their Norman origin; but who are they who travel to *observe*? And what are the results of this

---

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. 2, pp. 247-48. *I Puritani* is an opera by Vincenzo Bellini (première Paris 1835). It was based on the historical play *Têtes Rondes et Cavaliers* (1833) by Jacques-François Ancelot and Joseph Xavier Saintine. It is not clear which play or opera Blaze was referring to regarding Faliero: Byron’s *Marino Faliero: Doge of Venice* (1820), Casimir Delavigne *Marino Faliero* (1829), or Gaetano Donizetti’s opera *Marino Faliero* (1835). The final reference was probably to Gaetano Donizetti’s opera *Anna Bolena* (1830).



voluntary ignorance? Ask the victims of it –  
and there are many.<sup>98</sup>

The notion of the British traveller as a passive viewer rather than an active observer pointed out the danger of relying solely on preconceptions and questioned what was fact and what was assumption. According to Blaze, active observation could undo cultural preconceptions and prejudices leading to increased transcultural understanding. This statement widened the preface avowals about passive viewing of architecture, landscape, museums, etc. to a passive viewing of people, morality, and judgements. Instead this sort of transcultural attitude advocated making most of the opportunity for self- (or national-) rediscovery facilitated by travel.<sup>99</sup> However, due to the tension between fact and fiction, author and narrator, as well as history and politics, these spaces were observed with apprehension.

In Blaze's genre-hybrid texts, travel was instrumentalised to convey her transcultural message. This was evident in the opening of *Germania* when Blaze described how:

‘Travelling is *so* easy now-a-days!’ that is the phrase one hears on all hands. ‘Since the establishment of railroads, there are no distances.’ Granted. It is easy to go to Egypt, and the journey up the Nile is a mere nothing. Shooting parties may be accepted on the borders of the Mississippi, and from the Havannah [sic] to Liverpool you may cross in a fortnight. I met a gentleman last winter who told me of the great railroad by means of which we shall go to Calcutta in eleven days, passing through Persia and Asia Minor (fancy the “Babylon Station!”) and as to the Holy Land, why it will soon be our next-door neighbour: all this I do not dispute, and it may, for aught I know, be very easy to take one’s  
‘... tea

---

<sup>98</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, pp. i-ii.

<sup>99</sup> Hooper and Youngs, eds., p. 5.

And toast upon the wall  
of China,'  
but it is *not* easy to go from Munich to  
Vienna.<sup>100</sup>

Blaze acknowledged the far-reaching possibilities that modern transportation was offering the mid-nineteenth-century upper and middle classes and the transnational possibilities for global mobility, connectivity, and cultural exchange, albeit from the perspective of empire. Then, at the end of the extract, she starkly contrasted these new opportunities for travel with the situation in the German-speaking world. This underlined the unexpected remoteness of her own travels in *Germania*, unlike her Rhine travelling characters excursion in *Falkenburg's* popular opening journey. It also highlighted the lack of political and cultural unity between different areas of Germany as well as between Germany and the rest of Europe. Blaze's aim was to bring these under-connected, culturally and politically unfamiliar areas into the British readers' awareness. However, she framed this information with fanciful images, namely Thomas Moore's exaggeration about picnicking on the great wall of China.<sup>101</sup> It would take historical and political observation, as well as an understanding for cultural and imagined literary content to convey her transcultural message.

In *Germania*, Blaze transmitted overheard conversations and her dialogues with others. In *Falkenburg*, alongside allowing her characters to speak in direct discourse, she also used the first-person-narrator to comment on certain events. In *Germania*, she addressed the reader as the writer of the book – mostly referred to as 'we' – as well as the traveller of her story – mostly referred to as 'I'. She therefore created a method of validating her own opinions, predominantly about cultural understanding, and doubly vilifying those of 'ignorant' and 'indifferent' people she met on the road

---

<sup>100</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, pp. 1-2.

<sup>101</sup> Thomas Moore, 'Rhymes on the Road', in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore including his Melodies, Ballads, etc.* (Paris: Galignani, 1827), pp. 172-79 (p. 175).

whom she allowed to speak in direct discourse. These strategies '[f]rom a rhetorical standpoint', helped convince the reader.<sup>102</sup> For example, as described before, upon her arrival in Cologne, she spent the night at an inn. Notwithstanding the landlord's suggestion that dining in her private apartment would be more ladylike, she decided to stay in the main bar area so that she could observe the locals. She took note of a conversation a group of men were having about horses.

'No later than last Wednesday, I did what I tell you; I jumped upon my horse, which is a good fifteen hands high, without stirrups, and that before Bassermann; you may ask him.' 'Bassermann!' echoed the whole party, in tones of unutterable contempt, 'he's a Bavarian!' As if that quality entirely precluded the possibility of his judging of anything, unless it might be beer. ... Oh! dreams of united Germany!<sup>103</sup>

Blaze embraced some aspects of inter-German cultural difference, and attributed it to the fact that 'railroads have not changed you [...] the telegraph has had no influence upon you'.<sup>104</sup> She reiterated the beauty of the untouched by describing how:

[f]rom Reichenback [sic] to Plauen, you leave the railroad and cross the Fichtelgebirge in carriages, and here you feast your eyes upon one of the last of that rapidly-vanishing race, the postillions of Germany. [...] This, this at least, is historical, nay, more, - traditional, legendary Germany. Thank heaven! There is no railroad.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> Von Martels, ed., p. xvii. For authority and witness-reporting in *Germania* see Egloff, 'Rose Blaze de Bury and the 'Unfeminine' German and European Politics of Disunity',

<sup>103</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, pp. 6-7. For Blaze and German unity see Egloff, 'Rose Blaze de Bury and the 'Unfeminine' German and European Politics of Disunity'.

<sup>104</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, pp. 1-2.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72.

However, she also commented on how Germany was still ‘a very patch-work of Duchedoms [sic] and Principalities’, and how that made one ‘involuntarily look upon Prussian Hegemony, or any other Hegemony, in a kindly light. One says to oneself, “What *must* this have been *before* the *Zollverein*?” and one’s gowns and bonnets fall to shuddering in their packing-cases’, because of the many border-crossings.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, whilst admiring this preservation of local character, Blaze also considered ‘involuntarily’, the advantages of narrowing the gulf between countries, for example by increased union.<sup>107</sup> In so doing she linked the practical aspects of travel to the political German landscape, and to Germany in folklore and legend. Blaze further mused how ‘[o]n Wednesday, to be quite sure of starting for Berlin, and on Thursday to start for Munich – to be almost upon the Elbe, and to fly off to the Isar; this *is* really delightful, and quite cheats the enemy, uniformity, conjured up by railroads for the vexation of modern travellers’.<sup>108</sup> Transportation and politics were related – her texts on German politics and culture were inextricably linked to the act of travel. These considerations surrounding increased inter-German union, were further paralleled in her desire to advance and destabilise intra-European cultural understanding.

In *Germania*, Blaze juxtaposed herself as an intrepid traveller, determined to experience and learn more about other European cultures, with other British travellers, who were not. For example, as described before, upon daringly leaving Munich in a snow storm, ‘a worthy countryman of mine, who thought “comfort” the first consideration in life’, advised that Blaze ‘had better go home

---

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>107</sup> Blaze’s overall view was ‘[u]nion, but not unity, [...] a state, formed of several states united together but not making one. That was a possibility up to a certain point’. Furthermore, she argued that individual German states were too greedy for power and therefore lost sight of the bigger European picture. Ibid., pp. 1-2, 10, 52.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

through Italy' rather than venture on to Vienna.<sup>109</sup> Upon Blaze's refusal to take his advice, he further

shrugged his shoulders, pulled down his wristbands, settled his ruffled feathers, and decidedly gave her up as incorrigible, [and] walked to the tea-table, remarking, in the sort of tone one would adopt to warn a man from 'wicked courses': 'You many depend upon it, it is impracticable'.<sup>110</sup>

Indeed, Blaze was keen on not doing 'as all the world does' and bringing to her British reader an alternative view of the German-speaking world.<sup>111</sup> However, this was 'a thing doubly difficult since the establishment of railways, and as delightful as difficult, [namely] not to go straight on [from Cologne to Berlin], but to make zigzags, and turn out of one's road as often as possible'.<sup>112</sup>

One of the differences between *Germania* and *Falkenburg* was that in the former, Blaze is the traveller and the narrator. She herself is the British traveller abroad – and of course her Britishness was already shot through with other (national) identities (see 2.c.ii). However, in *Falkenburg* Blaze could describe a multitude of different British (fictional) travellers' views. Nevertheless, she opened her novel *Falkenburg* with a similar juxtaposition as in *Germania*. First, the characters discuss the differences in appearance and bearing of German and Austrian gentlemen. Then, Blaze describes the British travellers and their varying interest, or lack of it, in the native Germans around them. She also takes advantage of the multiple characters' perspectives to create a cacophony of cultural commentary, both complimentary and dismissive.<sup>113</sup> However, as the narrator, she could untangle this multiplicity of opinion and point out how 'we ought [...] to abstain from all hasty

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 2, p. 3.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. I, p. 93.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> For more about these characters see 4.b.ii.

and imperial judgments, and if it be true that we do not care for what the *real* state of the question may be, we should at any rate avoid taking a one-sided view of it'.<sup>114</sup>

This tension between admiration of local cultural plurality yet criticism of general intra-European cultural ignorance (particularly in the British), reflected the tension caused by genre hybridity. Echoing the hybrid combination of fact and fiction created, she described her romantic musings whilst travelling side by side with the brutality of the railway: 'The sound [of the railroad] had something discordant, and it seemed as though the rose-coloured Alps and the deep lone woods ought to be free from this iron invasion of modern industry'.<sup>115</sup> Whilst the introduction of the railroad enabled increased cultural exchange, which Blaze herself took advantage of, it also changed the culture/landscape. Fact and fiction about cultural difference were inextricable. Blaze's senses were just as preoccupied with imagining the scenery as the setting for the *Niebelungen* legends as with the pragmatic consideration that the train station which would take her to Gmünden was visible in the distance.<sup>116</sup> Furthermore, whilst travelling to Graz over the Semmering Pass, 'a sort of diamond edition of Switzerland', the landscape induced a fictionalisation of the factual historical event – the 1673 imperial wedding journey to Graz.<sup>117</sup> Fact and fiction melded into one impression in the traveller's and reader's mind contributing to an ever changing transcultural impression, an original travel report.

Blaze further instrumentalised modes of travel as vehicles of cultural transfer. The train conveyed new technology and different cultures. Blaze hoped that thanks 'principally to railroads and electric telegraphs [that] we are approaching a time when it may be possible

---

<sup>114</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, p. ix. In this way Blaze counteracts one of the problems with the concept of the contact zone, namely that cultures often meet with asymmetrical relations of power. For the contact zone see 1.a.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. II, p. 48.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> The wedding of Emperor Leopold I and Archduchess Claudia Felicia of Tyrol in September 1673. Ibid., p. 332.

to overturn a few antique prejudices' about other cultures.<sup>118</sup> Yet she was 'quite aware that time is not *yet* come', not least because 'the British are contradictory because they love the home and fireside yet have ceaseless desire to travel. There would be no harm in this, if we did not persist in carrying our England with us every where'.<sup>119</sup> In *Falkenburg* the majority of travel is done by steam boat.<sup>120</sup> Notably, in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, serialised three years prior to the publication of *Falkenburg* in 1847-48, but set in the 1810s, an English steamboat is depicted on the Rhine, however, only travelling as far as Cologne, where 'the family and the carriage took to the shore' describing, like Blaze, how British travellers not only carried their culture, morals, and ideas with them, but also took their British modes of transportation with them when they travelled.<sup>121</sup> When the British tourists left the British steamer and set foot on German soil, Thackeray described them as still being conveyed in the sanctity of their own British carriage. The British characters in *Falkenburg* are also introduced to Germany by steam boat, just as Britain had introduced Germany to the steam boat in 1816. The English party, travelling along the Rhine, disembark at Friedrichsbad and 'Lady Marlowe's carriage was in [the] process of transferment from the boat to the shore' – a carriage she had brought with her from England.<sup>122</sup> This description of the introduction of British technology and tourists into Germany via the Rhine was the setting in which the reader of *Falkenburg* was introduced to its characters. The British tourists are already on the boat but at Godesberg, after one or two peasant women, a few Prussian soldiers, and a composer, there came

---

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 253. Blaze exemplified such prejudices with the 'Croat', perceived, by the British to be 'savage' or at best 'untutored'.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.; Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. ii. Original emphasis.

<sup>120</sup> The first steam boat to float on the Rhine was the British steamer called *Defiance* in 1816. In 1825 the first regular commercial steam service was launched on the Rhine further up-river than Cologne. Hans Szymanski, *Die Dampfschiffahrt in Niedersachsen und in den angrenzenden Gebieten von 1817 bis 1867* (Bremen: Europäischer Hochschulverlag, 2011), p. 5 and 367.

<sup>121</sup> William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair: A Novel Without a Hero* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1849 [1847-8]), p. 560.

<sup>122</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, p. 21.

on board a gentleman with a carpet-bag, which would later turn out to be the hero Waldemar Falkenburg himself. Mr. Montague (senior) remarked that ‘half the acquaintances in Germany are made on the steamboats; your *Dampfschiff* is an excellent master of the ceremonies’.<sup>123</sup> In this way, the steamer was a multi-cultural contact zone in which to express and observe culture and where locals of various classes and international travellers could encounter one another without actually setting foot on German soil. Furthermore, it represented an inversion of the tourist as the mobile agent. Although the British were moving along the river on the steamer, it was in fact the Germans who were getting on and off the boat and, in that sense, were the mobile agents transferring into the space of the British.

Notwithstanding the enabling force of Blaze’s style of travel writing in describing a transcultural view of Europe, she nevertheless pondered how ‘[t]he transition [from Vienna back to Paris], thanks to the railroad, is now too rapid, the change too sudden’.<sup>124</sup> Speeding from one place to another, without time for detailed engagement with and reflection on cultural difference, might also hinder an increased transcultural understanding of Europe. Hence the importance of texts of travel, be they fact or fiction.

This chapter has demonstrated how, though published as distinctly different genres, *Germania* and *Falkenburg* were in fact both hybrid. Their shared goal of furthering European cultural understanding through travel in part explained the necessity for this hybridity. Blaze utilised travel fact and travel fiction, and the blurred lines between the two, for the promotion of increased transcultural understanding. This included subverting her publisher’s guidelines; highlighting her agency as a traveller, including merging autobiographical fact and fiction; questioning and simultaneously

---

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>124</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, p. 442.



claiming truth; and juxtaposing the historical with the contemporary, as well as the practical guide with the political report.

*Her acknowledged works [...] are quite sufficient to fix her in the first rank of modern European writers.<sup>1</sup>*

## **5. Transcultural European Texts?**

Sissy Helf described the transcultural novel as having either a narrator who ‘challenges the collective identity of a particular community’, or experiences ‘border crossings and transnational identities’, or questions ‘traditional notions of “home”’.<sup>2</sup> The *Standard*, quoted in the epigraph, declared that Blaze was not only an accomplished and modern writer but also a European one. The reviewer elevated Blaze into the first rank of European – not British, Scottish, English, or French – writers. Notwithstanding the hybrid classification of Blaze who transcended national boundaries, the reviewer nevertheless provided a national label of citizenship and cultural affinity. The *Standard* continued

The Baroness Blaze de Bury is the Lady of whom we speak; and let us at once claim her as a countrywoman (her maiden name is Stuart), though she is the wife of an accomplished French nobleman.<sup>3</sup>

It is unclear what citizenship(s) Blaze held. Yet, the *Standard*’s reclaiming of her demonstrates that, whether legally or not, Blaze was perceived to have, specifically due to her marriage, become French in some form. In this way, the *Standard* chose to underline Blaze’s transnational identity and, in so doing, showed how Blaze had, what they considered, an unusual approach to “home”.

In this chapter, we consider how novels can be linked to concepts of national and transcultural writing. Specifically, we

---

<sup>1</sup> [Anon.], ‘Literature’, *Standard*, 8120, 21 August 1850, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Sissy Helff, ‘Shifting Perspectives: The Transcultural Novel’, in *Transcultural English Studies: Theories, Fictions, Realities*, ed. by Frank Schulze-Engler and Sissy Helff (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 75-89, p.83.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

examine how Blaze instrumentalised intertextual translation and multilingualism in her novels to further her transcultural idea and to forge a gender-hybrid authorial voice. As previously mentioned, Blaze focused almost exclusively on Europe. Therefore we will investigate, in particular in what way her written output were transcultural European texts.

William Ray linked the idea of genre hybridity to truth and the (national) novel. He wrote that fiction, ‘not only has an affective impact superior to that of factual accounts, it has the very capacity to generate “truth” and “facts”’.<sup>4</sup> He further posited that ““events” can only be grasped in the form of a complex economy of intentions, causes, and moral contexts’ and, ‘as a cultural matrix, such a contextual framework accounts for the specific patterns of behavior that characterize a given society’.<sup>5</sup> In particular, by the late eighteenth century,

the novel can formulate, analyse, and illustrate general paradigms of social interaction explicitly [...]. In other words, the eighteenth-century novel instantiates or stands for the culture it depicts; in this sense the novel can claim to “be” history: it represents the system it represents.<sup>6</sup>

This dissolving of the division between history and fiction in the form of the novel as a representor of culture has been carried over into analyses of the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The trend of questioning the

---

<sup>4</sup> William Ray, *Story and History: Narrative Authority and Social Identity in the Eighteenth-Century French and English Novel* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 4 for the relationships between fact, fiction, history, and truth. Also, see Hilary Mantel, 'Can these Bones Live?', in *Reith Lectures 2017*, (BBC Radio 4, 8 July 2017); Hilary Mantel, 'Adaptation', in *Reith Lectures 2017*, (BBC Radio 4, 15 July 2017); Hilary Mantel, 'The Day is for the Living', in *Reith Lectures 2017*, (BBC Radio 4, 17 June 2017); Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

division between history and fiction intensified the idea of the novel as a national entity.<sup>8</sup>

Franco Moretti pointed out that ‘the novel found the nation-state’ and ‘being the only symbolic form that could represent it, it became an essential component of our modern culture’.<sup>9</sup> This relationship between place and literature has fed into the ongoing discussion on national literatures. Benedict Anderson emphasised the importance of the emerging novel and the newspaper, in the eighteenth century, as joint providers of the ‘technical means for “representing” the kind of imagined community that is the nation’.<sup>10</sup> Locating agency with literature itself, Aldous Huxley famously posited that ‘nations are to a very large extent invented by their poets and novelists’.<sup>11</sup> Others have examined how national differences were replicated in national literatures and how it is assumed that national groups have a ‘collective consciousness’, which authors can express on paper.<sup>12</sup> Margaret Cohen perceptively pointed out that the

---

<sup>8</sup> Ray, pp. 2-3. Clara Reeve declared that ‘the novel is a picture of real life and manners, and of the times in which it is written’, whilst Baculard d’Arnaud stated that ‘la vérité débarrassée de l’alliage imposteur est du nombre de ces phénomènes qui n’ont point encore été visibles à nos yeux: notre meilleure histoire, j’excepte nos livres sacrés, est le roman le moins grossier et le plus vraisemblable’. Clara Reeve, *Progress of Romance*, 2 vols (New York: New York Text Facsimile Society, 1930 [1785]), I, p. 111; Baculard d’Arnaud, ‘Préface aux nouvelles historiques’, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 5 vols (Amsterdam Michel Rey, 1775), 4, (p. 8). Translation: ‘unadulterated truth figures among those phenomena which have never yet been visible to our eyes: our best history, leaving aside the sacred scriptures, is the least crude and most realistic novel’.

<sup>9</sup> Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 17. First published in Italian in 1997.

Though songs, plays, operas, schoolbooks, amongst other things, could also capture aspects of the state. See also Dominic Rainsford, *Literature, Identity and the English Channel: Narrow Seas Expanded* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

<sup>10</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2 edn. (London: Verso, 2006), p. 25. Similarly, beyond the nation, Bernard Crick described how literature is ‘the main source of most people’s understandings of “Europe”’. Perhaps increased television, film, and social media have changed the role of the novel. Bernard Crick, ‘Foreword’, in *The Idea of Europe in Literature*, ed. by Susanne Fendler and Ruth Wittlinger (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. xii.

<sup>11</sup> Aldous Huxley, *Texts and Pretexts*, (New York and London: Harper, 1933), p. 52, <<https://archive.org/details/text00huxl>> [accessed 16 June 2018].

<sup>12</sup> Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Anansi Press, 1972); Lucien Goldmann, *The Sociology of Literature* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 585; Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2008 [1950]).

Victorian ‘was the most nationalistic of eras; and yet, it was the era when international influences were formative’.<sup>13</sup> Blaze represented and reflected on national and cultural groups, including their (perceived) differences, within her texts. This chapter unravels how, Blaze’s texts, through the geographically national settings, characters, topics etc are transcultural.

Birns posited that the ‘biggest mistake that the rhetoric of both post-colonialism and globalization made was underrating the persistence of nationalism and how the nation, despite being “imagined”, may be productive of meaningful discourse’.<sup>14</sup> This thesis meets this criticism. As outlined in Chapter 1, focusing on Blaze’s transcultural message, for example through intertextuality, translation, and multilingualism, does not neglect the significance of the national in the mid-nineteenth-century context. A transcultural view and the national co-existed in Blaze’s texts, both geographically and ideologically – indeed, a transcultural approach acknowledges yet destabilizes the nation. Following this line of enquiry, we examine Blaze’s mid-nineteenth-century novels, for features which could be perceived as particularly national or European, and how these features stand in relation to her transcultural ideals.<sup>15</sup> To this end, after a brief theoretical and historical examination of the novel as a national or non-national entity (5.a.), we study examples from Blaze’s primary texts (5.b.). Specifically, we consider how, through intertextual translation and

---

<sup>13</sup> Margaret Cohen, 'International Influences', in *Jenny Bourne Taylor*, ed. by John Kucich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 409-26 (p. 409).

<sup>14</sup> Nicholas Birns, 'Deconstructing Centrality: Post-Colonial Theory', in *Theory after Theory: An Intellectual History of Literary Theory from 1950 to the Early 21st Century*, ed. by Karen Taylor (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2010), pp. 223-60 (pp. 256-57). Describing her book Elisabeth Jay described: ‘Just as Dickens’s London was a real place, exerting identifiable influences on his life and writing, and yet in another sense never existed outside his imagination, so this book holds in tension Paris as a specific historical moment and Paris as a literary convention’. Elisabeth Jay, *British Writers and Paris 1830-1875* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> The focus of 5.a. is limited to critical and theoretical works on the novel. Chapter 4 already examined the hard-to-define genre of travel and political writing. However, in 5.b. we also draw on *Germania*.

multilingualism, Blaze's texts expressed transcultural and national inclinations (5.b.i.) and what role gender played (5.b.ii).

### 5.a. Novel of the Nation, Novel of Europe?

*Mildred Vernon* and *Léonie Vermont* were not French novels, nor was *Falkenburg* a German novel. They were written in English and published in England. *Mildred Vernon* and *Falkenburg* were set in England and France, and England and Germany respectively. *Léonie Vermont* was set in France but was not necessarily a French novel either. They were all written in the English language, their author did not seem to identify as a French or German citizen, and the novels depicted characters from both sides of the Channel.<sup>16</sup> However, what constituted a national novel could go beyond its language, its author's citizenship, or its characters' nationality. Patrick Parrinder suggested that another, 'surprisingly neglected', definition of the national novel is 'by subject matter', for example, a novel 'wholly or partly set within a fictionalised version of English society'.<sup>17</sup> *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* exemplified this definition writing that '[w]hen any one thinks of French literature, there immediately rises before him a horrid phantasmagoria of repulsive objects – murders, incest, parricides, and every imaginable shape of crime'.<sup>18</sup> For some of the reading public in Britain, French literature was not, in the first instance, connected to language, authorship, or place, but to particular stereotyped topics and moral decadency. The concept of national novels is often 'reflected in the critical tradition' of that nation as well.<sup>19</sup> Reviews of *Mildred*

---

<sup>16</sup> Blaze's texts, given the findings in 2.c.ii., cannot be considered "English". However, contemporary critical analysis on English literature more holistically reflects the perceptions of the literary market that Blaze acted in. Furthermore, as stated in the Introduction, the term English was often used as an overextension for British.

<sup>17</sup> Patrick Parrinder, *Nation & Novel: The English Novel from its Origins to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> James White, 'Paul de Kockneyisms', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 53, March 1843, pp. 366-78 (p. 366). Quoted in Juliette Atkinson, *French Novels and the Victorians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 19.

<sup>19</sup> English novels were approached 'thematically, focusing on their moral and psychological dimensions' on the 'treatment of selfhood, and the interpersonal

*Vernon* and *Léonie Vermont* discussed the “Frenchness” of the novels, compared them to French novels, and even labelled them as French novels (see 3.b.i). But did the novels really ooze “Frenchness” or was national categorization a way for British readers and reviewers to processing the transcultural messaging and criticism of Britain’s prejudices in the novels? Or, as Cohen and Dever put it, did transcultural novels serve ‘the function of contrast’ to identify what made ‘a British novel British, or a French novel French’?<sup>20</sup> Reviewers did not claim that *Falkenburg* was a German novel although it had a German-sounding title and was set partially in Germany with German central characters. To investigate this discrepancy between the reception of Blaze’s novels as national texts, we offer a brief overview of what constituted the English, French, and German novel in Victorian Britain. This should be understood in conjunction with 2.c.i. on national perceptions in general.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, we consider where the transcultural novel fits into this equation.

#### 5.a.i. Views on the “English” Novel

E.P. Thompson famously addressed ‘the peculiarities of the English’. The questionably anglo-centric and multi-definitional name English, i.e. British, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, more specific groupings, or generally of the United Kingdom, supposedly reflected this peculiarity.<sup>22</sup> Does the English novel represent the ‘national characteristics of unity-in-division’, Parrinder asked?<sup>23</sup> He described how, on the contrary, ‘even the English novel’s warmest

---

relationships of the characters within the plot’ whilst French novels were examined for ‘technical questions of formal affiliation, technique, and style’. Ray, p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever, *The Literary Channel: The Inter-National Invention of the Novel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Naturally, Europe-wide literary influences pre-date the Victorian era. Also, international(-cultural) exchanges are always bidirectional so national literatures are necessarily always hybrid. However, in this section, we examine how the English, French, and German novel were perceived to be distinct from one another and how the French and German novel influenced the English novel.

<sup>22</sup> E.P. Thompson, ‘The Peculiarities of the English’, in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London: Merlin, 1978), pp. 35-91.

<sup>23</sup> Parrinder, p. 2.

admirers sometimes think of it as being “English” in the way that Pimm’s fruit cup or Stilton cheese are English’.<sup>24</sup> In his view, a stereotyped impression of what constitutes an English novel prevails. Cultural historians have suggested that changes in literature are a reflection of national changes.<sup>25</sup> Though such a relationship is surely bidirectional and more complex, ‘it is not merely coincidental that the English novel rose to prominence in the eighteenth century when Britain was fast becoming the center of a world empire’.<sup>26</sup> Critics have underlined how the English novel was perceived to be different and ‘in some ways inferior’ to other European nation’s novels.<sup>27</sup> An undifferentiated claim was that ‘English novels were about adolescence and courtship where the great European novels were about adults committing adultery’.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, ‘the humour, sentiment, and fantasy of the English narrator or storyteller was made to look self-indulgent and naïve by continental doctrines of realism, aesthetic form, and artistic impersonality’.<sup>29</sup> Though it generalises, this observation underscores a problematic “us” versus “them” mentality of English national distinctness as well as an equally difficult perceived European homogeneity in literature and criticism.

#### 5.a.ii. The “French” Novel in Britain

Many scholars have been persuaded by Linda Colley, who argued that in Victorian literature’s engagement with Europe, Englishness (or what constituted the English novel) was shaped in relation to ‘the Other’ – specifically the French Other.<sup>30</sup> Elisabeth Jay described

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> See Jed Esty, *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Parrinder, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2 edn. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 327.



how Charles Dickens arrived in Paris on his first trip to France in 1837 and wrote the following:

We went this afternoon in a barouche to some gardens where the people dance, and where they were footing it most heartily – especially the women who in their short petticoats and light caps look uncommonly agreeable. A gentleman in a blue surtout and silken Berlins accompanied us from the Hotel and acted as Curator [–] he even waltzed elegantly too. We rang for slippers after we came back, and it turned out that this gentleman was the “Boots”. Isn’t this French?<sup>31</sup>

Dickens’ stereotyping encapsulated ‘the way in which, although neither he nor the recipient had previously set foot on French soil, he assumes they are both in a position to recognize “Frenchness” when they see it’ and how this recognition identified them as British.<sup>32</sup> Jay explained how ‘[t]he always potentially dangerous people, or masses, disporting themselves; their scantily but decoratively attired women – possibly offering further promise of making themselves “agreeable”; and the disregard for class barriers’ all conformed to ‘the national characteristics Dickens’s sightseeing expedition had sought’.<sup>33</sup> However, France in the mid-nineteenth-century period also was a place of unceasing political change and unsettling social upheaval.<sup>34</sup> This entered into the British consciousness and created a conflation of traditional national biases with new unsettling impetuses. These socio-historical tensions between attraction and fear in Anglo-French relations (see 2.c.i.) were reflected in the ambiguous British relationship to the French novel. Reflecting on her “home” literature and culture in 1831,

---

<sup>31</sup> Charles Dickens quoted in Elisabeth Jay, p. 2. For a deeper engagement with Dickens and France see John Edmondson, *Dickens on France* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2006).

<sup>32</sup> Elisabeth Jay, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Particularly the revolts of 1830 and revolution of 1848. See 2.c.i.

George Sand remarked that '[l]a littérature [Française] est dans le même chaos que la politique'.<sup>35</sup> With the aid of research in hindsight, Jay pinpointed the same time as the start of 'turbulent years [until] the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian war [when] writing can be seen to be informed by the impulse to make national comparisons' and Paris became 'a honeypot for writers' hoping to experience the "Frenchness" they knew from literature.<sup>36</sup> Though Jay did not suggest causality, the view of French literature in Britain changed during this period (1830s – 1870s), and perhaps, as Sand explained, due to political turbulences and their effect of French literature.

Examining the reception of French novels in Britain, Juliette Atkinson found that 'considerable uncertainty continues to hang around the status of French novels in Victorian England'.<sup>37</sup> On the one hand, the inward-looking Victorians overlooked and censured French novels.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, 'interest in contemporary French works began with Matthew Arnold (with Thackeray as a deeply conflicted predecessor), and really took off in the 1870s', and 'the great names [Alexandre Dumas, Alfred de Vigny, Victor Hugo, Balzac, George Sand, and Eugène Sue] belong almost as much to English literature as to French'.<sup>39</sup> Though pointing to an earlier time of exchange than Atkinson, Gillian Dow demonstrated how 'the French novel in Britain cannot be considered in isolation from an

---

<sup>35</sup> George Sand letter to Jules Boucoiran, 7 March 1831 in *George Sand: Correspondance*, ed. by Georges Lubin, 25 vols (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1964-1991), I, p. 825. Quoted in and translated by Atkinson, p. 7. Translation: '[French] literature is in the same state of chaos as politics'.

<sup>36</sup> Elisabeth Jay, pp. 2-3.

<sup>37</sup> Atkinson, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. According to David Gervais, an 'awareness of continental fiction was uncommon amongst mid-nineteenth-century English novelists. Most of them ploughed their own furrow, indifferent to what was going on abroad'. Indeed, for George Eliot, Honoré Balzac was 'hateful', and for Charlotte Brontë he was 'shocking'. However, if these writers disliked French authors, they must have had an awareness of their texts. Indeed, per Atkinson French fiction was well enough known to 'raise[...] alarm bells not simply because of what it depicted, but how it did so and the impact it had on the British literary marketplace'. Atkinson, p. 20. David Gervais, 'From Balzac to Proust: English Novelists and Foreign Novelists', in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, ed. by Patrick Parrinder and Andrzej Gasiorek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 72-86 (pp. 72-73).

<sup>39</sup> Atkinson, p. 4.

exploration of the English novel in France' pointing to the symbiotic relationship between the two literatures.<sup>40</sup> John Rignall described how French fiction was received with a 'combination of recoil and admiration'.<sup>41</sup> According to him '[t]he impropriety of French fiction was a critical commonplace [but] of course there were readers who were far from offended, and there was a persistent counter-current of critical opinion which defended French fiction'.<sup>42</sup> Atkinson concluded that '[i]t was not until the end of the nineteenth century that 'the main currents of English literature changed their course in a diffuse quest for a new morality and flowed for a time through France'.<sup>43</sup>

Though interest in French novels in the mid-nineteenth century was conflicted, Blaze touched upon the British appetite for the immorality of French texts. She wrote that '[t]he undisguised enthusiasm which we [English] have lavished on [...] the least recommendable of their [French] books has, while it astonished France, taught her that the way to the ultimate perversion of our morals lay through the perversion of our taste'.<sup>44</sup> Blaze suggested that it was the devouring of French literature and the enthralled reception of, to her mind, bad books which perverted the British tourist and reader, not the immorality of the French texts themselves.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Gillian Dow, 'Criss-Crossing the Channel: The French Novel and English Translation' in *The Eighteenth-Century Novel*, ed. by J.A. Downie (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2016), pp. 88-104 (p. 89).

<sup>41</sup> John Rignall, "'One Great Confederation?': Europe in the Victorian Novel", in *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. by Francis O'Gorman (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 232-52 (pp. 244-45).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Christophe Campos, *The View of France: From Arnold to Bloomsbury* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 9.

<sup>44</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1848), I, pp. 108-10.

<sup>45</sup> For example, Eugène Sue's *Mystères de Paris* and *Mathilde, mémoires d'une jeune femme*, which 'furnished forth the matter for more than one young Englishman's waking dreams'. Ibid. *Les Mystères de Paris* was serialised in the *Journal des débats* (1842/43). Its protagonist, who navigated the city, was in fact a German aristocrat disguised as a Parisian worker. *Mathilde* was serialised in *La Presse* (1840/41). Karen Taylor, *The Facts on File Companion to the French Novel* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2007), pp. 108 and 277. For more on

### 5.a.iii. The “German” Novel in Britain

There is no doubt that the mysticism and magic of German literature fed into British publications. In the sixteenth century Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* drew on the German legend of a Wittenberg academic who sold his soul to the Devil. Both Shakespeare in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and Ben Jonson in *The Alchemist* refer to this legend.<sup>46</sup> Translations of carnival dramas such as *Eulenspiegel*, Sebastian Brant’s *Narrenschiff* (1494), and Friedrich Dedekind’s *Grobianus* (1605) also brought early German literary culture to Britain. At the end of the eighteenth century, British academics returning from their studies at German universities created ‘British hubs of German thinking’.<sup>47</sup> A revived interest in Gothicism included a surge of translations of German *Sturm und Drang* literature, *Schauerliteratur*, and sentimental dramas (i.e. German *Empfindsamkeit*) in the 1790s.<sup>48</sup> In fact, Germaine de Staël, in *De l’Allemagne*, remarked on how such texts differed from French and English ones, through the German text’s ‘Innerlichkeit’ (inwardness).<sup>49</sup> In 1764 the Lessing scholar Friedrich Gabriel Resewitz attributed inwardness to the political makeup of Germany, describing how ‘[o]hne Kenntniss der Welt, und ohne Kenntniss ihrer Nation, oft kaum mit ihrer kleinen Geburtsstadt recht

---

Eugene Sue in Britain see Berry Palmner Chevasco, *Mysterymania: The Reception of Eugene Sue in Britain 1838-1860* (Oxford: P. Lang, 2003).

<sup>46</sup> Günther Bläicher, *Das Deutschlandbild in der englischen Literatur* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), p. 60.

<sup>47</sup> For example, William Taylor of Norwich in Norwich and (building on a longstanding Scottish German connection) Henry Mackenzie in Edinburgh. Alexander Gillies, *A Hebridean in Goethe's Weimar* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969), pp. 1-17.

<sup>48</sup> *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* was translated in 1785 and *Die Räuber* was translated in 1792. John Davis, *The Victorians and Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 46. *Lenore* was translated by Walter Scott, William Taylor, and the poet laureate H. J. Pye. Bläicher, pp. 95-96. The sentimental dramas of August von Kotzebue were also available in English; Bayard Quincey Morgan, *A Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1922), p. 43.

<sup>49</sup> Germaine de Staël, quoted in and translated by H.R. Klienberger, *The Novel in England and Germany: A Comparative Study* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1981), p. 8. Klienberger broadly speaking, discussed the difference between the Bildungsroman and the realist novel.

bekannt, befinden sie sich [Deutsche Schriftsteller] gleich in einer dürren Wüste, sobald sie auch nur die Anlage zur Geschichte eines Romans machen sollen'.<sup>50</sup> However, it was this inwardness, which attracted the ever growing British novel reading audience.

The translation of German texts and the adoption of German impulses into British literature by pre-Victorians was to have a lasting impact on Victorian writers. The British Romantic movement was entangled with German movements. Writers were drawn to German scenery and locations, in particular to the Rhine and to the Alps, often in Switzerland.<sup>51</sup> Gothic stories 'initially set in Italy and France, moved north to Germany, around 1800'.<sup>52</sup> Moretti found that from 1770-1840 'the highest concentration of Gothic tales in English is to be found in the triangle comprised between the Rhine, the Black Forest, and the Harz (the region of the pact with the Devil)'.<sup>53</sup> Coleridge, obsessed with Schiller, was one of the leading specialists on German literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>54</sup> Byron too was fascinated by the German-speaking-world and infused *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812) with references to it. Byron's work influenced many others. Among them was Mary Shelley, who was with Byron during the conception of *Frankenstein* (1818) which was written on the shores of Lake Geneva on the borders to the German-speaking world.<sup>55</sup> *Frankenstein* re-examined

---

<sup>50</sup> Friedrich Gabriel Resewitz, *Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend: Brief 294* (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1764), p. 159. Translation: 'Without knowledge of the world and without knowledge of their nation, often barely familiar with the small town in which they were born, they [German writers] find themselves in an arid desert as soon as they are to draw up a mere sketch for the story of a novel'. Quoted in by Klienberger, p. 9.

<sup>51</sup> For more on the Rhine in English Romantic Literature see Gisela Dischne, *Ursprünge der Rheinromantik in England: Zur Geschichte der romantischen Ästhetik* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann Verlag, 1972).

<sup>52</sup> Moretti, p. 16.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Coleridge did not speak German, which led to an embarrassing meeting between him, Wordsworth, and an expert on sublime poetry Friedrich Klopstock at which, after a long silence, Coleridge started to speak French. Morgan, p. 49; Rosemary Ashton, *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 32.

<sup>55</sup> Shelley and Blake had some epistolary exchange and met in person. Mary Shelley, Letters from Mary Shelley to Madame de Bury, 17 March and 14 October 1844, *Newcastle University*, MS GB 186, MSA/1/99-100.

older notions of Germany as a centre for learning and revived the German ghost story.<sup>56</sup> According to Davis, Walter ‘Scott’s impact in terms of bequeathing interest in German matters to the Victorians is incalculable’.<sup>57</sup> Scott inspired the next generation to incorporate German thought and culture in their work. Thomas Carlyle, for example, drew on Scott’s knowledge of German culture in his essays.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, Carlyle wrote a *Life of Schiller* (1825), admired Fichte and Goethe (Goethe admired him in return), and contributed to introducing German Romantic literature into Britain.<sup>59</sup> Emily Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights* bears resemblance to traits of Bürger’s *Lenore* which she picked up from Scott’s work.<sup>60</sup> Röder-Bolton said of George Eliot that ‘restraint of excessive feeling, acceptance of a personal and social duty are common to both Eliot and Goethe’.<sup>61</sup> The German literary influence was undeniable by the mid-nineteenth century. However, though British literature was infused with German ideas, a romanticised and particular British view of Germany arose. It is questionable how much people knew about the multifaceted German-speaking world, its geography, culture, or politics.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Byron’s German flavour also influenced Benjamin Disraeli’s *Vivian Grey* (1827), Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s *The Pilgrims of the Rhine* (1834), William Makepeace Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* (1848), and George Eliot’s *Daniel Deronda* (1876). Davis, p. 63.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 49. Traces of *Lenore* can be found in Scott’s *The Antiquary* (1816), Friedrich Schiller’s *Die Räuber* (1782) and Goethe’s *Der Erlkönig* (1782) in Scott’s *Rob Roy* (1817), Goethe’s *Werther* in Scott’s *Waverley* (1814), Goethe’s ballads of Götz von Berlichingen in *Ivanhoe* (1820), and the epic poem *Marmion* (1808) in *Waverley*. For more on Scott and German literature see Klienberger, pp. 47-56.

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 4 vols (London: Chapman & Hall, 1869), III, p. 197.

<sup>59</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *The Life of Friedrich Schiller* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1825); Charles Harrold, *Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1934); Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, 3 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1837).

<sup>60</sup> See Yukari Oda, ‘Wuthering Heights and the Waverley Novels: Sir Walter Scott’s Influence on Emily Brontë’, *Brontë Studies: The Journal of the Brontë Society*, 32.3 (2007), 217-26.

<sup>61</sup> Gerlinde Röder-Bolton, *George Eliot and Goethe: An Elective Affinity* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), p. 14.

<sup>62</sup> See 2.c.i.

#### 5.a.iv. European and National Novels

The definitions and perceptions of English, French, and German novels are not binary or all encompassing. James Joyce stated that literature is national before it is international but that ‘if you are sufficiently national you will be international’. This idea enables a transnational literature, notwithstanding the critical focus on nineteenth-century literary national differences.<sup>63</sup> There is no definitive answer to whether *Mildred Vernon* and *Léonie Vermont* were more akin to French than English novels or whether *Falkenburg* resembled a German novel. However, *Mildred Vernon* in particular was perceived by some reviewers as a French novel (see 3.b.i). Indeed, even before it was displayed in bookshops and libraries, newspapers were advertising *Mildred Vernon* as a ‘French’ story likely to be piquant. The *Mirror Monthly Magazine*, however, voiced its concern at the novel’s Frenchness. It typified mid-nineteenth-century perceptions of British versus French literature by stating that ‘[o]ne of the worst signs in the progress of nations is the degradation of its literature’ and that:

French novels; and the one now before us may be regarded in the light of a fungus springing up from the same rank bed of corruption which has generated so many previous emanations of the same kind. The author is decidedly French in feeling, in thought, and sympathies. [...] we may fairly argue that were the literature of a nation – constituting as it does the voice of a whole people, the very throb of its heart – is gross and vicious [...]. Our [English] literature in general is remarkable for its purity. It is the boast of the Englishman that the same high principles of honour which make him revered wherever he sets his foot on a foreign shore, constitute the characteristic of his literature. Our novels once were

---

<sup>63</sup> James Joyce, quoted in Ulick O'Connor, *The Joyce We Knew* (Cork: Mercier, 1967), p. 97.

distinguishable for the quaint purity of their pages.<sup>64</sup>

Unlike what the reviewer deemed to be a real ‘Englishman’, who notwithstanding travel, does not have an open transcultural mind but clings to perceived superiority, Blaze, so the reviewer criticised, adopted and assimilated with the other cultures. In this way, Blaze not only wrote transnationally (British-French and British-German), but also challenged the perceived ‘identity of [these] particular communit[ies]’.<sup>65</sup>

Contrasting the underground spread of fungus (i.e. of French novels), with the purity of English novels, the reviewer underlined the fear of the unknown French Other. A fear that, though French novels speak for the French nation, the English act upon the principles of French novels. Indeed, Blaze’s English characters were conventional and morally irreproachable before they went to France. However, Blaze did not attribute this turn to adultery to the French influence. Rather she questioned British self-claimed moral complacency. Although *Léonie Vermont* was set exclusively in France, with a majority of French characters, reviewers did not emphasise its likeness to other French novels. This might have been because the immorality was brought closer to home in *Mildred Vernon* (i.e. imported into Britain), in *Léonie Vermont* it was exclusively set on the French side of the Channel.

Perhaps in contrast to French literature, German literature influenced literature produced in Britain as part of a general German intellectual and societal impact in the preceding decades. This might explain why *Falkenburg* was not singled out as a German novel by reviewers, nor was it compared to other German novels. It was set partly on the shores of the Rhine, featured old German myths and ruined Gothic castles, but no ghosts or devils appeared. *Innerlichkeit*

---

<sup>64</sup> [Anon.], ‘Morals for the Million’, *Mirror Monthly Magazine*, 41.1399, November 1848, pp. 548-54 (p. 550).

<sup>65</sup> Sissy Helff, ‘Shifting Perspectives: The Transcultural Novel’, in *Transcultural English Studies: Theories, Fictions, Realities*, ed. by Frank Schulze-Engler and Sissy Helff (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 75-89, p.83.

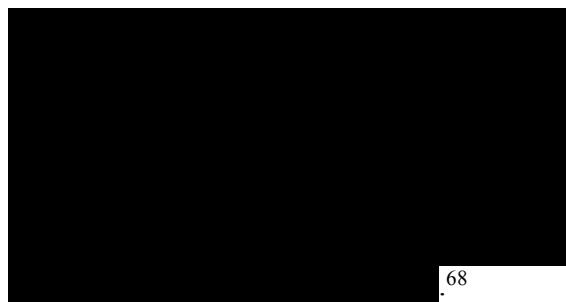


was evidenced equally in English and German characters. In *Mildred Vernon*, it was the British protagonists who were charged by reviewers with immorality, whereas in *Falkenburg* it was mainly the German male protagonist whose behaviour was deemed morally reprehensible, unlike his morally upright British female counterpart.

In light of Joyce's claim of national/international interdependence in literature, the perceived Frenchness of *Mildred Vernon*, and the obvious stereotyped German characteristics in *Falkenburg*, do not mitigate their transcultural potential. In the next section 5.b. we show how, in each of Blaze's novels, stereotypical attributes from different cultural literatures combine with one another and create a transcultural text. Particular focus lies on intertextual translation and multilingualism and its impact on gender perception.<sup>66</sup>

### 5.b. Blaze de Bury's Transcultural Novels

Blaze, the writer and narrator, experienced 'border crossings' and a transnational lifestyle.<sup>67</sup> She claimed to have both British and French cultural and linguistic skills akin to those of a native. When considering who should proofread the final manuscript of *Mildred Vernon* she wrote:



---

<sup>66</sup> See 1.a. for a discussion of these terms.

<sup>67</sup> Sissy Helff, 'Shifting Perspectives: The Transcultural Novel', in *Transcultural English Studies: Theories, Fictions, Realities*, ed. by Frank Schulze-Engler and Sissy Helff (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 75-89, p.83.

<sup>68</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, Letter to Henry Brougham, 15 July 1849, *UCL*, MS Brougham Papers, Box 81, 16112. Original emphasis. The identity of John Bushe is not known. Two portraits of John Bushe, dated 1847, are at the National Portrait Gallery. Their curator kindly confirmed that the identity of the sitter, beyond the name, is not known.

Blaze feared that someone less proficient in both languages and less knowledgeable about both countries might not understand and consequently alter the meaning of her proofs. Also, Blaze hoped that the proof reader would not only possess those skills, but would actually *be* as much French as English. Her fear was that the wrong parts of the proof would be ‘cut out’ based on cultural and linguistic ignorance. Indeed, her texts were infused with English/British, French, and German multilingualism, translation, and intertextuality. So, if French expressions were cut, culture would be less accurately transferred, which would weaken the transnational potential of the text.<sup>69</sup> In the next section we look at some examples of Blaze’s instrumentalization of intertextual translation and multilingualism, and consider they, alongside forging a transnational frame, conveyed Blaze’s transcultural stance.

#### 5.b.i. Intertextual Multilingualism and Translation in the Transcultural Novel

As previously discussed (see 1.a.) translation and multilingualism are inherently national and transnational. The more languages one leans the more one understands the languages (and associated cultural traits) one already has command of. Blaze used French and German words in her English-language publications. This demanded multilingual flexibility of her readers. For example, in *Mildred Vernon*, when Mildred ‘prepares a *toilette* [...] a waterlily [sic], fresh from the *atelier* of Constantin, whilst its sister – blossom drooped gracefully on her bosom, and joined together the two ends of a splendid berth of *point d’Alençon*, mad to match the costly trimmings of her dress’ or describing the ‘woman, who was reclining in a *bergère*’.<sup>70</sup> These French terms were used in English at the time

---

<sup>69</sup> For the link between language and culture see 1.a.iii.

<sup>70</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, pp. 39, 42-43. In the same chapter: ‘matinée’, ‘succès’, ‘morceau’, and ‘ravissante’.

– conventionally linked to fashion.<sup>71</sup> Besides demanding already assembled multilingual understanding of her readers, Blaze also explained or discussed the meanings, etymology, and application of lesser known French and German words. For example, when describing how ‘Lady Vernon was a decided prey to what we are obliged to call *ennui*, having no word in our own language to express it’.<sup>72</sup> *Ennui* appeared in 1667 in English and had become widely accepted as it was practically untranslatable.<sup>73</sup> The word boredom was only entering English usage at the time Blaze was writing.<sup>74</sup> This went beyond anticipating some knowledge of French, it also required a shared cultural understanding. Blaze translated some French and German words to increase readers’ multilingual knowledge. In *Germania*, for example, Blaze suggested that she and her fellow travellers ‘repaired to the *Speise-Saal*, for which I have always deemed that *feeding-room* was the only real translation’.<sup>75</sup>

Translation and intertextuality merged when Blaze further advised that the frequent remark ‘*Dummes Zeug!*’ is ‘an expression equivalent in my opinion, to the Vicar of Wakefield’s “*fudge*”, and which plays a considerable part in a German conversation’.<sup>76</sup> In this way, Blaze not only translated but also put German into a British literary context by referring to *The Vicar of Wakefield* by Oliver Goldsmith published in 1766 and re-popularised amongst

---

<sup>71</sup> *Toilette*, the ‘action or process of washing, dressing, or arranging the hair’ was in use in the seventeenth-century. *Atelier*, a ‘workshop; an artist’s or sculptor’s studio’ had been described by Thackeray in *Paris Sketch Book. Point d’Alençon*, (i.e. lace or needlework from Alençon, a town in Normandy, had come into fashion in the eighteenth century). *Bergère*, a ‘large easy chair of a style fashionable in the eighteenth century [...] also, a kind of couch’ had been adapted from the earlier forms ‘burjairs’, ‘burgairs’, and ‘bergier’, by the nineteenth-century, usually written without the *accent grave*. ‘*Toilette*’, ‘*Atelier*’, and ‘*Bergère*’ in Online *OED*.

<sup>72</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 154.

<sup>73</sup> ‘*Ennui*’ in Online *OED*.

<sup>74</sup> Boredom comes from ‘bored’, which entered the English language (meaning ‘wearied, suffering from ennui’) earlier in the century. An early adopter of the word was Charles Dickens, who used it in *Bleak House* (1853). Charles Dickens, *Bleak House* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1914 [1853]), p. 330.

<sup>75</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850), I, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

Victorians.<sup>77</sup> Blaze also illustrated that she was familiar with British literature and culture (notwithstanding her French sounding name). *The Vicar of Wakefield* was read in English and German. Its status was evidenced by its own intertextual application in non-British texts. Goethe, for example, who was himself read also by a British audience, referred to it in *Die Leiden des Jungen Werther* (1774) and in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1808-1831).<sup>78</sup> Goldsmith's novel was also referenced in French literature, for example in *Vie de Henri Brulard* (1890), Stendhal's unfinished autobiography.<sup>79</sup> Blaze may have been trying to narrow the void between cultures by using the internationally admired *The Vicar of Wakefield*. However, Blaze's use of intertextuality can be read as more than a 'series of relationships between different texts'.<sup>80</sup> By referring to a European-wide interrelated novel, Blaze created an own new production. In it a sense of transcultural connectedness between her readers, their home literature and language, and European literature more broadly.

Language influences the way people see the world.<sup>81</sup> Intertextual translation and multilingualism re-contextualises both the "foreign" and the "home" nation, whilst it simultaneously creates a new transcultural thinking (see 1.a.). Blaze used an array of intertextuality. She borrowed the words of ancient Greek and Roman writers and drew on authors right up to her present day. She cited

---

<sup>77</sup> It was referenced, for example, in Charlotte Brontë, *Villette* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [1853]), p. 215; Charlotte Brontë, *The Professor* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 2008 [1857]); Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1850), p. 53; George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (London: Penguin Books, 2003 [1872]), p. 622.

<sup>78</sup> Johann Goethe, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, trans. by David Constantine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [1774]), p. 19; Johann Goethe, 'Dichtung und Wahrheit', in *Goethes Werke*, 14 vols (Hamburg: Hamburger Ausgabe, 1948 [1808-32]), IX, (p. 426).

<sup>79</sup> Though published in 1890, Stendhal (Marie-Henri Beyle) had written the text in the 1830s. Michael Wood, *Stendhal* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 103-04.

<sup>80</sup> Daniela Caselli, *Beckett's Dantes: Intertextuality in the Fiction and Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

<sup>81</sup> Chris Swoyer, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), in <<https://stanford.library.sydney.edu.au/archives/spr2015/entries/relativism/supplement2.html>>. See also *Language Socialization Across Cultures*, ed. by Bambi Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

writers from a variety of cultural backgrounds. For example, *Falkenburg* boasted two epigraphs, namely, ‘[q]ue de fois on passe dans la vie à côté de ce qui en ferait le charme’ and ‘[t]o think of that beautiful Rheinland makes one happy’.<sup>82</sup> This intertextual multilingual opening was inherently transcultural. Both a British and a French writer were describing an area in Germany.

Blaze used different kinds of intertextuality. She quoted and referenced authors, for example, when observing that salon conversation style in Paris was an ‘arsenal of the fireworks of wit – “de l’esprit, de l’esprit, toujours de l’esprit!” as Rousseau said of Voltaire’.<sup>83</sup> She also quoted but did not reference her sources. For example, quoting Victor Hugo’s ‘Ruy Blas’ to describe Norberg and Lilian as ““Un ver de terre amoureux d’une étoile””.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, she also alluded to other writers without directly quoting or referencing them, for example when she remarked that ‘Madame de Montdord was a most remarkable, nay, almost an historical person [...] a very Harpagon in petticoats’.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, Blaze made references to other writers’ unpublished words through hearsay, for example, stating that ‘Heinrich Heine is reported to have said of her [Princess Belcolore]: “That woman is only fit to become Abbess of a convent of Benedictine monks””.<sup>86</sup> This variety highlights how intertextuality was not just about knowing other specific texts and writers but also about understanding other literary contexts, and by extension, cultures.

---

<sup>82</sup> Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (Paris: Garnier Frères), p. 141. Translation: ‘how often in life do we pass (next to) what would make it charming’. William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair: A Novel Without a Hero* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1849 [1847-8]), p. 561.

<sup>83</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 67.

<sup>84</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1851), I, p. 9. From Victor Hugo’s *Ruy Blas* 1838, Act 2, Scene 2. Translation: ‘An earthworm in love with a star’.

<sup>85</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 167. Harpagon was a character from Molière’s *L’Avare* (1668) – a greedy man who preyed on younger women.

<sup>86</sup> According to Blaze, Princess Belcolore had Italian roots, was separated from her French husband, had diplomatic dealings with the Austrian Government, and was a sinologist. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Sometimes, instead of horizontal intertextuality (i.e. from text-to-text), Blaze used vertical transcultural intertextuality between two different formats (e.g. from music-to-text).<sup>87</sup> She described how the fictional German composer Norberg played on the piano an aria from the Italian composer Gaetano Donizetti's opera *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835) based on Scott's novel *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819). In *Mildred Vernon*, Blaze also included vertical intertextuality. In one passage she referenced both Donizetti's opera *L'elisir d'amore* (1832) as well as Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795/96).<sup>88</sup> She referenced Vincenzo Bellini's opera *Il Pirata* (1827) (specifically its aria 'è figlio mio!') and described how, in Paris, the couples danced to Johann Strauss I's *Donau Lieder* (1827).<sup>89</sup> In addition, Mildred played some 'unconnected chords' on the piano and ended with Franz 'Schubert's exquisite and melancholy ballad "L'Adieu"' – another piece of music played throughout Europe.<sup>90</sup> Adapting her own text intertextually, the song is mentioned again, but this time, instead of being played on the piano by the protagonist, it was performed on the street by an organ player, illustrating how the "arts" permeated all levels of European society. By choosing to reference specifically the *The Vicar of Wakefield*, by drawing on the international status of

---

<sup>87</sup> For vertical and horizontal intertextuality see John Fiske, *Television Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1987), p. 108.

<sup>88</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1848), III, pp. 96-97. *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* was set to music by composers, including *Mignon* (1866) by Ambroise Thomas.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp. 44 and 88. Bellini's (1827) opera was based on the French melodrama *Bertram, ou le Pirate* (1826), which in turn was loosely based on the tragedy *Bertram, or The Castle of St. Aldobrand* (1816) by Charles Maturin. Bellini's opera itself would influence many other European composers – most famously Richard Wagner's *Das Liebesverbot*. Strauss I's *Donau Lieder*, Op.127 was composed in 1827 but first performed in 1841. Herbert Weinstock, *Bellini: His Life and His Operas* (New York: Knopf, 1971), p. 293; [Anon.], 'Wagner on Bellini', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 27.516 (1886), 66-68.

<sup>90</sup> *L'Adieu* was translated from German (original title *Über die Berge* or *Nach Osten*) by librettist August Heinrich von Weyrauch. Schubert's French version was later translated back into German. The song was also translated into English (*Adieu! Tis love's last greeting*). This method of translating "out of" and "back into" various languages so as to bring its full meaning to bear, is in line with Goethe's advocacy of *Weltliteratur*. Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 265. *ibid.* III, p. 220.

Scott's work, and by featuring composers renowned throughout Europe, Blaze emphasised her and her characters' international *environs*. Through vertical as well as horizontal intertextuality she instrumentalised novels, art, and music perceived to be from a particular nation, to highlight the networked nature of European literature and arts – including her own novels.

Blaze turned her transcultural approach into a propylitization when instances of intertextual translation and multilingualism influenced her accounts of culture and politics.<sup>91</sup> Blaze's use of intertextuality did more than forge cultural bridges between the French, German, and British. She used intertextuality as a means of telling history and conveying political content by decentring perceived cultures and time.<sup>92</sup> For example, in *Mildred Vernon*, she made references to *Othello* when discussing General Boislambert's military engagements in Algeria.<sup>93</sup> In *Germania*, Blaze suggested that the customs in the – now Austrian – town Eferding were reminiscent of the *Nibelungen Lied*.<sup>94</sup> Later she described how in Vienna the actor Nestroy 'hazards political epigrams' about current affairs by reciting lines from Schiller and Goethe among others.<sup>95</sup> Such intertextual associations brought various, supposedly unfamiliar and unconnected contexts into a new related light.

Underlining the ambiguity in perceptions around difference and homogeneity, Blaze also claimed that Germany experienced some political unity under the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV. She underlined this political observation by stating that 'I doubt whether, in the year of grace 1106, the antipathy between the different races was much stronger than it is in the present year, 1850' echoing Voltaire's famous words '[c]e corps qui s'appelle encore le saint empire romain, n'était en aucune manière ni saint, ni romain, ni

---

<sup>91</sup> See I.a. and Boris Buden et. al., 'Cultural Translation: An Introduction to the Problem, and Responses', *Translation Studies*, 2.2 (2009), 196-219, (p. 196).

<sup>92</sup> See for example following description of Blaze quoting Burke.

<sup>93</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, pp. 182-83; *ibid.* 2, p. 223.

<sup>94</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850), II, p. 48.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

empire'.<sup>96</sup> The title *Germania* itself was intertextual. It was taken from Tacitus' famous work *Germania*, which was used as an epigraph at the start of Blaze's *Germania* as well as in epigraphs of some of the chapters. Blaze used these epigraphs to lend force to her own political and cultural opinions on Germany. In *Mildred Vernon*, Blaze also made reference to the ancient Roman world before its European-wide expansion. She described her characters watching the play *Lucrece*, based on the semi-legendary Lucrece in 510s BC Rome, whose rape by the Etruscan king's son led to her suicide, which in turn triggered the overthrow of the Roman monarchy and the establishment of the Roman Republic. This foreshadowed the 1848 overthrow of the French monarch, which was hinted at in *Mildred Vernon*. Furthermore, Lucrece was a well-known tale, which had spread with the Roman Empire.<sup>97</sup> In this way, Blaze used literature known throughout Europe as a means of conveying her take on European politics.

Alongside using direct intertextuality, she also quoted her acquaintances by hearsay. In *Mildred Vernon*, she is doubly intertextual by quoting both Balzac and by describing Balzac discussing Shakespeare at a social gathering. According to Balzac

---

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. I, pp. 26-27; François-Marie Arouet Voltaire, *Essai sur les Moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1835 [1756]), II, p. 121. Translation: 'This body that is still called the Holy Roman Empire was in no way holy, nor Roman, nor an empire'.

<sup>97</sup> Early accounts included those by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Ovid. St. Augustine and Geoffrey Chaucer also referred to it, whilst most famously, Shakespeare dedicated a poem to her tale. Dionysius Halicarnassus, 'Book IV, Sections 64-85', in *Roman Antiquities*, ed. by William Thayer (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 2007); Titus Livius, 'Books 1-2', in *Ab Urbe Condita*, ed. by Benjamin Foster (Perseus Digital Library, 2006), in <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0151%3Abook%3Dfront%3Achapter%3D2>> [accessed 20 May 2019]; Ovid, 'Fasti', (Poetry in Translation, 2004), <<https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/OvidFastiBkTwo.php>> [accessed 15 January 2018]; Aurelius Augustine, 'Volume I, Book I', in *The City of God*, ed. by Marcus Dodds (Project Gutenberg 2014), in <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/45304/45304-h/45304-h.htm>> [accessed 14 November 2018]; Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Legend of Good Women', in *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by W.W. Skeat (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010 [1894]), in <<https://www.bartleby.com/258/89.html>> [accessed 14 June 2018]; William Shakespeare, 'The Rape of Lucrece', in *The Oxford Shakespeare Poems*, ed. by William James Craig (London: Oxford University Press, 2000 [1914]), in <<https://www.bartleby.com/70/49.html>> [accessed 20 May 2019].



‘there is no poetry in Shakespeare’.<sup>98</sup> To which Aurélie responds that ‘Shakespeare is a philosopher, but not poet [...] besides he is not original’.<sup>99</sup> Another character, a ‘*Conseiller d’Etat* of the time of the Empire’, interjects that ‘He is well enough when he is arranged by Ducis [...] but otherwise he is not to be borne’.<sup>100</sup> Whereupon the ‘stone-deaf deputy of the opposition, [...] who had caught the words, “Not to be bonre”’ blamed the Rothschilds for his rejected ‘loan’.<sup>101</sup> The conversation pointed toward national preferences in literature. However, Blaze’s attempt at a comic interlude, underlined the nonsensicality of such a national approach, leading to misunderstanding and cross-purposes.

Blaze also drew on contemporary political speeches intertextually. In a flashback in *Germania*, she recalled the 12<sup>th</sup> of September 1842 in Cologne where the King of Prussia, Friedrich Willhelm IV, was being celebrated at a banquet. The Austrian Archduke Johann had just been gifted the 16<sup>th</sup> Prussian infantry corps. Blaze quoted the Archduke’s reaction to the gift:

Der Kaiser mein Herr, hat mich hergesandt in dieses Lager. Dass Eure Königliche Majestät mir ein Regiment zu verleihen geruht, ist mir eine große Freude gewesen; den ich, bin dadurch Mitglied eines Heeres geworden, welches in der Zeit der Noth unerschütterlich dagestanden und Großes geleistet hat. Vereint haben wir damals den großen Freiheitskampf siegreich bestanden. So lange Preußen und Oesterreich, so lange das übrige Deutschland, so weit die deutsche Zunge klingt, enig sind, werden wir unerschütterlich dastehen, wie die Felsen unserer Berge.<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>98</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, pp. 198-99.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, p. 10. Translation: ‘The Emperor, my master, sent me hither. The gift of a regiment from your Majesty, has caused me deep delight, for I have thereby become a member of an army which has done great things, and which stood unshaken in the hour of need! Together we then fought the great fight of freedom victoriously. So long as Prussia and Austria, and the other lands of

Blaze then argued that these were the facts, as witnessed by her, and that the press and certain political parties later twisted the Archduke Johann's words. She quoted these other sources and concluded:

Union, but not unity, [...] a state, formed of several states united together but not making *one*. This was a possibility up to a certain point, and this it was of which the toast proposed by the Archduke was intended to convey an idea.<sup>103</sup>

Others have since agreed that the 'bekannter Trinkspruch des Erzherzog Johann' was improvised 'dessen Verbreitung jeoch einen enthusiastischen Widerhall in ganz Dutschland fand'.<sup>104</sup> In the multivolume *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* the historian Heinrich Treitschke declared that the Archduke's words had been misconstrued by the press:

[D]ie Zeitungen versicherten, er hätte gesagt: "Kein Österreich, kein Preußen mehr! Ein einig Deutschland hoch und her, ein einig Deutschland fest wie Seine Berge!" In Nationen, die einer großen Entscheidung entgegenzittern, walten die Kräfte der Mythenbildung mit rätselhafter Stärke; Sie warfen sich jetzt auf den Österreicher und gestallten ihn zu einem volkstümlichen Helden.<sup>105</sup>

---

Germany are united, so long as the German tongue resounds, we shall remain unshaken in our force, as the granite rocks of our own mountains'.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. For Blaze's views on Germany's political unification see Rachel Egloff, 'Rose Blaze de Bury and the 'Unfeminine' German and European Politics of Disunity', in *Union and Disunion in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by James Gregory and Daniel Grey (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

<sup>104</sup> 'Revolution in Wien. Revolution in Berlin. Das deutsche Vorparlament', in *Deutsche Geschichte von 1815-1870: Zwanzig Vorträge gehalten in dem Alice-Lyceum zu Darmstadt*, ed. by Luise Büchner (Leipzig: Theodor Thomas, 1875), pp.368-401, p.368. Sourced on [archive.org](https://archive.org/details/deutschegegeschic00bcgoog/page/n17) <<https://archive.org/details/deutschegegeschic00bcgoog/page/n17>> [accessed 15 November 2019].

<sup>105</sup> Heinrich Von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 5 vols (Paterborn: Europäischer Geschichtsverlag, 2015 [1894]), V, p. 172. Heinrich von Treitschke's has been criticised for his German nationalist and anti-British views. His *Deutsche Geschichte*, though a considerable achievement, reflects his political views. Charles McClelland, 'Treitschke and the Rejection of

It seems therefore, that, in this instance at least, Blaze was correct in her assessment of the current mood and press, and that she genuinely had a point to prove about an occurrence and statement that were still contended at the time she was writing. Through her intertextual multilingual political commentary, she flagged up fake news on European politics to her British reader. In so doing, whilst explaining the politics of a unified German and/or Austrian nation, she was, at the same time, re-contextualising the cultural understanding of her British reader. Blaze's intertextual translation and multilingualism conveyed her transcultural message by deliberately increasing intra-European literary understanding, by explaining culture and politics, and consequently by demanding a re-negotiation of the readers own cultural background. Her novels were undoubtedly European, whilst they remained grounded in national and cultural differences. Blaze's presentation of different national literatures (and arts) and how they were adapted throughout Europe, reflected her transcultural view. However, Blaze's use of intertextuality served more than promoting her transcultural idea.

#### 5.b.ii. Authorial Gender-Hybridity in the Transcultural Novel

The significance of intertextuality also lay in the gender of the writer being referenced. Most intertextual occurrences came from male writers, which, whether intentionally or not, can contribute to a gender-hybrid voice.<sup>106</sup> Blaze's intertextual references were almost

---

England' in *The German Historians and England: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp.168-190, 188-189. Translation: 'The newspapers assured that he had said: "No Austria, no Prussia anymore! One single Germany up and down, one single Germany firm like its mountains!" In nations that are trembling toward a big decision, the forces of myth formation preside with enigmatic strength; They now threw themselves upon the Austrian, and made him a popular [vernacular] hero'.

<sup>106</sup> Arguably, the overall dominance of published men's versus published women's work (particularly on political topics) provided more material for Blaze. Readers knew *Germania* and *Falkenburg* were written by a woman. As discussed in chapter 3, *Mildred Vernon* and *Léonie Vermont*, though signed Hamilton Murray, were rumoured to be written by a woman. Hence, quoting male writers in *Mildred Vernon* and *Léonie Vermont* would have furthered their gender-hybrid feel.

exclusively male. As evidenced in *Germania*, Blaze considered the British to be ignorant and indifferent about continental cultural and political matters – specifically, the attitude of the British toward the Austrians.<sup>107</sup> To demonstrate this, she reported meeting an Englishman, she called Mr. Smith, though he really ‘rejoices in a far more aristocratic name’ at St. Pölten. Mr. Smith and his daughters considered the Austrians to be barbaric.<sup>108</sup> Blaze let Mr. Smith report his part of their conversation in his own patronising words:

“Now Madame” said Mr. Smith, [...] like a man who is preparing to beat you dispassionately, to convince you by strong reasoning, to be cool-headed and clear, statesmanlike, [...] “I am a High Tory [...]. I think I may say, Queen Victoria, God bless her! Has no better subject than I am! I find the cruelty of these Austrians in Italy [...] the most revolting occurrence of modern history”.<sup>109</sup>

Mr. Smith went on at some length about how proud he was to be British and superior, and how barbaric and inhumane the Austrians were – particularly their dealings in Italy. Blaze, unamused by Mr. Smith’s opinions and attitude, recited Burke to him: ““were they driven out of the country this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of their dominion, by anything better than the ourang-outang [sic] or the tiger!””<sup>110</sup> Mr. Smith was quick to heartily agree and express his admiration for Burke, supposing that the quote referred to the Austrians in Italy. Blaze then revealed that Burke said these words during a speech on Fox’s East India Bill in 1783, and that:

the dominion alluded to therein [sic] [...] is our dominion in India! – the dominion of the magnanimous, and liberty-loving, and

---

<sup>107</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, I, p. ix.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. II, p. 79.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

humane Britons, whom you, Mr. Smith, are  
– chiefly on account of these great qualities  
– so proud of calling your compatriots.<sup>111</sup>

Blaze concluded that '[n]either Mr. Smith nor the young ladies knew precisely what to reply [...] and they were grateful [that] the carriage was ready'.<sup>112</sup> Blaze, quoting Burke, suggested that, to a certain degree, she aligned her political views with his. However, it also intimated that in order to make a convincing argument, both to Mr. Smith and her reader, Blaze ventriloquised Burke and, in that sense, chose to speak through a man to win a verbal political battle with another.<sup>113</sup>

To further strengthen her position through intertextuality and to create a more masculine tone, Blaze used a very well known text in mid-nineteenth-century Europe – the Bible. For example, in *Mildred Vernon* 'Sir Edward Vernon proposed to his wife, to fly boldly in the face of the interdict laid upon them, and repair at once to that pit of darkness and abomination, to that Gomorrah and Babylon of the righteous – to Paris', somewhat sarcastically comparing Paris to the ancient biblical sin-cities.<sup>114</sup> In *Germania* Blaze coined the following passage:

I am decidedly of [the] opinion, that you [the British] can have no right whatever to throw at her [Austria] a stone, which must so instantaneously recoil upon yourselves. Take care that whilst you are working away at that mote in one of Austria's eyes, the beam that protrudes from your own does not put the other out! [...] do you know what is meant by "having clean hands?" It is not, that he who is convicted of a certain offence, shall not be at liberty to accuse another of a similar misdemeanour; but that he only who

---

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> For further analysis of this passage see 6.a.

<sup>114</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 19. *The Holy Bible, King James Version*, Isaiah 13:19.

is innocent shall be judged worthy to bear  
witness against his neighbour?<sup>115</sup>

Here she merged four passages from John, Matthew, Psalms, and Exodus.<sup>116</sup> By using this proverbial language Blaze backed up her opinion with a religious moral argument, to validate her political views. Not dissimilar to her ventriloquism of Burke, her intertextual use of biblical language established a sense of male authority, as the clergy and of course God himself, were perceived to be male. By using intertextuality through predominantly male authorities Blaze proffered her own authority as a political writer by forging a gender-hybrid voice.

One female voice invoked by Blaze in her intertextual references was Germaine de Staël's, from her *De L'Allemagne*.<sup>117</sup> There are some biographical and historical similarities between de Staël and Blaze. Both women wrote, were politically involved, married "foreign" husbands, lived through times of revolution (1789 and 1848 respectively), disliked the current French leader (i.e. Napoleon Bonaparte I and Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte III), and, most pertinently for this chapter, both travelled in the German-speaking world and published their observations of it. By the time Blaze started writing and publishing, De Staël's legacy as a leading writer and political agent of the early nineteenth-century was firmly established.<sup>118</sup> In her own book on Germany, Blaze referred to de

---

<sup>115</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, p. 81.

<sup>116</sup> *The Holy Bible, King James Version*, John 8:7 (He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her), Matthew 7:3-5 (And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam [is] in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye), Psalm 24:4 (He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully), and Exodus 20:16 (Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour).

<sup>117</sup> Germaine de Staël died in 1817 (Blaze was still an infant). Another exception is a reference to Delphine Grey by Madame Emile de Girardin – 'one of the wittiest of modern French writers'. Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 187.

<sup>118</sup> In 1869 Tolstoy's *War and Peace* was published in its entirety, after having been serialised. Its second epilogue credited de Staël as an influential specialist historian during the beginning of the century and placed her on a par with the likes of 'Stein, Metternich, Talleyrand, Fichte, [and] Chateaubriand'. Leo Tolstoy, *War*

Staël's to support her own arguments. For example, when she stated that '[y]es, Madame de Stael [sic] was right. This duty-worship of the Austrians struck her too, and they are not changed since then'.<sup>119</sup> In her French adaptation of parts of *Germania* entitled *Voyage en Autriche, en Hongrie, et en Allemagne* Blaze further referenced de Staël. Presumably because of the corresponding language Blaze added direct quotes from *De L'Allemagne*. These additional quotes were also about Austria.<sup>120</sup> For example, she remarked:

[i]l n'y a que *Hyde Park* qui puisse donner une idée du Prater de Vienne [...]. "Un Longchamp quotidien, la bonne compagnie en voiture, le peuple à pied:" en ceci encore, depuis Mme de Stael [sic], rien est changé. Je me trompe! L'art de conduire un char dans la carrière a fait là des progrès incomparables.<sup>121</sup>

In 1851 Ludwig von Alvensleben translated Blaze's *Germania* into German and titled it *Reisen durch Deutschland, Oesterreich und Ungarn während der Ereignisse von 1848 und 1849*. Though the

---

*and Peace*, trans. by R. Edmunds (London: Penguin, 1957 [1869]), pp. 1406-07. Quoted in Glenda Sluga, 'Madame de Staël and the Transformation of European Politics, 1812-17', *The International History Review*, 37.1 (2015), 142-66.

<sup>119</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, p. 104.

<sup>120</sup> Also: 'Le devoir! Je viens de nommer là le mobile suprême de son [Autriche] existence. "On y fait plus pour le devoir que pour la gloire," a dit excellemment Mme de Stael [sic], et les événements de ces dernières années ont du moins prouvé que dans leur foi profonde à cette religion qui sauve les empires, empereurs, généraux et soldats n'avaient pout varié'. Quoted in O. W. Wight, published in New York by Hurd and Houghton in 1864. Translation: 'Duty! I have just described the supreme motive of his [the Austian's] existence. "They do more for the sake of duty than of fame," said de Stael [sic], and the events of recent years have at least proved that in their profound faith in this religion, which saves empires, emperors, generals and soldiers, had not altered'. Also, see the French original *De L'Allemagne*, chapter 'De l'Autriche' p.53. Rose Blaze de Bury, *Voyage en autriche en hongrie et en allemagne: Pendant les évènements de 1848 et 1849* (Paris: Charpentier, 1851), pp. 237-38.

<sup>121</sup> Translation: 'Only Hyde Park can give an idea of the Prater of Vienna. "A daily race, fashionable people in carriages, those of the lower orders on foot"'. In this again, since Madame de Stael [sic] nothing has changed. I am wrong! The art of driving a chariot in the quarry has made incredible progress there'. Quoted in O. W. Wight, published in New York by Hurd and Houghton in 1864. Also, see the French original *De L'Allemagne*, chapter 'Vienne', p. 60. Blaze slightly misquotes de Staël. The original only starts at 'la bonne compagnie en voiture, le peuple à pied'. The begining 'Un Longchamp quotidien' is added by Blaze although de Staël does mention that this is a daily activity. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

same de Staël-quote was used in the German version, namely that '[e]in tägliches Longchamp; die gute Gesellschaft im Wagen, das Volk zu Fuss!', there was no mention of de Staël's name.<sup>122</sup> Her identity had been edited out though the intertextuality remained.<sup>123</sup>

Building on the preceding Chapter 4 on travel fact and travel fiction, this chapter has further demonstrated how Blaze's texts did not belong to clear-cut genres. She challenged the concept of a "national" novel.<sup>124</sup> This genre hybridity reflected the questionable attribution of national qualities which reviewers had ascribed the texts.<sup>125</sup> The intertextual translation and multilingualism of her novels reflected the coexistence of national and transnational features from a transcultural perspective. This textual strategy drew on cultural difference and demanded a transcultural literary engagement from her British reader. Yet, at the same time, it offered a re-contextualisation of cultures. Blaze followed Goethe's premise 'dass nicht die Rede seyn könne, die Nationen sollen übereindenken [sic], sonder sie sollen nur einander gewahr werden, sich begreifen, und wenn sie sich wechselseitig nicht lieben mögen, sich einander wenigstens dulden lernen'.<sup>126</sup> This apparent paradox between increased transcultural awareness and the preservation of national culture will be further investigated in Chapter 6.

---

<sup>122</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Reise durch Deutschland, Oesterreich und Ungarn während der Ereignisse von 1848 und 1849*, trans. by Ludwig von Alvensleben (Weimar: Voigt, 1851), p. 202, in *Haithi Trust*, <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.66318570;view=1up;seq=1>> [accessed 28 May 2017].

<sup>123</sup> Overall, in reviews, little attention was awarded to comparing Blaze's *Germania* with previous works on Germany. See 3.b.iii.

<sup>124</sup> See 5.a.

<sup>125</sup> See 3.b.i.

<sup>126</sup> Goethe, originally in *Kunst und Alterthum*, 1828, quoted in Peter Gossens, *Weltliteratur: Modelle transnationaler Literaturwahrnehmung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2011), p. 95. Translation: 'that there can be no question of the nations thinking alike, the aim is simply that they shall grow aware of one another, understand each other, and, even where they may not be able to love, may at least tolerate one another'. Quoted in Fritz Strich, *Goethe and World Literature*, trans. by C.A.M. Sym (London: Routledge, 1949), p. 350.



*All our faults come from our ignorance, and from our profound contempt of every thing [sic] “foreign”.*<sup>1</sup>

## **6. Britain and the Other – Britain as the Other**<sup>2</sup>

It is ‘of great import [...] that we should know [our neighbours] better [...]. All our faults come from our ignorance, and from our profound contempt of every thing [sic] “foreign”’.<sup>3</sup> Dispelling ignorance and thereby increasing cultural understanding, was Blaze de Bury’s goal. Thus far we considered how Blaze instrumentalised genre-hybridity and textual tools such as intertextual translation and multilingualism to achieve her objective. In so doing, the focus has been on the counter-narrative of Blaze’s engagement with perceived cultural identities amongst nineteenth-century Europe’s powerful nations. Blaze called into question the concept of homogenous peoples bound together by national or continental boundaries. She also probed perceived difference and often went against the grain in her views on Britain and its self-perceived difference to Europe.<sup>4</sup>

In this chapter, we investigate how Blaze called into question prejudiced intra-European othering whilst drawing on familiar images and allusions to othering in the context of global empires. During Queen Victoria’s reign, fear mingled with a growing curiosity and knowledge about the foreign Other.<sup>5</sup> Blaze indirectly analogised the popular Victorian gothic fear of the Oriental Other

---

<sup>1</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1848), I, p. i.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter title adapted from *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*. Bo Stråth, 'Introduction: Europe as a Discourse', in *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, ed. by Bo Stråth (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 13-44.

<sup>3</sup> Blaze de Bury, I, p. i.

<sup>4</sup> For example, she posited that the Austrian might bear more resemblance on some cultural levels to the British, than a German from the north to one from the south.

<sup>5</sup> *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. by Duncan Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 7. In Britain, the first half of the nineteenth century was characterised by ‘a constant sensation of fear’. This challenges ‘the view of the mid-Victorian era as an age of equipoise [and] needs to be balanced by a recognition of the existence of widespread anxiety over Britain’s place in the world’. Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?: England 1783-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 31.

(see 6.a.), the animal Other (see 6.b.), and the supernatural Other (see 6.b.), with the fear she perceived in Britain of Europe (France and Germany in particular). This analogy epitomised her engagement with the tension between cultural homogeneity and difference within Europe.<sup>6</sup> Through her disentangling of perceived cultural difference and homogeneity, Blaze strove to dispel the ignorance from which the fear of the Other originated. Dissipating fear, in turn, could lead to a better transcultural understanding within Europe.

As previously stated, with a transcultural consciousness every new Other with interest and aware of the Other's link to their (cultural) self. This necessitates mobility and willingness to change individual cultural affiliations. To disseminate this consciousness and to dispel Victorian fears of the Other (particularly a hybrid third emerging from contact with the Other), cultural borders need to be identified and bridged.<sup>7</sup> Blaze recognised that cultural borders arise from difference. Yet as Bell pointed out, 'Victorian thinkers tended to divide the world into different imaginative spheres, each generating radically diverse sociological accounts and competing ethical claims'.<sup>8</sup> Blaze also recognised the danger posed by imagined homogenous spheres of perceived cultural difference to Britain. Consequently, she questioned perceived levels of homogeneity and difference between Britain and Europe.

In *Mildred Vernon, Falkenburg, and Germania*, Blaze depicted the British fascination for journeying to the feared cultural border. However, as will be discussed, in Blaze's eyes the British were mostly unable to engage in cultural transfer, to cross that

---

<sup>6</sup> See 1.a. In short, *différance*, as Derrida termed it, entailed the simultaneous creation of difference and new meanings. Michel Foucault took Derrida's 'textual power' of difference to look at the 'social power' of difference.

<sup>7</sup> Though the cultural border, like the contact zone, is also a 'space where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other' and is a site for linguistic and cultural encounters in which power is negotiated, the focus of this work is on European cultures that were not in highly asymmetrical relations of power within a global context of empire. Mary Louise Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', *Profession*, (1991), 33-40, (p. 34).

<sup>8</sup> Bell, ed., pp. 9-10.

cultural border with anything more than a voyeuristic gaze. They were attracted by the beautiful yet also threatening European Other, but unable to engage in lasting cultural transfer. Blaze's descriptions of the platonic nature of the gaze across the cultural border revealed the inability of a full transcultural embrace of Europe. The fear of a hybrid third, being absorbed into 'England's homes, streets, and intellectual spaces', was the main reason.<sup>9</sup>

We posited that scholarship has generally neglected intra-European ideas of Empire and Otherness.<sup>10</sup> In nineteenth-century politics, the elite 'was sufficiently cosmopolitan to be knowledgeable about other civilisations – especially classical, French, German and American ones', which makes this neglect all the more surprising.<sup>11</sup> Parry pointed out how increased knowledge of other peoples caused tension in Victorian political circles: '[s]urely a genuine patriot should seek to prick stupid native complacency and improve his community, including by importing civilised ideas from abroad'?<sup>12</sup> Yet he further observed that 'it could equally be argued that true patriotism involved reasserting traditional values which the country had neglected, to its disadvantage, in favour of damaging alien ones'.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, depending on what kind of foreign Other was encountered, '[a]rrogance and pride co-existed with apprehension and

---

<sup>9</sup> Pramod Nayar, *The Transnational in English Literature: Shakespeare to the Modern* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), in OUBL, (unpaginated) [accessed 25 September 2017].

<sup>10</sup> Historical circumstance may partly account for this. See for example Richard Little, *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths and Models* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 115; Geoffrey Wawro, *The Austro-Prussian War: Austria's War with Prussia and Italy in 1866* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 35-37; David Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 282.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 13. Lord John Russell, for example, whom Blaze admired, maintained that a political leader should understand continental cultures, not least to recognise the uniqueness of English culture, whilst avoiding a narrow insular inflexibility. John Russell, *Essays, and Sketches of Life and Character*, 2 edn. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821), pp. 128-36.

<sup>12</sup> Parry, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

frustration'.<sup>14</sup> This political tension between looking outward and looking inward reflected a broader attitude of "us" versus "them" between Britain and the rest of Europe. However, Theunissen described how, despite a certain plausibility of an "I" and "Other" dichotomy with definable borders, assumptions of this kind lack theoretical foundation.<sup>15</sup> He suggested that it would be desirable to differentiate between 'an alienation that is simply synonymous with oppression or repression and a more nuanced estrangement seen as a road to self-discovery'.<sup>16</sup> Yet according to Parry, Britain's attitude towards other peoples were not about 'the precise characteristics of those peoples [...]. The English were much more interested in themselves'.<sup>17</sup> In politics and society there 'was much less interest in the relative merits of, and nice distinctions between, the *other* nations or races' than in their relevance in benefiting England (politically and economically).<sup>18</sup> We observe this duality when considering Blaze's engagement with the Other: The transcultural perspective, though conscious of oppressive and repressive forms of othering serving an imperial self-interest, also enables a recognition of the Other as a potential for a destabilised development of the self.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Bell, ed., p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Michael Theunissen, *The Other: Studies in the Social Ontology of Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, and Buber*, trans. by Christopher Macann (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1984). Foucault's focus on difference as a creator of new meaning, underlies transcultural views. Contrary to the assumption of a fixed or easily defined boundary, Theunissen argued that in fact there is a strong tradition in Western thought – stretching back to Hegel, Schelling, and beyond – according to which the linkage between I and Other is not a relation of exclusivity but one of mutual dependence. Jacques Derrida challenged previous explanations of the Other because, to his mind, the Other is always already other than the self and the group, which supports the conceptualisation of the principle of dominator and dominated.

<sup>16</sup> Theunissen, p. x.

<sup>17</sup> Parry, p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> For example, Blaze was not unsympathetic to the oppression of Hungary under Austria (in fact she did not consider Austria's rule over Hungary as oppression). At the same time she criticised Austria's cultural disinterest in and repression of some of its Slavonic territories. Blaze, *Germania*, II.

Different imaginative sociological spheres divided the Victorian world.<sup>20</sup> The most important divide separated the “civilised” and the “non-civilised” (savage or barbarian) spheres’.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the ‘relations between civilised communities should assume a very different form from those governing the relations between the civilised and non-civilised’.<sup>22</sup> Blaze realised that such spheres of difference were imagined and entailed competing assumptions.<sup>23</sup> She posited that a fixed notion of the French or German, for example, was similarly imagined. She questioned the

---

<sup>20</sup> Bell, ed., pp. 9-10.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. At the same time however, whilst some “uncivilised” Others posed a threat politically or economically, empires or peoples formerly considered “uncivilised” but no longer posing a threat to Britain, were sometimes idealised. For example, the adoption of fashion from the Ottoman Empire, which ceased to have great political influence on Britain before its fall in the twentieth century. Onur Inal, 'Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes', *Journal of World History*, 22.2 (2011), 243-72, (pp. 253, 64).

<sup>21</sup> The Romans and Greeks thought that German tribes were uncivilised. The Grand Tours of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries bypassed Germany on their way to explore the ancient civilised worlds in Italy, resulting in for example Edward Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. When the Grand Tour was resumed after the Napoleonic wars in 1815 it was increasingly replaced by commercial tourism. These commercial trips included Germany. However, according to Richard Evans ‘[t]o mid-Victorians, indeed, even Germany, regarded by some as the home of poets and philosophers, inhabited by distant cousins of the Anglo-Saxon race, appeared mired in medieval backwardness’. Richard Evans, 'The Victorians: Empire and Race', (Gresham College, 11 April 2011), <<https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/the-victorians-empire-and-race>> [accessed 28 September 2018].) Online transcript of a public lecture. Though, as described in 2.c.ii and 5.a., a revitalised interest in German literature brought more British travellers to Germany, it was the same fascination with this literature harking back to the past, which maintained the view of Germany as not fully civilised. For more on Victorian travel and identity in Germany see Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), pp. 3, 32, 48, 121; Barbara Korte, 'From Picturesque to Political: Transcultural Perspectives on Germany in Victorian Popular Periodicals, 1850 to 1875', *German Life and Letters*, 68.3 (15 June 2015), 356-69.

<sup>22</sup> Bell, ed., pp. 9-10.

<sup>23</sup> In *Falkenburg* Blaze describes how the *Rosen-Hof* ‘was very pretty, and had been hired by the count [the Russian Count Woronitsch], because it was the only habitation in the whole country that could possibly suit his hyper-civilised tastes, as it had originally been furnished and arranged by an English gentleman, whose sole occupation was snipe-shooting’. This exaggeration (i.e. in the whole country) made use of, yet also questioned, the idea of civilised English (and Russian aristocracy) and uncivilised German society. By pointing out that, although the furnishings were sophisticated, the two occupants did nothing else with their lives than shoot wildlife – not civilised in terms of political or economic engagement – Blaze questioned the erroneous foundation upon which the imaginative uncivilised state of the Germans was based. Rose Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1851), II, p. 29.

sweeping assumption that “Germans” *per se* were uncivilised.<sup>24</sup> This pointed to the potential of transcultural encounters, leading to hybrid mixing of such imagined spheres, that instilled fear in the British. Peter Mandler discussed the prevalence of a “civilizational” approach in mid-nineteenth-century England’ – England supposedly bringing civilization to the far reaches of its Empire.<sup>25</sup> Yet he also questioned the depiction of British attitudes as fundamentally ethnic and racist.<sup>26</sup> According to him, political frameworks were more central than ethnic peculiarities in defining levels of progressiveness of nations.<sup>27</sup> Though ethnic and racial imperial motivations must not be ignored, Mandler’s and Bell’s approaches open the British civilizational trend up to other applications outside the British Empire. If political structures were a factor in defining levels of civilization, then nations with long-standing and, to varying degrees, democratic political systems (like Britain) could be considered more civilised than those which were undergoing constant change (like France and Germany) or were perceived as particularly feudal (like Austria). Blaze utilised such prevailing debates about civilization

---

<sup>24</sup> Indeed, such a civilizational approach did not preclude a strong advocacy for national character. Writers would identify and celebrate historical developments, which shaped national consciousness. H. S. Jones, 'The Idea of the National in Victorian Political Thought', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 5.1 (2006), 12-21, (pp. 14-15).

<sup>25</sup> Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Burke to Blair* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 28-38 and 72-85.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. There was a parallel yet also tension between institutional exemplary ‘Englishness’ and ethnic characteristics, stemming from Johann Gottfried Herder’s ideals of cultural nationalism. Johann Gottfried Herder, *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit*, (Archive.org, 1774), <[https://archive.org/details/bub\\_gb\\_OMwLAAAAIAAJ/page/n3](https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_OMwLAAAAIAAJ/page/n3)> [accessed 13 October 2017]. See also Johann Gottfried Herder, 'Über die Wirkung der Dichtkunst und die Sitten der Völker in alten und neuen Zeiten', in *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Bernhard Suphan (Hildesheim: Olms, 1967 [1778]), pp. 334-436. For a brief introduction to Herder's cultural nationalism see Royal Schmidt, 'Cultural Nationalism in Herder', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 17.3 (June 1956), 407-17; Vicki Spencer, 'Herder and Nationalism: Reclaiming the Principle of Cultural Respect', *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 43.1 (January 1997), 1-13; For an overview of how Herder's concepts fit into a wider context of European thought on nationhood see *Nationalizing of the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, ed. by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). We do not know whether Blaze read Herder but she too considered language, institutions (e.g. religion and form of government), and ethnicity in discussing cultural relations.

<sup>27</sup> Mandler, pp. 28-38 and 72-85.

within Empire to reflect on societies and relations within Europe. She demonstrated the nonsensicality of imagined different and homogenous spheres in Europe's nations, by paralleling them with the topical tropes of civilised/uncivilised within the context of empire, and by drawing on the animal and supernatural worlds.

### **6.a. Difference and Homogeneity in Europe and Empire**

'[O]ne of the main fault-lines running through nineteenth-century British visions of global order concerned the role of the empire'.<sup>28</sup> Britain's relations with its Empire and with the rest of Europe were enmeshed. Parry argued that, though the British colonies were paramount, 'Europe was more politically contentious in this period than empire'.<sup>29</sup> He argued that 'one of the major themes of nineteenth-century *elite* politics was the image of itself that Britain should project – whether on the diplomatic stage, or in its self-presentation *vis-à-vis* the continental powers'.<sup>30</sup> Blaze questioned, poked fun at, and criticised, some of her British travelling characters' self-projection of imperial superiority over the visited countries' hosts. She did so by underscoring British ignorance and its dual fascination and fear towards the continental European Other, paralleled by topical mid-nineteenth-century debates about civilization and patriotism further afield.

In Blaze's work, British othering comes from ignorance and also fuelled a British feeling of ignorant superiority in turn.<sup>31</sup> Blaze chastised her heroine Mildred Vernon, stating that '[t]he first impression produced on Lady Vernon by the conversation she had overheard [at the Odeon] was, as many first impressions are, an erroneous one, or rather was based upon an erroneous foundation' – a foundation built on imaginative spheres and their hierarchical relation to one another.<sup>32</sup> Part of this foundation of ignorance,

---

<sup>28</sup> Bell, ed., p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Parry, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-2.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>32</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 37.

according to Blaze, was due to British education, which did not account for its students ever leaving the British Isles.

Thrown into the very centre of a world, to whose ways he is a stranger, of a society against whose arts he has no shield, an Englishman abroad – in France particularly – is placed in the position of a man who does not keep pistols for fear they should be turned against himself, and who, attacked by robbers in the night, falls without the possibility of a defence.<sup>33</sup>

This analogy mirrored the dangers of lack of knowledge about the Continent. The pistols, in educational terms, represented knowledge of other cultures and moral systems, yet fear of the pistol being used against oneself reflected the fear of that knowledge infiltrating and damaging civilised Englishness. In the preface to *Mildred Vernon* Blaze concluded that '[t]hat which *may* be dangerous should be known'.<sup>34</sup> The italicization of 'may' highlighted the possibly different perspectives within Europe. To a British person French society *may* harbour dangers. Yet, they *may* not be dangers to the French.<sup>35</sup> However, Blaze pointed out that ignorance due to education or upbringing was no justification for feelings of British superiority, ignorance also came from perceiving imagined homogenous Others (be it Europe as a whole, Germany, or France).

Blaze commenced *Mildred Vernon*, *Germania*, and *Falkenburg* with scenes that portrayed mutual ignorance between European peoples and called into question preconceived notions of European differences and homogeneity. She juxtaposed characters with one another or with herself. In *Germania*, Blaze described how, upon her arrival in Cologne, she spent the evening and night at an inn and overheard a conversation between men from different parts of

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. iii.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. vii.

<sup>35</sup> For the paradox between attraction to and repulsion from France (especially from revolution and Catholicism) see 2.c.i. and 5.a.



Germany (see 4.b.ii.). This highlighted inter-German difference and provided the reader with (new) cultural understanding about Germany. Blaze opened *Falkenburg* by describing British travellers and their varying levels of knowledge, or lack of it, of the Germans around them. For example, she described the seventeen-year-old unendowed Helen Marlowe who was ‘little versed in the treasures of any language save her own’ and her cousin Lilian Cameron who had been taught to read German and converse proficiently in it too.<sup>36</sup> Though the characters had markedly different levels of knowledge about Germany, they both mistakenly perceived Germany as homogenous. In *Mildred Vernon* Blaze mocked her British characters’ assumptions that Parisian society was homogenous. Edward, commenting on the almost-elopement of Louise Boislambert with Lionel Chavigny, stated that ‘I confess I had been taught to think [...] that occurrences of this kind were more frequent in Paris society’.<sup>37</sup> His preconceived generalization of ‘Parisian society’ revealed his undifferentiated British perspective and, to a degree, undid the stereotype.<sup>38</sup> This was underlined by Madame de Montreux’s interjection that ‘Paris society is a wide word’.<sup>39</sup> By emphasizing cultural variety within Germany and France, as well as gently mocking British characters’ assumptions of German and French cultural homogeneity, revealed British ignorance.

*Mildred Vernon* commences in Spring 1843 in Paris, where theatregoers break the ‘solemn, aristocratic, legitimist stillness – of the melancholy Faubourg St. Germain’.<sup>40</sup> Blaze projected the fate of the once politically and monetarily powerful French aristocracy in

---

<sup>36</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine*, I, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, pp. 62-63.

<sup>38</sup> The past tense could have indicated that Edward was starting to learn from his transcultural exposure and was becoming less ignorant.

<sup>39</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 63.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 1. The *Faubourg* had been associated with the highest of French aristocracy since the eighteenth century when the French nobility moved there from Marais in central Paris and built their new, more spacious, mansions. However, after the revolutions in 1789 until the Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, and again after the July Revolution in 1830, until the 1848 Revolution, the area had been a politically passive one.

post 1830 France onto the historic district.<sup>41</sup> However, it is not only the French aristocracy that ventured out to the theatre. Blaze described how:

Foreigners from all countries undertook the weary task of migrating to the precincts of the Luxembourg; and even the English (the most careless of any, where a purely literary question is involved) magnanimously sacrificed one out of the three or four dozen Monday and Thursdays [and] profiting by the habit and the neighbourhood, stopped at the Odéon.<sup>42</sup>

The description of the foreigners ‘migrating’ no more than four kilometres through the streets of Paris elevated this localised occurrence to a global stage. It highlighted the multicultural makeup of the theatre-goers and alluded to ideas of a global movement of peoples. The passage further underlined Blaze’s disapproval of British exclusivity by singling them out as the least willing to visit the theatre (i.e. ‘even the English’), revealing her own stereotyping of the English in turn.

Blaze reiterated this by drawing closer attention to the various theatregoers. She described the interior of the Odéon theatre and continued: ‘In one of the largest of the open boxes, which form the first tier of the theatre, was assembled a party of French people, in the smaller box next to them, sat an English lady and a gentleman, alone’.<sup>43</sup> Pointing out that both the described French and English audience members were seated in the first tier suggested that they

---

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. It was no longer the bustling political affairs of state that defined the area. What remained were the French nobility, withdrawn into a predominantly private life. The district now awakened only when the once powerful sought an evening of pleasure at the Odéon. See H. Sutherland Edwards, *Old and New Paris: Its History, its People, and its Places*, 2 vols (London, Paris & Melbourne: Cassell and Company, 1893), p. 303 in <<https://archive.org/details/oldandnewparisi01conggoog/page/n7>> [accessed 6 July 2017].

<sup>42</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, pp. 1-2. The use of the term foreigners to describe non-French citizens including British ones, underlined the transcultural identity of Blaze herself (see section 2.c.ii). In this instance, she wrote from the perspective of the French.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

were of equal social rank. However, Blaze portrayed that, not only was the box inhabited by the French spectators larger than that of the English viewers but also that it was 'open'. This foreshadowed a difference between the occupants' varying degrees of openness to the moral spectrum. Furthermore, the depicted French audience were 'assembled' as a 'party' versus the English couple who sat 'alone', isolated from the rest of the audience. This demonstrated, on a localised level, enhanced by the design of the Odéon, what Blaze sketched out in the preface about the British and the French being neighbours yet very separate.<sup>44</sup>

Blaze pointed out that the British viewed not only individual European "nations" as homogenous, but also the rest of Europe as a homogenous whole. The erroneous perception of a homogenous Europe was described in *Mildred Vernon* when the protagonist and her husband travelled to Paris notwithstanding the fact that 'such excellent advice had been given to them by such excellent people; so many sermons had been preached by so many respectable relations, the whole tending to include the *Continent* in one sweeping sentence of reprobation'.<sup>45</sup> It implied that these 'excellent' British friends were equating Paris with the rest of continental Europe. Blaze hereby highlighted the ironic contrast between the 'excellence' and 'respectability' of British people and their advice, but also their general ignorance and undifferentiated understanding of the Continent as a homogenous Other to Britain.

Blaze implied that this assumption that communities were homogenous both stemmed from ignorance and fuelled a British sense of cultural superiority. In *Germania* Blaze juxtaposed a British gentleman traveller with herself. She wrote that 'there was something inexpressibly amusing in the struggle that was evidently dividing this inward man'.<sup>46</sup> This 'Harley Street gentleman' was 'established

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>46</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850), I, pp. 6-7.

before the stove, a pair of glasses fixed upon his nose, and the “Times” in his hand, wherein he was studying the London news, by way, I presume, of initiating himself into what was going on in Germany’.<sup>47</sup> By introducing this Harley Street gentleman, Blaze uneasily held up a mirror to her British readers suggesting that some of them might have been as ignorant and uncomfortable about Germany as the Harley Street gentleman. The fact that the traveller was described as wearing glasses highlighted his intense focus on the only noticeably English item in the room – *The Times* – and his blurred peripheral vision and understanding of everything German around him.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, in *Falkenburg*, Lilian’s ‘head’, after hearing a single description of Bavaria, ‘was filled with little else save fêtes given under the shade of historic ruins, waltzers incomparable, and sovereigns who married subjects’, and she tried to recall ‘that story about the Rhine that I have read in some English annual’.<sup>49</sup> Blaze’s British characters trust in the supposed superiority and reliability of the British press rather than seeking information across the cultural borders surrounding them. By gently satirizing them, Blaze highlighted the problem with Britain’s ignorance about Germany, an ignorance stemming from information, prejudices, and stereotypes soaked up by British readers, and even travellers. This preconceived, pre-edited British version of the foreign, led to a false sense of a homogenous Other and backed up an engrained “us” versus “them” mentality.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Myopics have been instrumentalised in satire throughout the ages. Gulliver was famously myopic. *Jonathan Swift: Gulliver's Travels*, ed. by Dutton Kearney and Joseph Pearce (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2010 [1726]). For further examples in satire see *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*, ed. by Kirk Freudenburg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 78 and 207; *A Companion to Satire: Ancient and Modern*, ed. by Ruben Quintero (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), p. 160.

<sup>49</sup> As described in 5.a. this romanticised view of Germany went hand in hand with its perceived “uncivilised” qualities based both on its medieval literary heritage. Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, p. 34.

<sup>50</sup> This reflects the claims about a particularly British notion of Germany outlined in 2.c.i.

In *Falkenburg*, Blaze further muddled the distinction between Britain and other European “national” cultures. Waldemar advanced a similarity between Austria and Britain.

I have admired this race [Britain’s] as I told you, in their commercial and political activity; but I think I see now what they mean by ‘Old England’. The Austrians alone, among all the continental tribes have something analogous to this, and I have seen in the provinces, along the Enns, peasant-farmers and yeomen, whom I could compare to Aaron Burton [an elderly Hampshire farmer].<sup>51</sup>

In so doing, he underlined variance within the German-speaking world, and questioned perceived difference between Britain and Austria. He described similarities not only in the upper classes but also in the lower classes. The Hampshire farmer, ‘was very well pleased to see a foreigner, and talked [...] of Germany and Holland, in an agricultural point of view, with remarkable good sense’.<sup>52</sup> However, in a conversation with Waldemar, he was incredulous about inter-German differences. Waldemar reported that Aaron ‘had a son, [...] on board a merchant vessel, [who had] several times been at Hamburg and Bremen; and from this son’s letters, and from books, he had acquired a good many notions of matters as they really are in Northern Germany’.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless Waldemar was surprised that he [Waldemar]:

found considerable difficulty in making him [Aaron] understand that I [Waldemar] neither knew nor cared for what might pass in those parts, nor could in any way consent

---

<sup>51</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, II, p. 208. The use of ‘race’ and ‘tribe’ also underlined a view of European cultures based on familial and ethnic descent rather than based on national denominators. Furthermore, the differentiation between the British ‘race’ contemporarily and ‘Old England’ compared to a tribe, could be differentiating between the current more diverse British culture (as race can entail groups of tribes forming a distinct ethnic set).

<sup>52</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, II, p. 207.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

to regard a Prussian, Saxon, or Hanoverian as my fellow-countryman. He [Aaron] shook his head, as though he thought that but a sorry state of things.<sup>54</sup>

Aaron Burton, in contrast to his supposedly better educated and well-travelled upper-class fellowmen, was surprised and saddened to learn about disinterest and discord within Germany.<sup>55</sup> However, Waldemar later expanded on his claim. He considered western European similarity and difference, not just between Britain and Austria but also between Britain and “Germany” as a whole, when he stated that ‘one’s home is a sacred thing, and we Germans and you English understand one another upon that subject.’<sup>56</sup> Through Waldemar’s multiple and context-dependent perceptions and Aaron’s open yet incredulous eyes, Blaze questioned preconceived, and to her mind unsubstantiated, difference and homogeneity. Through this encounter she highlighted how a transcultural perception is constantly in flux and changes preconceived ideas about cultures in each context and through every encounter.

As well as describing the dilemma of perceived difference and homogeneity and its reciprocal effect on ignorance, Blaze highlighted European cultural othering, employing parallels with rhetoric surrounding empire and the Orient. In *Mildred Vernon* Blaze counteracted supposed Parisian cultural homogeneity with a global parallel example. She drew a comparison from a cosmopolitan context in which ‘[t]here is, between the abode of a *gentilhomme* in

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 207-08.

<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, this passage called into question the character Waldemar’s use of the words Germany and German throughout the novel. Set in the early 1840s, was he describing an area which would now be considered the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, all German-speaking territories, just South-Western Germany including parts of what was then western Prussia, the *Grossherzogtümer* Hessen and Baden, as well as the *Königreiche* Württemberg and Bayern (amongst other smaller entities), or even a more localised Rhinish area (roughly between Köln and Mainz)? Not unlike Blaze herself, Waldemar’s use of terminology was unclear, and though sometimes the whole of (modern-day) Germany was meant, other instances remain unclear.

<sup>56</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, p. 178.

Paris, and that of an *enrichi*, the difference that exists between a cashmere of Lahore and a shawl fabricated by Ternaux; between point lace of Spain and Belgium [...].<sup>57</sup> Through this comparison of decor and products, Blaze equated geographical distances and cultural/social strata. The varying tastes in interior decoration between the old *noblesse* of the *Faubourg* and the *nouveaux riche* ‘bankers of the *Chaussée d’Antin*’ was equated to the difference between wool processing in Lahore and the *Grand Est* region of France, Spain and Belgium. Cashmere from Lahore and a Ternaux shawl may have looked similar, but, in Blaze’s cosmopolitan circle, only the former was the real thing. Whilst highlighting the differences within a small geographical and supposedly homogenous cultural vicinity, the comparison also questioned the perceived otherness of East compared to West and within European difference. Furthermore, by naming William-Louis Ternaux’s wool and cloth business, which had been the market leader in clothes in Europe earlier in the century, Blaze drew another parallel. Ternaux famously imported Tibetan cashmere goats to his Reims factory in 1818-19 to experiment with and copy traditional cashmere shawl making.<sup>58</sup> Blaze’s criticism of the *nouveaux riche* in Paris, who unsuccessfully tried to imitate and therefore misappropriate traditional aristocratic style, due to the unattainability of the original product, echoed her criticism of a French businessman (mis-)appropriating an ancient Asian tradition of cloth making. Through these comparisons of intra-Parisian and intra-Empire contrasts, Blaze highlighted the pitfalls of creative imitation, whilst quietly calling into question the perceived cultural homogeneity in Paris and within Empire.

The fallacy of expecting a homogenous French community was further exemplified by Mildred’s surprise at the furnishings of the *Hôtel Montreux*. It contained ‘gilt carvings of Louis the

---

<sup>57</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 51.

<sup>58</sup> Katherine Lester and Bess Viola Oerke, *Accessories of Dress: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2004), p. 231; Susan Hiner, *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 90.

Fourteenth's [sic] era', Venetian mirrors', 'paintings of the Italian School', a 'marvellous piece of Gobelins [sic] tapestry', 'vases of Sèvres, Dresden figures', and 'colossal vases from Japan, whence sprung huge tufts of lilies, their gilt branches terminating in the soft radiance of a lamp'.<sup>59</sup> This – according to Blaze – tasteful international interior collage of pieces reflected the global connectedness through materials and objects of French (upper class) people. The decor was made up of items from different regions of France, various European countries, as well as Japan. The gilded lily branches, for example, were an especially potent symbol of, particularly French, aristocracy during the swift making and unmaking of republics and monarchies in France during the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>60</sup> By describing Mildred's astonishment at the furnishings, Blaze underlined Mildred's unfamiliarity and preconceptions about France, especially as a homogenous community. However, the gilded lilies were in Japanese vases. An exotic ornamental piece was combined with a potent symbol of the French aristocracy into one decorative element. The Victorian craze for Oriental furnishings and décor came out of a colonial context which distorted and reduced the Orient. However, as previously stated, othering entails the duality of domination and 'a more nuanced estrangement' which can lead to self-discovery.<sup>61</sup> Describing hybrid aesthetics reflects a culturally interwoven setting. Yet, the enmeshing of two different pieces into one item of interior décor drew Mildred's eye with surprise and illustrated the unease at the tension this montage caused. Mildred had received a sheltered upbringing in the English countryside which accounts for some of her incredulity. The montage also induced a reassessment of her own

---

<sup>59</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, pp. 47-49.

<sup>60</sup> In 1814 the fleur-de-lis replaced the tricolour flag, which had been introduced after the 1789 revolution, but was again supplanted by the tricolour after the 1830 revolution.

<sup>61</sup> Theunissen, p. x.



preconceived notion of a French home, due to her exposure to this cultural Other.<sup>62</sup>

Blaze drew on extra-European images to illustrate and decontextualise British romantization of other parts of Europe (see 2.c.i.). She described how ‘the late Lady Marlowe had found means of edging in [onto her home *Willow Barn* in the New Forest], between the *gothique fleuri* of Sir Hugh, and the matter-of-fact brick and mortar of Sir Harry, a certain thatched discrepancy, with a veranda, the whole under pretence of her love for “Swiss cottages” (which are totally ignorant of either veranda or thatch)’.<sup>63</sup> Blaze then made a non-European comparison, stating that this ‘was as little in harmony with the rest as though it had been a Chinese pagoda, or Hindoo ghaut [sic]’.<sup>64</sup> In this description, a small English country house, a Swiss cottage, a Chinese pagoda, and Hindu ghaut were assembled together. Though, Blaze acknowledged that ‘by dint of age, cleanliness and creepers, Willow Barn was [...] a nice pleasant home’, the romantic appropriation of features from various regions and architectural epochs was compiled with an ill-informed superiority – not in harmony with a transcultural approach.<sup>65</sup>

According to Parry, ‘the march of civilisation, headed by Britain, [included] banishing the absolutist shadow from southern and eastern Europe’, in particular, its expulsion from areas under Habsburg rule.<sup>66</sup> In *Germania*, Blaze challenged this attitude of the British toward the Austrians. As mentioned before (see 5.b.), Blaze met a Mr. Smith at St. Pölten.<sup>67</sup> During this encounter, Blaze opted for an example which included references to civilised versus uncivilised within Empire (both intra- and extra-European; i.e. both within the Habsburg and British Empires). This drove home her

---

<sup>62</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 47.

<sup>63</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, II, p. 179. Original emphasis.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 83. Original emphasis. Compare with above comment on the absorption of Ottoman fashion into British style.

<sup>66</sup> Such involvements on the Continent were often ‘projected as interventions on behalf of cherished ideals. This was partly a matter of [...] disguising decisions taken for strategic reasons in language more palatable to taxpayers’. Parry, p. 8.

<sup>67</sup> Rose Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, II, p. 79.

criticism of perceived insurmountable national differences within Europe and of Britain's unenlightened claim to superiority.

In *Mildred Vernon*, Blaze continued her description of the encounter between the British and French theatregoers: During an interval at the theatre, the French occupants of the large open box discussed aspects of female morality based on a scene in the previous act. Blaze then described how 'the English lady, who had listened with dismay to the end of the conversation, turned upon her neighbours in the next box the same kind of look with which an Arab is usually pleased to take his survey of a Jew'.<sup>68</sup> Equating an English view of the French with an Arab view of the Jewish, jarred with previous depiction of Parisian high society described thus far and jolted the reader straight to the core issue of cultural othering and the supposedly distinct spheres of civilised and uncivilised. Not only did the comparison highlight the severity of cultural ignorance and lack of mutual understanding between the British and the French and the Arab and the Jew respectively but also, within the mid-nineteenth-century context of empire and imperial superiority, placed the British on a par with the Arab and the French with the Jew. Blaze compared an Englishwoman's view of the French to an Arab's view of the Jewish, one of the most globally and frequently othered groups throughout history.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, the British were compared to the uncivilised Arab.<sup>70</sup> This semi-inversion of the tyrannical, oppressive

---

<sup>68</sup> The use of the word 'neighbour' again underlined the proximity both physically, personally, and even culturally, that one might expect of the members of societies geographically, and culturally intricately enmeshed in one another's histories. Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 4.

<sup>69</sup> For a detailed Victorian perspective on Judasim see Ann Cowen and Roger Cowen, *Victorian Jews through British Eyes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). For a history of antisemitism in British literature see Anthony Julius, 'English Literary Anti-Semitism', in *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-semitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 148-241.

<sup>70</sup> For more information on the perception of Muslims in Victorian Britain see Shahin Kuli Khan Khattak, *Islam and the Victorians: Nineteenth Century Perceptions of Muslim Practices and Beliefs* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008). Most literary scholarship on the influence and portrayal of Arabs in British Literature has focused on the Early Modern or specific other texts such as translations of Arabian Nights as illustrated by Fahd Mohammed Taleb Saeed Al-Olaqi, 'English Literary Portrait of the Arabs', *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2.9 (September 2012), 1767-75.

and the domestic, enlightened British, questioned perceived levels of difference between the Arab and the British and the French and the British. Also, Mildred's 'dismay' at the overheard conversation linked back to the novel's overall theme, namely, that 'you're not a moral people' – at least not more less moral than the French. In this way Blaze criticised her British characters' assumption of superiority over their hosts, by underscoring their ignorance and enlisting the topical Victorian narrative about civilization further afield.

### **6.b. Fear of the Hybrid European**

As layed out in Chapter 1, from a transcultural standpoint cultures are not absolutes but transforming and hybrid.<sup>71</sup> In *Falkenburg*, when Wilfred, the British traveller acquainted most intimately with Germany, described one of the two German men on the steamer: 'how marvellously rare, out of Austria, is a man of that peculiar kind of English-gentleman-like appearance'.<sup>72</sup> Wilfred suggested that the appearance of an Austrian gentleman was more akin to that of an English gentleman than other gentleman from the German-speaking world. This was especially striking when it emerged that said 'English-gentleman-like' man was the hero Waldemar, a native of the very spot on the Rhine the travellers were traversing. This suggested some level of European hybrid potential – at least in outward cultural appearance. Furthermore, once Waldemar had spent some time in England (i.e. crossed the Channel and engaged with British people and culture), he wrote to his German friend Max that 'I wish I were "one of them" [the English]. [...] I shall probably, on my return, be more pecked at than ever for my *Britannomania*. And yet [...] it must be admitted, *we* [Germans] have that within us, which might lead to greatness too – to *political* greatness I mean'.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> Wolfgang Welsch, 'Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today', in *Spaces of Culture: City-Nation-World*, ed. by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage, 1999), 194-213, p. 197.

<sup>72</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, pp. 2-3.

<sup>73</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, II, pp. 171-72.

Specifically, it was Waldemar's 'Britannomania', which entailed the possibility of a transcultural identity, for which he expected to be misunderstood and ridiculed.

Blaze also commented on a European appearance amongst the aristocracy. Namely, that the 'aristocracy in most parts of Germany is decidedly handsome, but it has, (particularly the female portion of it) the same style of beauty as the aristocracy of other nations'.<sup>74</sup> European aristocracy were inherently international, sharing familial ties across Europe. Such dynastic thinking predated the nineteenth century nation states, in which they had to navigate new national forces. A loss of distinctness through international marriages amongst the European houses of power reflected both a loss of identity through hybridity but also an enriched transcultural potential.

Though, cultures were not depicted as absolutes and had the potential to be hybrid, Blaze described how, sometimes cultural borders were feared whilst they also attracted, because of this potential for cultural hybridity. Blaze, whilst destabilising perceived cultural differences and similarities to a British reader, exemplified and mostly reprimanded this fear in some of her characters. Blaze depicted an inability to engage in cultural transfer, to cross the cultural border with more than a voyeuristic gaze attracted by the beautiful yet also potentially threatening European Other. The platonic nature of the gaze across the cultural border revealed the unwillingness of a full embrace of a transcultural identity. Blaze described this with parallels to the animal and the supernatural Other.

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 310. Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, as well as Queen Victoria's own partially German background, would have increased this sense of a shared European aristocracy. Beyond shared looks, which come through intermarriages, the European aristocracy shared a sense of 'social decline' throughout the nineteenth-century. Though still associated with taste and wealth (albeit impoverished wealth), political power was no longer a given. Jan Ruhkopf, 'Process of Social Decline Among the European Nobility: Conference Proceedings Report', (Kommunikation und Fachinformation für die Geschichtswissenschaften, 2014), <<https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-5797>> [accessed 28 September 2018].

#### 6.b.i. Gazing at the Oriental, the Animal, and the Supernatural

##### Other

Whilst Lilian and Wilfred were staring at the composer Wilhelm across the steam boat in the opening scenes of *Falkenburg*, Lilian remarked that Wilhelm had kept her up most of the night at the hotel ““playing strange airs such as I never heard before, and singing snatches of wild songs””.<sup>75</sup> To which Wilfred responded that “[t]he strange airs and strange songs sound very like my friend, Wilhelm; who, to say the truth, is altogether a strange sort of person, but no stranger, *quant à cela*, than all the rest of his tribe in his country””.<sup>76</sup> This mingle of attraction and curiosity, as well as of strangeness and wildness echoed the tensions experienced within Empire. Similarly, in *Mildred Vernon*, at the Odéon theatre, the tension which was created by othering was further described thus:

During the whole of the fifth act, the English lady and her companion cast sundry side-glances at their neighbours; but, as it appeared, from totally different motives. She never entirely surmounted the kind of dread that was visibly mingled with her curiosity; whereas a spectator would have said that, far from shrinking from the impure contact, her companion seemed rather to derive from it pleasure, undeniable though strange.<sup>77</sup>

There is a gothic tension between Mildred’s ‘dread’ and ‘curiosity’, which exemplified the paradoxical tension between the supposedly civilised and uncivilised, often conveyed into British minds through gothic fiction. Furthermore, though Edward derived ‘pleasure’ from observing Aurélie, the feeling was also described as ‘strange’. Nayar emphasises how ‘the presence of the European man or woman in exotic settings [...] contributes to the erotic charge of the Other place’.<sup>78</sup> This erotization of the racially Other within Empire was

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. 1, p. 7.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, pp. 15-16.

<sup>78</sup> Nayar.

echoed in the tension described within Edward's voyeurism. The use of the term 'impure' contact, though possibly meant strictly in a moral sense, suggested ethnic impurity and foreshadowed the ultimate sexual contact of Aurélie and Edward later in the novel.<sup>79</sup>

Frank Palmeri pointed out that, in European cultures, 'intermixings' have been 'associated with other [...] peoples, who have then been regarded as less than fully human'.<sup>80</sup> Palmeri continued that '[t]he assertion of equivalences between non-human animal species and non-European races of humans raises serious questions about the derogation of some races of humans by European writers'.<sup>81</sup> However, what Blaze depicted was the fear not of extra-but intra-European 'intermixings'. Nevertheless, she drew on the unfortunately familiar metaphor of animal species to describe supposedly illicit intra-European relationships. Blaze adopted the common term *lionne* - '[t]he *lionne* tribe in Paris' - to describe a group of French women who were particularly attractive to British men.<sup>82</sup> Using the French rather than the English word for lioness (or some English equivalent), underlined the otherness of these women in particular. The use of the word tribe suggested that there was indeed something distinct and perhaps uncivilised about them.<sup>83</sup> She continued that 'you have as little described any particular sort of *lionnerie*, when you have said *lionne*, as you have designated a Turk's cap or an amaryllis, by speaking of a liliaceous plant'.<sup>84</sup> The

---

<sup>79</sup> More on transcultural romantic and marital connections, which harbour the potential of hybridity, will follow below.

<sup>80</sup> *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture: Representation, Hybridity, Ethics*, ed. by Frank Palmeri (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 5. There is a long tradition of animals holding 'figurative cultural, social, or political meaning' and being depicted 'as metaphors or allegories for human beings or human traits' - especially for women. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 184.

<sup>83</sup> In 1856 John Ruskin described the 'lionne of the ball-room' as distinguished by 'youth and passion'. John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, III (London: J. M. Dent & Co). Quoted in OED online. In relation to women the term had been used to mean a woman with hair altered to blond and a 'femme au goût exagéré pour la toilette, aux mœurs libres' (i.e. a woman with an exaggerated taste for clothing and liberal conduct). See *Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales* Online, <<https://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/lionne>> [accessed 28 January 2020].

<sup>84</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 184.

Turk's cap and the amaryllis are flowers which are not native to Europe but would have been cultivated in Parisian hothouses.<sup>85</sup> Whilst Blaze explained that French women perceived to be *lionnes* were more multifaceted than assumed, she maintained that there was something unnatural about them. This animal-human tension reflected a French-British and a female-male tension amongst her characters.

In *Falkenburg* Wilfred described:

‘to what species that flaxen-haired boy yonder belongs. [...] He is called Wilhelm Norberg, as I told you, a musician; but he belongs to a tribe numerous enough in this country [Germany], where most of those who are not nobly born devote themselves to the pursuit of some chimera in the domain of art. [...] They are] agreeable companions with all that, and decidedly mad as most Bedlamites; - if ever you have the misfortune to become acquainted with any of the tribe of second-rate artists in Germany, you will admit that I have drawn of them no exaggerated picture’. ‘Well now, Mr. Montague,’ said Miss Cameron, ‘I must say you have given me an overweening desire to have an opportunity of judging of one of those wild animals’.<sup>86</sup>

The description of Wilhelm as part of a different species and tribe distinguished him from the British speakers Wilfred and Lilian. At the same time, tension was forged by the opposition of ‘agreeable companion’ and ‘Bedlamite’, as well as the desire to get to know a ‘wild animal’. British characters compared a fellow European – a German who grew up along the banks of the Weser – to the insane and to animals. By using recognisable and derogatory imperial imagery, Blaze illustrated British travellers’ fear of and fascination

---

<sup>85</sup> The lilaceous amaryllis is often used to describe cultivars of the *hippeastrum* lily as well as the actual amaryllis. The Turk's cap, a hibiscus, is named *malvaviscus arboreus*.

<sup>86</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, pp. 11-12.

with the popular German uncivilised Other. Furthermore, the use of the word ‘chimera’ underlined this wild animal allusion. Not only was the composer’s ‘strange’ music, poetry, and painting hybrid and illusory but, by association, so was Wilhelm himself. Yet Wilfred’s description of Wilhelm as an ‘agreeable companion’ during Wilfred’s ‘*Lehr jahre* [sic] when such strange company was fitting’ exemplified how he went to the cultural border but did not cross it. Indeed, it was in part Lilian’s taunting and the rejection of Wilhelm, which led to his demise later in the novel.

This notion was also portrayed in in *Mildred Vernon*. The previously described tension Edward felt *when* gazing was later paralleled by a perceived tension in *how* he viewed Aurélie. Blaze described that:

[t]he feeling with which Aurélie inspired him at this first interview was nearly akin to that which is produced by the clever tricks of a cat or a monkey. He felt the sort of irresistible desire, inherent to human creatures, to make a pet of an animal that, in addition to its beauty, bites and scratches’.<sup>87</sup>

The comparison of the common domesticated cat and the more exotic monkey, tied into the above questioning of global differences. While monkeys were said not to be ‘very agreeable *domestic* pets, as they [...] are very frequently vicious’, the cat had become a symbol of bourgeoisie *domestic* sophistication including ‘cleanliness, order and rationality’.<sup>88</sup> By utilising this animal-human

---

<sup>87</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 92. Aurélie is further compared to a rattlesnake which ‘could scarce be more deadly’. Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>88</sup> Own italics. Jane Loudon, *Domestic Pets: Their Habits and Management* (London: Grant and Griffith, 1851), p. 66. Kathleen Kete, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), p. 138. Lord Byron was a famous pet monkey keeper. The high cost of monkeys meant it was a hobby reserved for the wealthy. John Lloyd and John Mitchinson, ‘The Monkey-keepers’, in *The Book of the Dead: Lives of the Justly Famous and the Undeservedly Obscure* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), pp. 243-74 (pp. 243 and 249). Monkeys were also kept as pets on ships for entertainment. [Anon.], ‘Monkeys on Board Ship’, in *The Royal Readers No. IV*, ed. by Thomas Nelson (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1872), pp. 32-35. Yet, as Queen Victoria observed: monkeys and apes were ‘frightfully and painfully and



tension Blaze not only ascribed two different animal species the same characteristic traits but also suggested that the human animal (i.e. Aurélie) evoked the same feelings within others as animals did (i.e. in Edward). In *Falkenburg*, the two main female protagonists Helen and Lilian were also compared to animals. Whilst Helen was endearingly described as ‘a pretty pranksome [sic] child’, ‘like a kitten’ and ‘a darling little monkey [no bigger than] thumb and finger’, Lilian was repeatedly called ‘Katze’.<sup>89</sup> The cat and monkey similes regarding Helen were very different to those describing Aurélie and Lillian. The animal references served to underline only Helen’s childish harmless innocence whilst, in connection with Aurélie, they evoked both attraction and anxiety. This underlined the duality of wanting to domesticate yet also fearing the exotic animal. Blaze paralleled the domestic/exotic animal hybridity with that of her characters (mainly female characters). The fact that Edward desired to ‘make a pet’ of something beautiful yet wild echoed a widespread mid-nineteenth-century desire to control the uncontrollable – be it women, animals, or peoples of colonised lands. This was underlined when Blaze described how ‘[i]n Edward’s mind, the idea of the curiosity, of the pet bird or favourite kitten, was still uppermost; but mingled with it was something else he did not so well define’.<sup>90</sup>

Derrida described this particular link between gazing and otherness:

As with every bottomless gaze, as with the  
eyes of the other, the gaze called “animal”

---

disagreeably human’. Clive D. L. Wynne, *Do Animals Think?* (NJ: Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 109. What linked cats and monkeys in Victorian perceptions was, as Henry James put it, ‘cats and monkeys, monkeys and cats – all human life is there’. Fred Kaplan, *Henry James: The Imagination of Genius* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 141.

<sup>89</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, pp. 48-49, 20. There may have been some similarity between the use of cats to describe both Lilian and Aurélie. Though Lilian was British (and Scottish born), the English Wilfred described her as a ‘Katze’ in German instead of in his native-tongue English, adding a layer of the foreign Other and choosing the phonetically harsher sounding affricate option (i.e. *ts*).

<sup>90</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 95.

offers to my sight the abyssal limit of the human: the inhuman or the ahuman, the ends of man, that is to say, the bordercrossing from which vantage man dares to announce himself to himself, thereby calling himself by the name that he believes he gives himself.<sup>91</sup>

In this sense, the man gazing at the Other, and the Other gazing back, forges his own identity, supposed superiority, and a border between him and it. This desire to gaze over the border between man and woman, man and animal, or British/English and Continental Other was one of Blaze's central motifs. The Englishman Edward intrinsically desired to control a Frenchwoman Aurélie by quasi-crossing into her space with his gaze. Identity-forging through the gaze as a border-crossing between species is reflected in another instance of voyeurism that Blaze describes. Namely, how Edward 'had, in his childish days, seen Jenny Vertpré in *La Chatte*, and Madame de Cévèzes realised his idea of feline love'.<sup>92</sup> The plotline described an elderly man who fell in love with his cat. His cousin, who was destined to be his wife, determined to gain his love. She therefore sent a messenger dressed as an Indian to explain that, through the power of a talisman which he gave the old man, the cat had undergone a metempsychosis and had been reincarnated as a woman-cat (i.e. his cousin). The blurred lines between human-animal and cat-animal identities, represented by the cousin character played by Vertpré, challenged the human-animal dichotomy. In this instance, there was a double gaze. Firstly, the old man's which fell upon his cat and then on his cousin, and secondly the audience's in the theatre who watched the transformation from woman to cat-woman. The key was that these transformations from one animal species into another were sparked by a further Other, namely an

---

<sup>91</sup> Jacques Derrida, *The Animal that Therefore I Am*, trans. by David Wills (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008).

<sup>92</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 92. Jenny Vertpré was a French actress and manager of St. James Theatre in London. In 1828 *La Chatte* was performed in London with Vertpré in the lead. John Stokes, *The French Actress and her English Audience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Indian and the supernatural powers of his talisman. The Indian and the magical powers were openly bogus to the audience. Nevertheless, it was the introduction of the cultural Other that enabled the erasing of animal-human identity boundaries, something dangerous yet fascinating and sensational to Victorian minds. The fear of and fascination for the hybrid wild/domestic cat-woman was charged with a fear of and fascination for the power of the cultural Other further afield in the context of Empire.

The lines between the known and the wild and unnatural Other were blurred.

Aurélie, attired for riding, and mounted on an Arab mare ‘not wilder,’ to use her own expression, ‘but as wild, as herself.’ Horse and rider went through numberless feats and evolutions, each more extraordinary than the other [...]. Sir Edward [...] was enchanted, without at first being able to decide which was the more lovely or more *folle* of the two: the little, soft, white sylph that filled the saddle, or the little black, vicious demon that bore it.<sup>93</sup>

In this description of performative equestrian art, a representative of the civilised known: Aurélie, was contrasted and at the same time compared with the exotic – the Arab mare. Both created a sensational tension in Edward, through their dual physical attraction yet wild character, underlined by the controlling aspect of civilised societies’ equestrianism. Interestingly, the only character in *Mildred Vernon* who laid actual claim to exoticism (from a European perspective) was Louise de Boislambert who was portrayed as looking Oriental (i.e. non-European). Blaze described how:

[s]he was not, perhaps, exactly handsome, but much too distinguished to have passed any where [sic] unnoticed. Her features were almost those of an Arab, so peculiar was the

---

<sup>93</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Mildred Vernon*, I, p. 92. Original emphasis.

eastern fineness of each of them. Her head, small to a fault, was covered by a mass of long, thick, soft hair, the raven hue of which never coloured the tresses of a daughter of our northern climes; [...] all seemed to indicate the presence of the desert blood. [...] her skin, it could be perceived that it also was of a colour rarely, if ever, visible in a European.<sup>94</sup>

It later emerged that her mother had been Spanish and partly of Moor descent. Notwithstanding Louise's true hybrid descent, she, unlike Aurélie who was French through and through, was only compared to non-exotic animals: Louise had an expression 'and trustful look of the greyhound or the deer'.<sup>95</sup> By drawing parallels to the animal world, Blaze questioned familiar and unfamiliar, civilised and uncivilised, centre and periphery power relationships.

The equivalences between Aurélie and the Arab mare were extended to a comparison of two supernatural beings, namely a spirit of the air and a devilish spirit. This was underlined by the dual meaning of 'enchanted', namely delighted and bewitched. In this instance, the Englishman's gaze was drawn by the simultaneous presentation of a three-way hybridity within one woman – the continental Other, the exotic Other, and the supernatural Other. Aurélie was further described as 'fairy-like [...who...] seemed more an inhabitant of the air'.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, Aurélie reminded Edward of 'a picture he had seen in a village on the banks of the Rheine; a picture where a fisherman is transfixed in mute amazement at the aspect of a golden-haired Syren [sic], Lurleya, who has just risen from the wave'.<sup>97</sup> The link to *Falkenburg* is apparent, in which Lilian, the contemporary Lurleya, lured the composer Wilhelm to an early death. Not only were Aurélie and Lilian both compared to the wild/domesticated cat paradox and to the legendary muse Lurleya,

---

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

they were also both compared to other supernatural, fascinating yet dangerous figures. One evening Wilhelm had:

sat, somewhat longer than he was aware of, when, from the inner room, came forth, gently gliding, noiselessly, and as though not too suddenly to break upon him in her beauty, the ethereal nymph-like figure of Lilian Cameron. [...] a cloud-dispelling Aurora. [...] She advanced toward the piano, lightly touching, as it were, with the tips of her wings (for she seemed a very Sylphide) the artist, who quivered at the contact of her delicately perfumed robe, as though stung by the subtle poisoned tunic of Dejanira. The fair creature passed onwards [...].<sup>98</sup>

In Wilhelm's mind Lilian became a hybrid of the supernatural/mythical. She was both water-nymph and invisible sylph of the air, the Greek goddess of dawn and the murdering witch wife of Heracles.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, only minutes later Wilhelm played Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835) on the piano, which reminded him of Lilian (whose second name just so happened to be Lucy). Though Lilian was British she was nevertheless considered to be different because she was Scottish by birth. Blaze rebukingly remarked that Lillian had been 'sent to London *to be made English*' when she was a teenager.<sup>100</sup> Lilian's background is underlined by a reference to *La Sylphide*, a ballet first performed in 1832 and set in Scotland, as well as to Donizetti's operatic adaptation of Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor* (1819) set in Scotland. Yet, at the same time the allusions to intangible, elusive supernatural beings stressed Lilian's undefinable, worrying, and dangerous underlying hybridity in Wilhelm's eyes, which echoed the fear of the unknown Other.

Blaze demonstrated the false feelings of superiority the British had over the Continent. Their desire to control the French

---

<sup>98</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, I, pp. 100-01.

<sup>99</sup> Dejanira meaning man-destroyer.

<sup>100</sup> Blaze de Bury, *Falkenburg*, II, p. 75.

(mostly the females) was no different to their mid-nineteenth-century drive to command the uncivilised, whether it be Arab male or Oriental peoples in the Empire, and to explore their fearful fascination with the hybrid supernatural Other. This ran parallel to their fear of intercultural mixings within Europe. The fear of hybrid intermixings was exacerbated by the fear of the spread of female immorality.<sup>101</sup> As demonstrated, gazing at the Other across the cultural border often entailed romantic intentions. However, in terms of international romances and marriages, which harboured the potential for hybrid European offspring,

Blaze drew a bleak picture of the chances of successfully transgressing that cultural border. Intercultural romance was common in her work. Yet marriage and the ensuing legitimate procreation was not successful. In *Mildred Vernon*, Edward and Aurélie's illicit affair ended in financial ruin, emotional turmoil, and ultimately Edward's death. Mildred and Gaston's seemingly unconsummated romance was doomed from the start due to Gaston's prior engagement (based on old feudal family ties) to his French cousin Olympe. Gaston felt forced to marry Olympe due to her sudden financial difficulties after her brother's transnational investments in French railway building in America failed. The failure of this international business deal heralded the failure of Gaston and Mildred's union, which had briefly seemed possible. In *Falkenburg*, Wilhelm's romantic fascination with Lilian was not reciprocated. Helen and Waldemar's romance was based on gradual cultural exchange with one another. However, their marriage became an impossibility when news about Waldemar's responsibilities to his younger brother reached Helen in England in a misplaced letter from Germany (from Max to Waldemar). Seemingly, when the home cultures' expectations encroached too

---

<sup>101</sup> The seduction of British men into another cultural way of being through the seductive powers of the female Other, when sojourning abroad, reprised a similar fear, expressed in the British press of the French unnatural woman writer seducing the British reader, as described in 3.b.i.

much on an transnational romance, the latter became doomed to fail. The marriage of Waldemar and Lilian was international. He married her for her money and she married him to bring her before-mentioned romanticised vision of living in a German gothic castle alive. However, their marriage was not a happy one and there was no issue from it (unlike from Helen and Wilfred's happy union). It seems therefore, that Blaze's own experience of living in a intercultural marriage with her French husband and having two culturally hybrid daughters, was not reflected in her writing.

Blaze's transcultural message was to dispel Victorian fears of the Other (particularly a hybrid third derived from contact with the Other) through actually traversing cultural borders with open, less judgmental eyes. This chapter identified figurative cultural borders, which engendered both fascination and fear, particularly in the British. However, Blaze described the British as incapable of transcultural encounter, mainly due to a persistent "us" versus "them", civilised versus uncivilised mentality, which upheld perceived national and cultural hierarchies. By drawing parallels between perceptions of Empire and Europe, and in so doing highlighting problematic ideas about difference and homogeneity within Europe, Blaze questioned preconceived British notions about centre and periphery within Europe. Sometimes openly and sometimes subtly, Blaze's criticism of this failure was a memorandum of her transcultural message. After all she was bringing examples of the European Other, focusing on France, the German-speaking world, and some of the rest of the Austrian Empire, into the British home, and offering the possibility of greater understanding and differentiation. Othering from a transcultural perspective, despite its oppressive and repressive potential, considers a recognition of the Other as a means to a further development of the self. Blaze was a writer who discussed European cultural and political matters; voiced concern about the power of national cultural introspection and imbalances; considered cultural

cross-overs within, and traveling through, different cultural spheres; and cultural transfer within Europe. Blaze underlined these transcultural observations by comparing nonsensical perceptions of insurmountable intra-European difference with familiar gothic ambivalence towards the Other within empire/Orient, and with animal and supernatural Others. She fed into the prevalent discussions and renegotiations of Englishness/Britishness and questioned its finite civilised qualities. Blaze contrasted the fascination of the British for journeying to the feared cultural border with their inability to engage in the other culture with more than a voyeuristic gaze. To the British, Europe was an attractive yet also potentially threatening Other. Blaze's descriptions of the platonic nature of the gaze across the cultural border revealed the inability of a transcultural embrace of Europe.



## **Conclusion**

It is impossible in this brief space to convey any satisfactory impression of the great qualities, the curiously varied acquirements, or the endowments of the highest order, which distinguished her from the women of heart and intellect of her generation. This impression has yet to be properly interpreted.<sup>1</sup>

This thesis has given space to an initial interpretation, which the above-quoted Paris correspondent of *The Times* demanded in 1894. It has established that, as *The Times* implied, Baroness Blaze de Bury was considered different from other women writers and political activists in her own times. In particular, her transcultural views and message stood out. This thesis has also presented a counter-narrative to the young and growing discourse about women's involvement in nineteenth-century European politics – focusing on a transcultural view and gender hybridity.

This work recuperated the life and works of Baroness Marie Pauline Rose Blaze de Bury – an extraordinary woman who had never been extensively studied in English-language academia. Specifically, the thesis answered two questions: 1) Who was Blaze de Bury and what did she write? and 2) What can the study of Blaze de Bury's texts in light of her transcultural views bring to the discussion of English/British/European identity? A critical engagement with a transcultural approach and gender-hybridity set the stage upon which the answers to these questions could unfold. The two questions were addressed in two parts. Part 1 (Chapters 2 and 3) focused on Blaze's life and Part 2 (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) focused on Blaze's works (though the two cannot be kept completely separate). Focusing both on the life and works of Blaze has enabled

---

<sup>1</sup> [Anon.], Paris Correspondent, 'Obituary', *The Times*, 34173, 29 January 1894, p. 6.

a holistic and detailed engagement with her views on Europe. This conclusion presents each chapter and collates the findings from each part. This enables collective answers to the two thesis questions. Then the main contributions of this thesis are consolidated and future outlooks are put forward.

Chapter 1 discussed the terms *transcultural* and *gender hybridity*. Earlier impulses leading to a transcultural approach were identified in the works of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Johann Gottfried Herder, and Johann Wolfgang Goethe – *Weltliteratur* in particular – and in the works of Fernando Ortiz, Homi K. Bhabha, Wolfgang Iser, Mikhail Epstein, and Arianna Dagnino amongst others. The term *transcultural*, was considered in the context and in relation to the cosmopolitan, globalism, the international, multinational, and (post-)colonial studies. It was determined that a transcultural perspective encompasses an inclusive approach to culture(s), questioning hierarchical dichotomised thinking and focusing on convergences, overlapping, and exchange. From a transcultural standpoint, cultures are constantly decentred. Blaze's transcultural approach became apparent in her disruption of perceived cultural dichotomies by 'know[ing] them better', yet, without suggesting cultural sameness. Through her travels and descriptions of her travels Blaze operated in contact zones. Blaze used genre hybridity to reflect cultural hybridity and to forge her own particular text. Through intertextual translation and multilingualism, Blaze forged a transcultural and gender-hybrid style of writing.

Chapter 2 offered a recuperative biography of Blaze, focusing on her life and transcultural network, and discussing her cultural/national identity(ies). The biographical cornerstones of Blaze's life were recorded, and her political and literary endeavours were placed within a network of filial and non-filial friends and acquaintances. Blaze published in English, French, and German. Her *œuvre* includes five novels, travel writing, memoirs, and over fifty journal and newspaper articles. Blaze was multilingual, well-travelled, and passionate about the politics of Europe. She was an

influential agent in her network of familial and self-forged connections. Blaze was an in-betweenner and a crosser of borders (geographically, culturally, and in terms of gender). As a woman with British and French affiliation as well as with a love of the German-speaking world (a transcultural European identity), she carved herself a niche for encouraging European transcultural political, financial, and literary links.

Chapter 3 evaluated reviews of some of Blaze's texts. The focus was on perceived gender and nationality of authorship based on pseudonymous, anonymous, and personal signatures. Blaze's rationale for using pseudonymous and anonymous signatures was influenced by perceived gender and the potential for cross-gender alteration and gender hybridity. The reception of her work depended on this gender perception. The analysis of Blaze's reception was determined by a holistic survey of reviews and by analysing a selection of reviews textually in detail. It revealed that reviewers were particularly interested in gender hybridity, national/cultural (identity), and genre hybridity. Because of the mismatch between perceived gender and the "hard" politics of Blaze's work, it was considered highly unusual at the time.

Part 1 provided an answer to the first question posed in the thesis, namely who was Blaze de Bury and what did she write? To arrive at the answer, we researched the biographical parameters of Blaze's life and the extent of her work. This research took into account secondary French-language scholarship on Blaze, found and analysed some of her extensive correspondence (which is scattered in various archives), examined library catalogues to find publications by her, and searched online newspaper and periodical databases for reviews of her publications. The findings of this research produced new biographical and bibliographical discoveries. The biographical findings resulted in an English-language and referenced account of Blaze's life (i.e. the mystery surrounding her birth, her family, her lifestyle, her residences, etc.), an overview of Blaze's movements (i.e. a mapping of her travel across Europe by

combining information from various archival sources), an initial impression of Blaze's extensive network (i.e. a visual representation of Blaze's network of friends, family, acquaintances, and business partners based on secondary and archival sources), and an account of Blaze's (non-literary) views on and involvement in European politics. The bibliographic findings resulted in the creation of Blaze's bibliography (including verified pseudonyms and newly found publications by her in English, French, and German) and an analysis of the reception of Blaze's writing in the British press (i.e. finding, collating, and investigating reviews of some of her works).

These findings contribute to the expanding corpus of "forgotten" nineteenth-century texts and writers and feed into continuing efforts to re-canonise women writers. However, the focus of scholarship has mainly been on linking women writers internationally, or on women writers on "soft" politics. This counter-narrative – based on these findings – shines a light on a woman writer who transcended national and single-language borders and who participated specifically in "hard" European politics. Such individuals and writing have been underrepresented in current nineteenth-century recuperative discourses on women writers.

Part 2 focused on Blaze's transcultural message and gender-hybridity in the works of Blaze. Chapter 4 focused on the hybrid nature of travel writing and how Blaze instrumentalised this genre hybridity to reflect a hybridity of culture(s). Blaze was transcultural and disseminated her views through travel. Blaze underscored her transcultural idea by emphasising questions surrounding fact versus fiction in the context of her travel and political writing. The texts shared the goal of furthering European cultural understanding through travel, which explained their hybridity. Blaze subverted her publisher's guidelines; highlighted her agency as a traveller, including merging autobiographical fact and fiction; questioned and simultaneously claimed truth; and juxtaposed the historical with the contemporary, as well as the practical guide with the political report. She did not follow a distinction between travel writing and popular

fiction. Instead Blaze chose a hybrid “genre” of writing to further her transcultural idea.

Chapter 5 discussed how Blaze harnessed the power of intertextual translation and multilingualism to increase the potential for cultural transfer and gender hybridity when writing about Europe. Nineteenth-century British perceptions of national novels were examined. By subverting supposed national conventions, Blaze forged her own transcultural format. Through intertextuality, Blaze expressed transcultural as well as national tendencies. Blaze referenced well-known works by authors from different European nations. This reflected the mid-nineteenth-century paradox between a global outlook and rising patriotism. Through the manipulation of genre, Blaze questioned the dichotomy of national alignment. Intertextuality encouraged a re-contextualisation of cultures. Furthermore, referencing men intertextually contributed stylistically to Blaze’s particular gender-hybrid voice. This ventriloquism, both in works with female or male signatures, bolstered her own political views.

Chapter 6 demonstrated how Blaze called into question prejudiced intra-European othering (without negating cultural difference) and drew on images from the context of global empires. Blaze described figurative cultural borders which drew her British characters with fascination yet also with fear. However, Blaze described the inability to have a full transcultural encounter, mainly due to a persistent “us” versus “them”, civilised versus uncivilised, mentality. By drawing on parallels between perceptions of empire and Europe, Blaze questioned preconceived British notions about culture and power within Europe, for example, beliefs about levels of civilization. Though conscious of oppressive and repressive forms of othering, this thesis also considered a recognition of the Other in Blaze’s work as a means to a further development of the self. Blaze fed into the prevalent discussions and renegotiations of Englishness/Britishness and questioned Britain’s finite civilised qualities.

Collectively, the chapters 1 and 4 to 6 answered the second question, adopting an original contemporary recuperative lens. The thesis transcended the traditional national scope, and gender dichotomy, by examining the transcultural and gender-hybrid aspects of Blaze's European political writing. A transcultural orientation and gender hybridity were used as concepts to examine within the texts themselves (i.e. how Blaze was transcultural and how she portrayed her transcultural idea and gender hybridity in her written work). Specifically, Blaze portrayed a transcultural orientation by publishing in multiple national literary *milieus*; by forging a European-wide network of influential peers; by travelling and by portraying intra-European travel; by usurping the format of the national novel; and by flagging up intra-European difference and homogeneity compared to global difference and homogeneity. It was also demonstrated that, conceptually, gender hybridity enables an examination of Blaze's life and works free from a still prevalent notion of gender dichotomy, whilst acknowledging mid-nineteenth-century gender perceptions. Furthermore, Blaze portrayed gender hybridity by holding a powerful position in "hard" European politics, by using male pseudonyms and anonymous signatures, and by instrumentalising genre hybridity (e.g. fact versus fiction) and intertextual ventriloquism to forge a gender-hybrid style of text. The specific methods used to examine her transcultural stance and gender hybridity were genre hybridity (i.e. travel writing versus popular fiction, and national versus European novels), travel as a means of cultural transfer and an opportunity for the contact zone, as well as intertextual translation and multilingualism.

This examination of Blaze life and works revealed a political stance which strives for an inclusive European identity politics whilst preserving individual cultural difference. Blaze strove for a balance of power, and wanted to save Europe by quelling revolution and eliminating repressive absolutism and authoritarianism, through reform from above (based on a British model). However, though she endorsed the British political system, she lamented Britain's

ignorance about and self-claimed superiority over the rest of Europe. Blaze's middle-path was reliant on promoting a her transcultural idea amongst Europe's nations.

This thesis set out a new focus for the developing field of the *transcultural* in Victorian literary studies, namely Blaze's engagement with identity politics amongst Europe's powerful nations. Blaze's views on increased differentiation within Europe, and her advocacy of more introspection about Britishness, cannot eradicate, but can help mitigate, the tension between European cultural difference and homogeneity.

This conclusion has consolidated the main contributions of this thesis. Namely, first, that it is a new addition to a growing corpus of "forgotten" women writers. Second, its counter-narrative, which shines a light on a woman writer who participated in "hard" European politics. Third, its innovative approach to the contemporary study of transcultural approaches and gender hybridity.

This thesis has answered many questions about Blaze de Bury's life and works. However, answering questions leads to new questions. Future research could make further advances in reconstructing Blaze's bibliography. It could also include analyses of other works by Blaze, for example, comparing her English and French journalism or her mid-nineteenth-century novels and those written in the late 1860s (given the changed political and historical circumstances). This would be helpful in further understanding her political efforts. Linking Blaze's work comparatively to other (women) writers on European politics would additionally delineate her transcultural and gender-hybrid style. Ideally, to enable such future research, some of Blaze's works should be brought back into print.

More broadly it is hoped that the approach to this transcultural and gender-hybrid writer in this counter-narrative informs work examining other nineteenth-century political texts not

written by Blaze. It enables a reading of gender flexibility leaving aside speculations about the author's actual feelings of sexual or gender identity. Instead, it places the perception of gender in the forefront as both a restraint but also as an enabler. By focusing on cultural difference and similarities, a transcultural view facilitates a reading of texts beyond the national scope whilst preserving the integrity of nineteenth-century nations. It also enables an understanding of European identity(ies) and power structures at a time of global empire and expansion.

When the nineteenth century was drawing to a close Fröbel wrote that Blaze de Bury was 'eine der merkwürdigsten Persönlichkeiten [...], welche ich während meines Lebens kennen gelernt habe'.<sup>2</sup> I can only concur. Blaze de Bury is an exciting, determined, clever, witty, influential, and gender-defying writer, socialite, and political agent, well deserving of study.

---

<sup>2</sup> Julius Fröbel, *Ein Lebenslauf, Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: J. G. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1891), II, p. 93.



## **Bibliography**

### **Part 1: Blaze de Bury's Bibliography**

- Alfieri di Sostegno, Carlo, 'Italy Drifting by Alfieri (translated by Mme. B. de Bury)', *The XIXth Century*, (September 1889).
- 'The Algerian Literature of France', *North British Review*, 30 (February 1859), 1-21.
- 'All for Greed', *St Paul's Monthly Magazine* October 1867, pp. 23-46.
- 'All for Greed', *St Paul's Monthly Magazine* November 1867, pp. 129-47.
- 'All for Greed', *St Paul's Monthly Magazine* December 1867, pp. 257-74.
- 'All for Greed', *St Paul's Monthly Magazine* January 1868, pp. 385-401.
- 'All for Greed', *St Paul's Monthly Magazine* February 1868, pp. 513-30.
- 'All for Greed', *St Paul's Monthly Magazine* March 1868, pp. 641-58.
- 'All for Greed', *St Paul's Monthly Magazine* April 1868, pp. 1-17.
- 'All for Greed', *St Paul's Monthly Magazine* May 1868, pp. 129-46.
- All for Greed*. 2 vols (London: Virtue and Co., 1868).
- 'L'Angleterre contemporaine; les hommes et la presse', *Le Correspondant*, 13 (January-April 1860), 248.
- 'L'archiduc Rodolphe', *Le Correspondant*, 155 (April-June 1889).
- 'The Austrian Empire in 1862', *North British Review*, 37 (November 1862), 285-322.
- 'L'Autriche et ses réformes', *Le Correspondant* (January 1861), 5.
- 'L'Autriche, ses homes d'Etat et sa société en 1863', *Le Correspondant* (February 1863), 225.
- 'The Battle of Novara: A Tale by the Baroness Blaze de Bury', *Bentley's Miscellany*, 28 (September 1850), 260-68.
- 'Baron Hyde de Neuville's Memoirs', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 154 (July 1893), 90-109.
- 'The Black Ring', *Bentley's Miscellany*, 27 (January 1850), 54-72.
- 'Byron et les Anglais: Private Reminiscences of Lord Byron', *La Presse*, 3941 (19 February 1847), 1-2.
- 'Byron et les Anglais: Private Reminiscences of Lord Byron', *La Presse*, 3942 (20 February 1847), 1-2.
- 'Byron et les Anglais: Private Reminiscences of Lord Byron', *La Presse*, 3945 (23 February 1847), 1-2.
- 'Charles, Prince de Ligne', *Edinburgh Review*, 172 (July 1890), 222-47.
- 'Châteaubriand, by M. Villemain', *North British Review*, 29 (August 1858), 1-24.
- '"The Daughter of the Night" par M.W.S. Fullom', with Charles Loundre, *Revue de deux mondes* (February 1852), 590-92.
- 'The Decadence of Thought in France', *Fortnightly Review*, 51.45 (March 1889), 395-412.
- 'La dernière duchesse de Courlande', *Revue de Paris*, 4.21 (September 1843).
- 'Deux visites royales en Hongrie', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.3 (August 1865), 664-96.
- 'La double amande', *Revue de Paris*, 25 (January 1841).
- 'Du sérieux et du romanesque dans la vie anglaise et américaine: a propos d'un roman anglais', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.2 (September 1858), 447-57, <<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=67779>> [accessed 21 April 2016].
- 'Le duc de Wellington', *Le Correspondant*, 23 (May-August 1863).

- 'L'étoile rouge', *Revue de Paris*, 4.9 (September 1842), 5-46.
- Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine*. 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1851).
- 'France versus Paris', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 144 (October 1888), 591-614.
- 'French Society Under the Directory', *Edinburgh Review*, 105 (January 1857), 205-18.
- Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People*. 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850).
- Germania as it is, or Personal Experiences of its Courts, Camps, and People, in Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Bohemia, Hungary, Croatia, Servia, Italy, &c. Including Numerous Unpublished Anecdotes and Exclusive Information*, 2 edn, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1850).
- 'Guizot's Memoirs of His Time', *North British Review*, 31 (August 1859), 1-25.
- 'Idealism in Recent French Fiction', *Fortnightly Review*, 53.47 (April 1890), 552-65.
- Léonie Vermont: A Story of the Present Time*, 3 vols (London: Bentley, 1849).
- 'Letter to Stephen Watson Fullom', December 1851, in *Abebooks*, <<http://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=151763464&searchurl=kn%3Dwatson%2Bfullom%2Bblaze%2Bde%2Bbury%26amp%3Bsts%3Dt%26amp%3Bx%3D0%26amp%3By%3D0>> [11 November 2015].
- 'Literary Tendencies in France - M. Cousin', *North British Review*, 25 (August 1856), 349-75.
- 'La littérature anglaise du High-Life: The New Timon, A Romance of London', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.5 (June 1846), 811-29.
- Littson, Baron, 'The Ship of Mail (translated from German by Blaze de Bury)', *Once a Week* (7 February 1863), 176-77.
- 'Lord Dufferin, le Canada, les Indes, l'Irlande', *Le Correspondant*, 156 (July-September 1889), 106, 336.
- 'Lord Elgin au Canada', *Le Correspondant*, 10 (January-April 1859), 476.
- Love the Avenger*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1869).
- 'Madame de Maintenon', *Quarterly Review*, 96 (March 1855), 354-93.
- Memoirs of the Princess Palatine Princess of Bohemia: Including her Correspondence with the Great Men of Her Day, and Memoirs of the Court of Holland Under the Princes of Orange* (London: Bentley, 1853).
- Mildred Vernon: A Tale of Parisian Life in the Last Days of the Monarchy*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1848).
- 'Molière', *Edinburgh Review*, 82 (July 1845), 172-203.
- Molière and the French Classical Drama* (London: Charles Knight, 1846).
- 'Montalembert and Parliamentary Institutions in France', *North British Review*, 34 (May 1861), 31-60.
- 'The New Electorate in France and the Men of the Republic', *National Review*, 10 (October 1887), 219-41.
- 'A New French Novelist: Henri Lavedan', *Fortnightly Review*, 52.46 (December 1889), 832-45.
- Nouvelles vieilles et nouvelles* (Paris: C. Nodier, R. Töppfer, P. de Peyronnet, et A. Dudley, 1842).
- 'Peasants and Poets of Austria and Scotland', *North British Review*, 36 (February 1862), 118-38.
- 'Pianist and Patriot: A Sketch', *Bentley's Miscellany*, 29 (February 1851), 131-53.
- 'Pitt and Talleyrand in 1792', *New Review*, 31 (September 1889).

- 'La poésie anglaise depuis Shelley: Bas-reliefs gaulois trouvés a entremont - The Daughter of Night, par W.-S. Fullom', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.3 (February 1852), 590-92.
- 'La poésie anglaise depuis Shelley: Les poésies De Julian Fane', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.1 (July 1853),
- 'La poésie anglaise depuis Shelley: Poèmes de Matthew Arnold et D'Alexandre Smith', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.6 (September 1854), 1136-68.
- 'La poésie anglaise depuis Shelley: A. Tennyson, Owen Meredith', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.4 (February 1856), 822-46.
- 'Poètes et romanciers de l'Amérique du Nord: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow - Tendances de la poésie américaine', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.4 (September 1854), 617-46.
- 'Poètes et romanciers modernes de la Grande-Bretagne: VII, Thomas Moore', *Revue de deux mondes*, 2 (June 1843), 692-734.
- 'Poètes et romanciers modernes de la Grande-Bretagne: XII, Charles Dickens: Dombey-and-Son', *Revue des deux mondes*, 15.5 (March 1848), 901-22.
- 'The Political Press: French, British and German', *North British Review*, 34 (February 1861), 184-209.
- 'The Problem of Crime in France', *Contemporary Review*, 62 (August 1892), 183-209.
- Racine and the French Classical Drama* (London: Knight & Co., 1845).
- 'Reign of the House of Orleans in France', *North British Review*, 24 (November 1855), 91-116.
- Reise durch Deutschland, Oesterreich und Ungarn während der Ereignisse von 1848 und 1849*, trans. by Ludwig von Alvensleben (Weimar: Voigt, 1851), in Haithi Trust <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.66318570;view=1up;seq=1>> [accessed 28 May 2017].
- 'A Royal Governess: The Duchesse de Gontaut', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 151 (March 1892), 414-36.
- 'A Royal Governess: The Duchesse de Gontaut, From Blackwood's Magazine', *Living Age*, 193 (May 1892), 398-414.
- 'Salon Life: Madame Recamier', *North British Review*, 32 (February 1860), 1-25.
- 'The Salons of Paris', *Once a Week* (16 June 1860), 595-98.
- 'Some Sound French Novels', *National Review*, 13 (April 1889), 151-68.
- 'The Spiritualisation of Thought in France', *Contemporary Review*, 60 (November 1891), 637-62.
- 'Stendhal's Autobiography', *National Review*, 16 (October 1890), 226-39.
- 'Talleyrand', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 149 (May 1891), 693-709.
- 'The Twin Shots: An Extract from the Journal of a Traveler through Eastern Germany', *Bentley's Miscellany*, 30 (December 1851), 578-86.
- 'The Two Bouquets', *Bentley's Miscellany*, 19 (February 1846), 134-59.
- 'The Unity of Germany', *Arena*, 4.3 (August 1891), 257-72.
- 'Une Valse de Strauss', *Revue de Paris*, 27 (1841), 221-31, <<https://archive.org/stream/v2revuedeparis1841vr#page/n233/mode/2up>> [accessed 21 April 2016].
- 'The Vielliebchen, or the Double-Almond; from the French Arthur Dudley', *Bentley's Miscellany*, 27 (March 1850), 255-75.
- 'Victor Cousin', *North British Review*, 46 (March 1867), 162-89.
- 'Villemain's Recollections of History and Literature', *Edinburgh Review*, 102 (July 1855), 60-87.

- 'Viola Bianca', *Revue de Paris*, 30 (June 1841), 200-19.
- Voyage en Autriche en Hongrie et Allemagne pendant les événements 1848 et 1849*, (Paris: Charpentier, 1851), <<https://archive.org/details/memoirsofprinces00blaz>> [accessed 21 April 2016].
- 'What the French Elections Mean', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 146 (November 1889), 724-42.
- 'A Word on the Drama in England and France', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 20 (May 1869), 70-75.
- 'Young France', *Once a Week*, 1 (29 October 1859), 354-58.

## **Part 2: Archival Resources**

*Baylor University and Wellesley College Massachusetts*, Browning Library, Digital Collections, Online.

*Bodleian Library*, Papers of the Publishing House of Bentley and Papers of Richard Bentley.

*British Library*, Western Manuscripts.

*CATH*, Lord Byron and his Times, Online.

*Duke University Press*, Carlyle Letters, Online.

*Institut de France*, Manuscripts: Fonds Saint-René Taillandier and Collection du vicomte Charles de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul

*National Library of Scotland*, Manuscripts Catalogue.

*Newcastle University*, Special Collections.

*Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv*, Hof von Hannover.

*Pennsylvania State University*, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Allison-Shelley Manuscript Collection.

*Universität Trier*, Letters of Heinrich Heine.

*University College London (UCL)*, Special Collections, Brougham Papers.

*University of Virginia*, Special Collections, Arnold Papers, Online.

*University of California Los Angeles*, Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library.

*University of Oxford*, Papers of the Morier Family.

*Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, Handschriften, Briefe Julius Fröbel.

### Part 3: General Bibliography

- A'Barrow, Stephen, 'The Early Germans: From Barbarians at the Gates of Rome to Holy Roman Emperors', in *Death of a Nation: A New History of Germany* (Sussex: Book Guild Publishing, 2015), unpaginated.
- Abizadeh, Arash, 'Was Fichte an Ethnic Nationalist? On Cultural Nationalism and its Double', *History of Political Thought*, 26.2 (Summer 2005), 335-59.
- Abouddahab, Rédouane, and Josiane Paccaud-Huguet, eds., *Fiction, Crime, and the Feminine* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2011).
- Acton, J. E. E. D., 'Nationality', *Home and Foreign Review*, 1 (1862), 1-25.
- Adam, Antoine, ed., *Voltaire: Le siècle de Louis XIV* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966).
- Agathocleous, Tanya, *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Agathocleous, Tanya, and Jason Rudy, 'Victorian Cosmopolitanisms: Introduction', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 38.2 (September 2010), 389-97.
- Allen, Robert, 'Bursting Bubbles: "Soap Opera" Audiences and the Limits of Genre', in *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power*, ed. by Ellen Seiter, Hans Borchers, Gabriele Kreutzner and Eva-Maria Warth (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 44-55.
- Allina-Pisano, Jessica, and Achim Hurrelmann, eds., *Transnational Europe: Promise, Paradox, Limits* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- Allot, Miriam, ed., *The Brontës*. ed. by B. C. Southam, *The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1974).
- Altick, Richard D., *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, 2 edn (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1998).
- Ancelot, Jacques-François, and Joseph Xavier Saintine, *Têtes rondes et cavaliers* (Paris: J. N. Barba, 1833).
- Ancestry.co.uk*, <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 18 April 2017].
- Ancestry.fr*, <www.ancestry.fr> [accessed 18 April 2017].
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2 edn (London: Verso, 2006).
- Andrássy, Julius, *Ungarns Ausgleich mit Österreich vom Jahre 1867* (Paterborn: Europäischer Geschichtsverlag, 2011 [1897]).
- Anesko, Michael, *Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Angress, Werner, 'The Interplay of History and Literature: An Essay', *Monatshefte*, 71.4 (Winter 1979), 410-16.
- [Anon.], 'Births', *Scots Magazine*, January 1813, p. 76.
- , 'Marriages', *Spectator*, 26 October 1844, p. 1016.
- , *Morning Chronicle*, 8 April 1845, pp. 5-6.
- , 'Mildred Vernon', *Standard*, 12 September 1848, p. 1.
- , 'Mildred Vernon', *Morning Post*, 22 September 1848, p. 4.
- , 'The Literary Examiner: Recent Novels', *Examiner*, 23 September 1848, pp. 611-12.
- , 'Literature', *Morning Post*, 28 October 1848, p. 6.
- , 'New Novels; Bad, Good, and Indifferent', *Rambler*, November 1848, pp. 201-09.

- , 'Morals for the Million', *Mirror Monthly Magazine*, November 1848, pp. 548-54.
- , 'Our Weekly Gossip', *Athenaeum*, 4 November 1848, p. 1103.
- , 'Reviews of New Books: French-School Novel', *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 4 November 1848, pp. 721-23.
- , 'Mildred Vernon: A Tale of the Last Days of the Monarchy', *Critic*, 1 December 1848, pp. 467-68.
- , 'Literature', *Daily News*, 14 April 1849, p. 2.
- , *Sharpe's London Journal*, July 1849, p. 246.
- , 'Léonie Vermont', *Morning Post*, 4 August 1849, p. 4.
- , 'Léonie Vermont', *Standard*, 4 August 1849, p. 2.
- , 'Léonie Vermont', *Spectator*, 11 August 1849, pp. 757-58.
- , 'Original Novel', *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 18 August 1849, p. 605.
- , 'Léonie Vermont', *Examiner*, 25 August 1849, p. 534.
- , 'Literature: Léonie Vermont. A Story of the Present Time', *Morning Post*, 21 September 1849, p. 5.
- , 'The Sovereigns and Courts of Europe', *Morning Post*, 24 July 1850, p. 8.
- , *Standard*, 26 July 1850, p. 1.
- , 'Colburn's List', *Standard*, 15 August 1850, p. 1.
- , 'List of New Books, Music, Engravings, and Works of Art', *Critic*, 15 August 1850, p. 4111.
- , 'Germania', *Morning Post*, 17 August 1850, p. 8.
- , 'Literature', *Standard*, 21 August 1850, p. 3.
- , 'Literature', *Morning Post*, 24 August 1850, p. 6.
- , 'Germany', *Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 24 August 1850, pp. 601-03.
- , *Standard*, 23 August 1850, p. 2.
- , 'Germania', *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, September 1850, pp. 123-24.
- , 'Literature', *John Bull*, 7 September 1850, p. 571.
- , 'Mr. Colburn's New Publications', *Athenaeum*, 7 September 1850, p. 960.
- , 'Germania', *Morning Post*, 9 September 1850, p. 2.
- , 'Germania', *Morning Chronicle*, 25 September 1850, p. 8.
- , 'The Latest Books on Germany and Italy', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, October 1850, pp. 446-62.
- , 'Germania: Second Notice', *Morning Chronicle*, 5 October 1850, 7.
- , 'Advertisement for Germania', *Morning Chronicle*, 7 October 1850, p. 1.
- , 'Germania: its Courts, Camps, and People by the Baroness Blaise de Bury and Pictures of Rural Life in Austria and Hungary', *Critic*, 1 November 1850, pp. 520-23.
- , 'The Author of "Germania"', *Morning Post*, 21 February 1851, p. 7.
- , 'Mr. Colburn's Falkenburg', *Observer*, 23 November 1851, p. 7.
- , *Athenaeum*, 29 November 1851, p. 1259.
- , 'Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine', *John Bull*, 29 November 1851, p. 768.
- , 'Literature', *Morning Post*, 29 November 1851, p. 2.

- , 'Falkenburg: A Tale of the Rhine', *New Quarterly Review and Digest of Current Literature, British, American, French and German*, 1 January 1852, pp. 65-66.
- , 'Literary Novelties for the Winter Season', *Bentley's Miscellany*, 31 January 1852, pp. 101-06.
- , 'Literature', *Morning Post*, 16 December 1853, p. 2.
- , *Morning Post*, 21 December 1853, p. 1.
- , 'The Princess Palatine', *Leader and Saturday Analyst*, 21 January 1854, p. 66.
- , 'History, Biography, Voyages, and Travels', *Westminster Review*, April 1854, pp. 602-19.
- , 'Scenes of Clerical Life', *Quarterly Review*, July-October 1860, pp. 469-99.
- , 'Public Opinion and Journalists', *Saturday Review*, 16 February 1861, pp. 162-63.
- , 'The November Quarterlies', *Standard*, 11 November 1862, p. 6.
- , 'Saint Paul's, A Monthly Magazine of Fiction, Art, Literature, and Politics', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 September 1867, p. 16.
- , 'Literature', *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 11 January 1868, p. 7.
- , 'Reviews', *Essex Standard and Eastern Counties Advertiser*, 12 February 1868, p. 4.
- , 'Reviews', *Essex Standard and Eastern Counties Advertiser*, 14 February 1868, p.4.
- , 'Reviews', *Essex Standard and Eastern Counties Advertiser*, 3 April 1868, p. 2.
- , 'Literary Examiner', *Examiner*, 9 May 1868, p. 394.
- , 'Literature', *Dundee Courier & Argus*, 11 May 1868, p. 3.
- , *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 April 1869, p. 12.
- , 'Love the Avenger', *Spectator*, 4 September 1869, pp. 1049-50.
- , 'Monkeys on Board Ship', in *The Royal Readers No. IV*, ed. by Thomas Nelson (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1872), pp. 32-35.
- , 'My Cousin Maurice', *Athenaeum*, 1872, p. 717.
- , 'Review of Bitter to Sweet End', *Athenaeum*, 1877, pp. 701-02.
- , 'Occasional Notes', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 May 1885, p. 3.
- , 'Wagner on Bellini', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 27.516 (1886), 66-68.
- , 'The Magazines', *Spectator*, 6 October 1888, pp. 1264-366.
- , 'Ladies' Gallery', *Myra's Journal*, 1 November 1888, p. 654.
- , 'Obituaries', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 January 1894, 8.
- , 'Obituary', *The Times*, 29 January 1894, p. 6.
- , 'Obituary', *The Times*, 29 January 1894, p. 6.
- , 'Obituary', *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 January 1894, p. 6.
- , 'Magazines for February', *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 5 February 1894, p. 3.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony, *The Ethics of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- , *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006).
- Arendt, Hannah, *On Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1990 [1963]).
- Arnold, Matthew, *Essays in Criticism* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1865).
- , *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co, 1869).



- Ashton, Rosemary, *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
- Atkinson, Juliette, *French Novels and the Victorians*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Attali, Jacques, *L'Homme nomade* (Paris: Fayard, 2003).
- Atwood, Margaret, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Anansi Press, 1972).
- Augoustakis, Antony, and Ariana Traill, eds., *A Companion to Terence* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).
- Augustine, Aurelius, 'Volume I, Book I', in *The City of God*, ed. by Marcus Dodds (Project Gutenberg 2014), <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/45304/45304-h/45304-h.htm>> [accessed 14 November 2018].
- Austen, Jane, *Persuasion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 [1817]).
- , *Emma* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [1815]).
- Ayres, Brenda, ed., *Silent Voices: Forgotten Novels by Victorian Women Writers, Contributions in Women's Studies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).
- Bachmann-Medick, Doris, ed., *The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Transnational Perspective* (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter GmbH, 2014).
- Bain Campbell, Mary, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400-1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).
- Baker, J.M., *Henry Crabb Robinson of Bury, Jena, The Times, and Russell Square* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937).
- Bakhtin, Mikhail, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. by Michael Holquist, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austing, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981).
- Barder, Alexander D., *Empire Within: International Hierarchy and its Imperial Laboratories of Governance* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc, eds., *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- Bassett, Troy, 'At the Circulating Library, Author Information: Baroness Blaze de Bury', (Victorian Research, 30 June 2018), <[http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show\\_author.php?aid=80](http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_author.php?aid=80)> [accessed 22 September 2018].
- Batten Jr., Charles, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1978).
- Bauerkämper, Arnd, Hans Erich Bödeker, and Bernhard Struck, eds., *Die Welt erfahren: Reisen als kulturelle Begegnung von 1780 bis Heute* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2004).
- Baylis, John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens, eds., *The Globalization of World Politics*, 7 edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Bayly, C. A., 'The First Age of Global Imperialism c. 1760-1830', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 27.2 (1998), 28-47.
- Beattie, Andrew, *The Alps: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- de Beauvoir, Simone, *Le deuxième sex*, 2 vols (Paris: folio essais, 1986 [1949]).

- Beck, Ulrich, *Der kosmopolitische Blick oder: Krieg ist Frieden* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004).
- , *Was ist Globalisierung? Irrtümer des Globalismus – Antworten auf Globalisierung* (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1997).
- Beck, Ulrich, and Edgar Grande, *Cosmopolitan Europe*, trans. by Ciaran Cronin (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).
- Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth, *Wir und die Anderen: Vom Blick der Deutschen auf Migranten und Minderheiten* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004).
- Bell, Duncan, ed., *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Bennett, John, *Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects: Calculated to Improve the Heart, Form the Manners, and Enlighten the Understanding*. 2 vols (London: Warrington, 1789), II.
- Benson, Arthur Christopher, and Viscount Esher, eds., *The Letters of Queen Victoria*. 3 vols (London: Nova Science Publishing, 1907/08), I.
- Bentham, Jeremy, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, 2 edn (London: W. Pickering, 1823).
- Berger, Stefan, ed., *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe, 1789-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. xvii-xxvii.
- Berger, Stefan, and Chris Lorenz, eds., *Nationalizing of the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- Berman, Russell, *Modern Culture and Critical Theory: Art, Politics, and the Legacy of the Frankfurt School* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).
- , *Cultural Studies of Modern Germany: History, Representation, and Nationhood* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).
- , *Enlightenment of Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).
- Berry, Ellen, and Mikhail Epstein, eds., *Transcultural Experiments: Russian and American Models of Creative Communication* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).
- Bertens, Hans, *Literary Theory: The Basics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001).
- Bhabha, Homi, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990).
- , *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- , *Die Verortung der Kultur*, trans. by Michael Schiffmann and Jürgen Freudl (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2000).
- Birns, Nicholas, 'Deconstructing Centrality: Post-Colonial Theory', in *Theory after Theory: An Intellectual History of Literary Theory from 1950 to the Early 21st Century*, ed. by Karen Taylor (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2010), pp. 223-60.
- Bizzell, Patricia, '"Contact Zones" and English Studies', *College English*, 56.2 (February 1994), 163-69.
- Blackburn, Simon, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, 3 edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Blaicher, Günther, *Das Deutschlandbild in der englischen Literatur* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992).
- Blaze de Bury, Fernande, *The Online Books Page: The Storm of London by F. Dickburry*, <<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupid?key=olbp54665>> [accessed 16 May 2016].

- Blaze de Bury, Henri, *Hommes du Jour* (Paris: Michel Lévi Frères, 1859).
- , *Les salons de Vienne et de Berlin* (Paris: Michel Lévi Frères, 1861).
- , *Souvenirs et récits des campagnes d'Autriche* (Paris: Michel Lévi Frères, 1854).
- Blaze de Bury, M. H., *Le Comte de Chambord: un mois a Venise* (Paris: Michel Lévi Frères, 1850).
- Blaze de Bury, Rose., 'Letter to Mr. Appleton', 22 November 1860, in *Ebay*, MS, <<http://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/Novelist-BARONESS-BLAZE-DE-BURY-Autograph-Letter-ALS-/220707929769>> [accessed 11 November 2015].
- Bloch-Dano, Evelyne, *The Last Love of George Sand: A Literary Biography* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2013 [2010]).
- Bolza, Hans, 'Friedrich König und die Erfindung der Druckmaschine', *Technikgeschichte*, 34.1 (1967), 79-89.
- Bondebjerg, Ib, 'Transnational Europe: TV-Drama, Co-Production Networks and Mediated Cultural Encounters', *Palgrave Communications*, 2.16034 (June 2016), <<https://doi.org/10.1057/palcomms.2016.34>> [accessed 4 March 2018].
- Booth, Bradford Allen, ed., *An Autobiography by Anthony Trollope* (Berkley Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1978).
- Bordwell, David, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- Bos, Erik-Jan, 'Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia and Descartes' letters (1650-1665)', *Historia Mathematica*, 37.3 (August 2010), 485-502.
- Bowman, Curtis, 'Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814)', in *IEP: Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <<https://www.iep.utm.edu/fichtejg/>> [accessed 25 October 2018].
- Brake, Laurel, 'Literary Criticism and the Victorian Periodicals', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 16 (1986), 92-116.
- , 'The Serial and the Book in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Intersections, Extensions, Transformations', *Mémoires du livre*, 8.2 (2017), 1-16.
- Brake, Laurel, and Marysa Demoor, eds., *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (London: British Library, 2009).
- Breiger, Ronald, 'The Duality of Persons and Groups', *Social Forces*, 53.2 (December 1974), 181-90.
- Brodbeck, David, *Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Bromwich, David, *Hazlitt: the Mind of a Critic* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983).
- Bronfen, Elisabeth, 'Vorwort' in Homi K. Bhabha's *Die Verortung der Kultur*, trans. by Michael Schiffmann and Jürgen Freudl (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2000).
- Brontë, Charlotte, 'Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell', in *Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013 [1847]).
- , *Villette* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [1853]).
- , *The Professor* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 2008 [1857]).
- Broome Saunders, Claire, *Women, Travel Writing, and Truth, Routledge Research in Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

- Brougham (posthumous), Henry, *The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham: Written by Himself*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1871).
- , *Historical Sketches of Statesmen Who Flourished in the Time of George III* (London: Charles Knight & Co, 1845 [1839]).
- Büchner, Luise, ed., 'Revolution in Wien. Revolution in Berlin. Das deutsche Vorparlament', in *Deutsche Geschichte von 1815-1870: Zwanzig Vorträge gehalten in dem Alice-Lyceum zu Darmstadt* (Leipzig: Theodor Thomas, 1875), pp.368-401.
- Buckingham, David, 'Sorting Out TV: Categorization and Genre', in *Children Talking Television: The Making of Television Literacy* (London: Falmer Press, 1993), pp. 135-55.
- Buden, Boris, Stefan Nowotny, Sherry Simon, Ashok Bery, and Michael Cronin, 'Cultural Translation: An Introduction to the Problem, and Responses', *Translation Studies*, 2.2 (2009), 196-219.
- Buloz, François, 'Avertissement', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1.1 (1 July 1829), i-iii.
- Bulwer-Lytton, Edward, 'To Our Friends, On Preserving the Anonymous in Periodicals', *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 35.143 (1832), 385-89.
- Burke, Edmund, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (London: Rivingtons, 1790).
- , 'Letters on a Regicide Peace: Letter I on the Overtures of Peace', in *The Works of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, ed. by Henry Rogers (London: Samuel Holdsworth, 1850 [1796]), pp. 276-305.
- Burke, Peter, 'Foundation Myths and Collective Identities in Early Modern Europe', in *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, ed. by Bo Stråth (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 113-22.
- Burton, Antoinette M., ed., *Politics and Empire in Victorian Britain: A Reader* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
- Busch, Hans, *Verdi's Othello and Simon Boccanegra* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- Bush, Robert, "'Madame la Baronne Blaze de Bury" by Grace King', in *Grace King of New Orleans: A Selection of Her Writing* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), pp. 335-42.
- , *Grace King: A Southern Destiny* (Louisiana, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983).
- Butler, Josephine Elizabeth, *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade* (London: H. Marshal and Son, 1896).
- Buzard, James, 'A Continent of Pictures: Reflections on the "Europe" of Nineteenth-Century Tourists', *PMLA*, 108.1 (January 1993), 30-44.
- Byron, George Gordon, *Don Juan* (London: Penguin Books, 1973 [1819-1824]).
- Byron, Lord, *Marino Faliero: Doge of Venice and The Prophecy of Dante: A Poem* (London: John Murray, 1821).
- Caine, Barbara, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Caine, Barbara, and Glenda Sluga, *Gendering European History, 1780-1920* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000).
- Callaghan, Madeleine, "'Forgive my Folly": Byron's Divided Nationality', in *Byron and Latin Culture: Selected Proceedings of the 37th International Byron Society Conference*, ed. by Peter Cochran (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 208-16.

- Campos, Christophe, *The View of France: From Arnold to Bloomsbury* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).
- Cannadine, David, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Caputi Daileader, Celia, 'Othello's Sister: Racial Hermaphroditism and Appropriation in Virginia Woolf's "Orlando"', *Studies in the Novel*, 45.1 (2013), 56-79.
- Carlisle, Henry, *A Selection from the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., from 1834 to 1884, With an Account of His Early Life*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1886), II.
- Carlyle, Thomas, *The Life of Friedrich Schiller* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1825).
- , *The French Revolution: A History*, 3 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1837).
- , *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 4 vols (London: Chapman & Hall, 1869), III.
- Carr, William, *The Origins of the Wars of German Unification* (London: Longman, 1991).
- Carter Hall, Samuel, 'On The Anonymous in Periodicals', *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 39.153 (1833), 2-6.
- Caselli, Daniela, *Beckett's Dantes: Intertextuality in the Fiction and Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).
- Casey, Ellen Miller, 'Edging Women Out?: Reviews of Women Novelists in the "Athenaeum", 1860-1900', *Victorian Studies*, 39.2 (1996), 151-71.
- Chabod, Federico, *Der Europagedanke: von Alexander dem Grossen bis Zar Alexander I* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1963).
- Chalus, Elaine, 'Elite Women, Social Politics and the Political Worlds of Late Eighteenth-Century England', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 669-97.
- Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (Paris: Garnier Frères).
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, 'The Legend of Good Women', in *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by W.W. Skeat (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010 [1894]), <<https://www.bartleby.com/258/89.html>> [accessed 14 June 2018].
- Cheal, David J., *Family and the State of Theory* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).
- Chessell, Antony, *The Life and Times of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Victorian Essayist: One of the Two Best Read Men in England* (London: Lulu, 2008).
- Cixous, Hélène, 'The Laugh of the Medusa: Translated by Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen', *Signs*, 1.4 (1976), 875-93.
- Claeys, Gregory, 'Mazzini, Kossuth, and British Radicalism, 1848-1854', *Journal of British Studies*, 28.3 (1989), 225-61, <[http://www.jstor.org/stable/175571?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/175571?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)> [accessed 20 November 2018].
- Clayden, P. W., *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, 2 vols (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1889), II.
- Cobban, Alfred, *A History of Modern France*, 3 vols (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957-65) II.
- Cohen, Margaret, 'International Influences', in *Jenny Bourne Taylor*, ed. by John Kucich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 409-26.

- Cohen, Margaret, and Carolyn Dever, *The Literary Channel: The International Invention of the Novel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- College of Liberal Arts & Sciences at University of Iowa, 'Transnational & Postcolonial Literature', <<https://english.uiowa.edu/research/transnational-postcolonial-literature>> [accessed 14 February 2018].
- Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2 edn (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).
- , *Acts of Union Acts of Disunion: What Has Held the UK Together - And What Is Dividing It?* (London: Profile Books, 2014).
- Collingham, H.A.C., *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France, 1830-1848* (London: Longman, 1988).
- Collini, Stefan, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Collins, Wilkie, 'The Unknown Public', *Household Words*, 18 (1858), 217-22.
- Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 11 (revised) edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Cook, Daniel, and Amy Culley, eds., *Women's Life Writing, 1700-1850: Gender, Genre and Authorship* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Cooter, Margaret, and Women in Publishing (Organisation), eds., *Reviewing the Reviews: A Woman's Place on the Book Page* (London: Journeyman, 1987).
- Coppa, Frank J., *The Origins of the Italian Wars of Independence* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013 [1992]).
- Coronil, Fernando, 'Transcultural Anthropology in the Américas', in *Cuban Counterpoints: The Legacy of Frenando Ortiz*, ed. by Mauricio Font and Alfonso Quiroz (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), 139-156.
- Cowen, Ann, and Roger Cowen, *Victorian Jews through British Eyes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- Craig, David M., and James Thompson, eds., *Languages of Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Cross, Nigel, 'The Female Drudge: Women Novelists and their Publishers', in *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth-Century Grub Street* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 164-203.
- Cuccioletta, Donald, 'Multiculturalism or Transculturalism: Towards a Cosmopolitan Citizenship', *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, 17 (2001/2002), 1-11.
- Cunningham, Hugh, 'The Language of Patriotism 1750-1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 12.1 (1981), 8-33, <<http://hwj.oxfordjournals.org/content/12/1/8.citation>> [accessed 4 June 2017].
- Dagnino, Arianna, 'Transculturalism and Transcultural Literature in the 21st Century', in *Transcultural Studies: A Series in Interdisciplinary Research*, 8 (2012), 1-14.
- , *Transcultural Writers and Novels of in the Age of Global Mobility* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press 2015).
- d'Arnaud, Baculard, 'Préface aux nouvelles historiques', in *Oeuvres complètes* (Amsterdam Michel Rey, 1775).
- Dahmen, Hans, *Die nationale Idee von Herder bis Hitler* (Köln: Schaffstein, 1934).
- Damrosch, David, *What is World Literature?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

- Dann, Otto, 'Herder und die Deutsche Bewegung', in *Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803)*, ed. by Gerhard Sauder (Hamburg: Meiner Verlag für Philosophie, 1987), pp. 308-40.
- Davidson, Caroline, *Women's Worlds: The Art and Life of Mary Ellen Best 1809-1891* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1985).
- Davidson, Cathy and Jessamyn Hatcher, eds., *No More Separate Spheres! A New Wave American Studies Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).
- Davis, Garold, *German Thought and Culture in England 1700-1770* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).
- Davis, John, *The Victorians and Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007).
- de Blaquiére, Dora, 'Women's Noms de Plume', *Girl's Own Paper*, 6 September 1890, p. 772.
- Delaperrière, Maria, 'Testimony as a Literary Problem', in *Nonfiction, Reportage and Testimony*, ed. by Marta Skotnicka (Warsaw: Institute of Literary Research Polish Academy of Sciences, 2014), pp. 42-54.
- Delavigne, Casimir, *Marino Faliero* (Paris: Hachette Livre, 2013 [1829]).
- Derrida, Jacques, *Speech and Phenomena: And Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973).
- , *Writing and Difference* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978).
- , *Writing and Difference* (London: Routledge, 2005 [1978]).
- , *The Animal that Therefore I Am*, trans. by David Wills (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008).
- , 'Sending: On Representation', *Social Research*, 49.2 (Summer 1982), 294-326.
- Dewaele, Jean-Marc, 'The Effect of Multilingualism, Sociobiographical, and Situational Factors on Communicative Anxiety and Foreign Language Anxiety of Mature Language Learners', *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 11.4 (2007), 391-409.
- , 'Multilingualism, Empathy, and Multicompetence', *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 9.4 (2012), 352-66.
- Dickens, Charles, *David Copperfield* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1850).
- , *Bleak House* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1914 [1853]).
- Dickson White, Andrew, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White*, 2 vols (New York: Century and Co., 1905), II, <<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1370/pg1370.html>> [accessed 11 May 2016].
- Dimock, Wai-Chee, *Through Other Continents: American Literature Across Deep Time* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Dirlik, Arif, 'Asian on the Rim: Transnational Capital and Local Community in the Making of Contemporary Asian America', in *Amerasia Journal*, 22.3 (1996), pp. 1-24.
- Dischne, Gisela, *Ursprünge der Rheinromantik in England: Zur Geschichte der romantischen Ästhetik* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann Verlag, 1972).
- Donelan, Charles, *Romanticism and Male Fantasy in Byron's Don Juan: A Marketable Vice* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).
- Dorré, Gina, *Victorian Fiction and the Cult of the Horse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

- Dow, Gillian, 'Criss-Crossing the Channel: The French Novel and English Translation' in *The Eighteenth-Century Novel*, ed. by J.A. Downie (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2016), pp. 88-104.
- Dreitzel, Horst, 'Herders politischen Konzepte', in *Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803)*, ed. by Gerhard Sauder (Hamburg: Meiner Verlag für Philosophie, 1987), pp. 267-98.
- Droz, Jacques, 'La baronne Blaze de Bury, observatrice de la politique autrichienne', in *Österreich und Europa: Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hermann Peichl and Heinrich Fichtenau (Graz, Wien, Köln: Styria Verlag, 1965), pp. 325-35.
- Easley, Alexis, *First Person Anonymous: Women Writers and Victorian Print Media, 1830-70* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
- Eckermann, Johann Peter, *Johann Peter Eckermann Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, in *Goethe Sämtliche Werke*, 40 vols (Frankfurt am Main Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999 [1836, 1848]), XIII.
- Edmondson, John, *Dickens on France* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2006).
- Egloff, Rachel, 'Rose Blaze de Bury and the Nineteenth-Century World of Publishing', *Mesh: The Journal for Undergraduate Work Across English Studies*, 1.2 (2017), 2-15, <<https://www.integratingenglish.com/mesh-journal>> [accessed 1 September 2017].
- , 'Blaze de Bury, Marie Pauline Rose (1813-1894)', in *The Companion to Victorian Popular Fiction*, ed. by Kevin Morrison (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2018), p. 29.
- , 'Rose Blaze de Bury and the 'Unfeminine' German and European Politics of Disunity', in *Union and Disunion in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by James Gregory and Daniel Grey (London: Routledge, forthcoming).
- , 'Blaze de Bury, Marie Pauline Rose (1813-1894)', in *Encyclopedia of Victorian Women Writers*, ed. by Lesa Scholl (London: Palgrave, forthcoming 2019).
- Eibner, John, *Our Natural Ally: The Times and the Austrian Empire, 1841-1867* (forthcoming).
- Eliot, George, 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists', in *The Essays of "George Eliot"*, ed. by Nathan Sheppard (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883), pp. 178-204.
- , 'Mary Ann Evans to Maria Lewis', in *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. by Gordon Sherman Haight (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 23.
- , *Middlemarch* (London: Penguin Books, 2003 [1872]).
- Embry, Kristi, 'We No Longer Hate the French: Sympathy and Gallophobia in the Victorian Cosmopolitan Novel', Thesis (West Lafayette, IN, Purdue University, 2008).
- English Department at Rice University, 'Transnational and Postcolonial', (Houston, TX: Rice University), <<https://english.rice.edu/graduate/our-program/what-we-do/transnational-and-postcolonial>> [accessed 14 February 2018].
- English Department at University of California, 'Imperial, Transnational, Postcolonial Studies', (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Los Angeles), <<http://itp.english.ucla.edu>> [accessed 14 February 2018].
- Epstein, Mikhail, "The Unasked Question: What Would Bakhtin Say?", in *Common Knowledge*, 10(1) (2004), 42-60.



- , “Transculture: A Broad Way between Globalism and Multiculturalism”, in *American Journal of Economics & Sociology*, 68.1 (2009), 327-51.
- Esty, Jed, *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).
- Evans, Mary, *The Woman Question: Readings on the Subordination of Women* (London: Fontana, 1982).
- Evans, Richard, 'The Victorians: Empire and Race', *Gresham College* (London: Gresham College, 11 April 2011), <<https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/the-victorians-empire-and-race>> [accessed 28 September 2018].
- Everist, Mark, *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Ewan, Elizabeth, Sue Innes, Siân Reynolds, and Rose Pipes, eds., *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).
- Fairclough, Norman, *Media Discourse* (London: Arnold, 1995).
- , *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003).
- Faktorovich, Anna, *The Romances of George Sand* (Stone Mountain, GA: Anaphora Literary Press, 2014).
- Feltes, Norman, *Literary Capital and the Late Victorian Novel* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).
- Fendler, Susanne and Ruth Wittlinger, eds., *The Idea of Europe in Literature* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).
- Fenton, Laurence, *Palmerston and The Times: Foreign Policy, the Press and Public Opinion in Mid-Victorian Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013).
- Feuer, Jane, 'Genre Study and Television', in *Channels of Discourse, Reassembled: Television and Contemporary Criticism*, ed. by Robert Allen (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 138-59.
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, *Reden and die Deutsche Nation, Philosophische Bibliothek* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 2008 [1808]).
- , *Grundlage des Naturrechts nach prinzipien der Wissenschaftslehre*, ed. by Manfred Zahn and Fritz Medicus (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1991 [1796]).
- Finch, Alison, *Women's Writing in Nineteenth-Century France*. ed. by Michael Sheringham, *Cambridge Studies in French* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Fischer, Bernd, *Transcultural Literary Studies: Politics, Theory, and Literary Analysis* (Basel: First published in 2016 in 'Humanities' Special Issue, 2017), <<https://doi.org/10.3390/h5040086>> [accessed 22 January 2017].
- Fiske, John, *Television Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1987).
- Flint, Kate, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- , 'The Victorian Novel and its Readers', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. by Deirdre David (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 17-36.
- Forcade, Eugène, *Études historiques* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1853).
- Fortescue, William, *France and 1848: The End of Monarchy* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Foster, Shirley, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth Century Women Travellers and their Writings* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester, 1990).

- , "'Women Travellers" a Paper to Network Feminist Theorists', *Conference* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster, May 1988).
- Foucault, Michel, 'The Discourse on Language', in *The Archeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon, 1972), pp. 225-26.
- , ed., *Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-Century French Hermaphrodite* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).
- , 'Of Other Spaces [Des espace autres]', *Architecture / Mouvement / Continuité*, 5 (1984 [March 1967]), 46-49.
- , *The History of Sexuality*, trans. by Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1992).
- Fowler, Alastair, 'Genre', in *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, ed. by Erik Barnouw (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 215-17.
- Fraser, Hilary, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Freud, Sigmund, 'The Taboo of Virginity', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. by James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1918), pp. 192-208.
- Freudenburg, Kirk, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Fröbel, Julius, *Ein Lebenslauf, Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: J. G. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1891).
- Frye, Northrop, *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).
- Fulbrook, Mary, *A Concise History of Germany*, 3 edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- Fussell, Paul, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- Garric, Alain, 'François Buloz', in *Geneanet*, <<http://gw.geneanet.org/garric?lang=en&p=francois&n=buloz>> [accessed 13 April 2017].
- Gaskell, Elizabeth, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996 [1857]).
- Gavin, Michael, 'Writing Print Cultures Past: Literary Criticism and Book History', *Book History*, 15 (2012), 26-47.
- Germann-Molz, Jennie, 'Cosmopolitan Bodies: Fit to Travel and Travelling to Fit', *Body & Society*, 12.3 (1 September 2006), 1-21.
- Gervais, David, 'From Balzac to Proust: English Novelists and Foreign Novelists', in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, ed. by Patrick Parrinder and Andrzej Gasiorek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 72-86.
- Ghosh, Peter, Lawrence Goldman, and H. C. G. Matthew, eds., *Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain: Essays in Memory of Colin Matthew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Gibson, Robert, *The Best of Enemies: Anglo-French Relations Since the Norman Conquest* (Exeter: Impress Books, 2004).
- Gilbert, Sandra, and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979).
- Gilleir, Anke, Alicia C. Montoya, and Suzan van Dijk, eds., *Women Writing Back / Writing Women Back: Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

- Gillies, Alexander, *A Hebridean in Goethe's Weimar* (Oxford Blackwell, 1969).
- Gippert, Wolfgang, Petra Götte, and Elke Kleinau, eds., *Transkulturalität: Gender- und bildungshistorische Perspektiven* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2008).
- Godelier, Maurice, 'The Origins of Male Domination', *New Left Review*, 127 (May-June 1981), 3-17.
- Goethe, Johann, *Ästhetische Schriften 1824-1832: Über Kunst und Altertum V-VI*, in *Goethe Sämtliche Werke*, 40 vols (Frankfurt am Main Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999 [1828]), xxii.
- , 'Dichtung und Wahrheit', in *Goethes Werke* (Hamburg: Hamburger Ausgabe, 1948 [1808-32]).
- , 'Essays on Art and Literature', in *Goethe's Collected Works*, ed. by John Geary (New York: Suhrkamp, 1986).
- , *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (Leipzig: Weygandsche Buchhandlung, 1825 [1774]).
- , *Maximen und Reflexionen* (Berlin: Hofenberg, 2016 [1821]).
- , *Naturkundliche Schriften III: Schriften zur allgemeinen Naturlehre, Geologie und Mineralogie*, in *Goethe Sämtliche Werke*, 40 vols (Frankfurt am Main Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999 [1828]), xxv.
- , *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, trans. by David Constantine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [1774]).
- , *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship: From the German of Goethe*, trans. by Thomas Carlyle, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1824).
- Goldfrank, David, *The Origins of the Crimean War* (London: Routledge, 2013).
- Goldmann, Lucien, 'The Sociology of Literature', in *The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader*, ed. by Milton Albrecht, James Barnett and Mason Griff (New York: Praeger, 1970).
- Goldsmith, Oliver, *The Vicar of Wakefield*. ed. by Stephen Coote (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982 [1766]).
- Gómez Reus, Teresa and Terry Gifford, *Women in Transit Through Literary Liminal Spaces* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Goodlad, Lauren, *The Victorian Geopolitical Aesthetic: Realism, Sovereignty, and Transnational Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- Goodlad, Lauren, and Julia Wright, eds., 'Victorian Internationalisms', in *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net* (2007), <[www.erudit.org/revue/ravon/2007/v/n48/017435ar.html](http://www.erudit.org/revue/ravon/2007/v/n48/017435ar.html)> [accessed 15 March 2017].
- Goodman, Dena, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).
- Gossens, Peter, *Weltliteratur: Modelle transnationaler Literaturwahrnehmung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2011).
- Gottfried, Leon, *Matthew Arnold and the Romantics* (New York: Routledge, 1963).
- Government of the United Kingdom, 'Criminal Procedure Act 1853, Chapter 30, Section I', in *Gov.uk*, <<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/16-17/30/section/I/enacted>> [accessed 28 April 2016].
- Grafton, Anthony, ed., *Machiavelli: The Prince*, trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1999).

- Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1980).
- , *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Greiner, Rae, *Sympathetic Realism in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).
- Grenville, J. A. S., *Europe Reshaped, 1848-1878* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1976).
- Griest, Guinevere L., *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1970).
- Griffin, D. 'To L---', in *Life of Gerald Griffin Esq. by his Brother* (London: Simpkin and Marshal, 1843), pp. 482-83.
- Griffin, Ben, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture, and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Gross, John, *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters* (New York: Macmillan, 1969).
- Gross, Johnathan David, *Byron the Erotic Liberal* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001).
- Grosu, Lucia-Mihaela, 'Multiculturalism or Transculturalism? Views on Cultural Diversity', *SYNERGY*, 8.2 (2012), 102-11.
- Gudeman, Alfred, 'The Sources of the Germania of Tacitus', in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* (Baltimore, IL: Johns Hopkins University, 1990), pp. 93-111.
- Guo, Hui, 'A Brief Analysis of Culture and Translation', *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2.2 (February 2012), 343-47.
- Guth, Karl-Maria, ed., *Friedrich Schiller: Wallenstein. Vollständige Ausgabe der Trilogie: Wallensteins Lager / Die Piccolomini / Wallensteins Tod* (Berlin: Hofenberg, 2016 [1800]).
- Haefele-Thomas, Ardel, *Queer Others in Victorian Gothic: Transgressing Monstrosity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).
- Hahn, H. J., *German Thought and Culture from the Holy Roman Empire to the Present Day* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- Haight, Gordon Sherman, ed., *The George Eliot Letters*, 9 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954-6, 1978), 1.
- Halicarnassus, Dionysius, 'Book IV, Sections 64-85', in *Roman Antiquities*, ed. by William Thayer (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 2007).
- Halkett, Samuel, and John Laing, eds., *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (New York: Haskell House, 1926-1934).
- Hall, Stuart, 'Cultural Identity and the Diaspora', in *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), pp. 222-37.
- Hallum, Kirby-Jane, *Aestheticism and the Marriage Market in Victorian Popular Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- Hamilton, Susan, ed., *Criminals, Idiots, Women and Minors: Victorian Writing by Women on Women*, 2 edn (Peterborough, OT: Broadview Press, 2004).
- Hamish, Scott, ed., *Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1990).
- Hannerz, Ulf, 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture', in *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7 (1990), 237-251.

- Harding, Nick, *Hanover and the British Empire 1700-1837* (Woodbridge: Bodley Press, 2007).
- Harrington, Adrian, 'Rare Books: Strange Tales & Mysteries', in *Harrington Books*, (Royal Tunbridge Wells: 2016), <<http://www.harringtonbooks.co.uk/pages/books/38465/f-dickberry-fernande-blaze-de-bury/the-storm-of-london>> [accessed 16 May 2016].
- Harrison, Antony H., *Victorian Poets and the Politics of Culture: Discourse and Ideology* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1998).
- Harrold, Charles, *Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1934).
- Harvey Esq., Charles, 'The Habitué's Note-Book', *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, November 1848, pp. 395-400.
- Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard, and Jürgen Kocka, eds., *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009).
- Hays, Mary, *Female Biography: Or, Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women, of all Ages and Countries Alphabetically Arranged*, 6 vols (London: Richard Phillips, 1803).
- , *Memoirs of Queens, Illustrious and Celebrated* (London: T. & J. Allman, 1821).
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. by Dietmar Köhler and Otto Pöggeler (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006 [1807]).
- Heilmann, Ann, *Neo-/Victorian Biographia and James Miranda Barry: A Study in Transgender and Transgenre* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- D'Heilly, Georges. ed., *Dictionnaire des pseudonyms* (Paris: Librairie Rouquette, 1868).
- Helff, Sissy, 'Shifting Perspectives: The Transcultural Novel', in *Transcultural English Studies: Theories, Fictions, Realities*, ed. by Frank Schulze-Engler and Sissy Helff (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 75-89.
- Heller, Deborah, ed., *Bluestockings Now!: The Evolution of a Social Role* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).
- Herder, Johann Gottfried, *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit*, in *Archive.org*, (1774), <[https://archive.org/details/bub\\_gb\\_OMwLAAAAIAAJ/page/n3](https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_OMwLAAAAIAAJ/page/n3)> [accessed 13 October 2017].
- , *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität: 42. Brief*, in *Johann Gottfried Herder: Sämtliche Werke*, 33 vols (Berlin: Bernhard Suphan, 1877 [1793]), xxvii.
- , 'Über die Würkung der Dichtkunst und die Sitten der Völker in alten und neuen Zeiten', in *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Bernhard Suphan (Hildesheim: Olms, 1967 [1778]), pp. 334-436.
- Heywood, Andrew, *Global Politics*, 2 edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Foundations, 2014).
- Hiatt, Mary P., *Style and the "Scribbling Women": An Empirical Analysis of Nineteenth-Century American Fiction, Contributions in Women's Studies* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993).
- Hill, Lisa, 'Adam Smith's Cosmopolitanism: The Expanding Circles of Commercial Strangership', *History of Political Thought*, 31.3 (Autumn 2010), 449-73.

- Hilton, Boyd, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?: England 1783-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Hiner, Susan, *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).
- Hipsky, Martin, *Modernism and the Women's Popular Romance in Britain, 1885-1925* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2011).
- 'L'histoire de la revue des deux mondes', in *Revue des deux mondes*, <<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/qui-sommes-nous/>> [accessed 18 April 2017].
- Hodge, Robert, and Gunther Kress, *Social Semiotics* (Cambridge: Polity, 1988).
- Holmes, Diana, *French Women's Writing 1848-1994*. ed. by Janet Garton, *Women in Context Series: Women's Writing 1850-1990* (London: Athlone, 1996).
- The Holy Bible: King James Version*, (Peabody, MA: Hendrikson Bibles, 2011).
- Hooper, Glenn, and Tim Youngs, eds., *Perspectives on Travel Writing, European Cultural Transition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
- Hopkins, Lisa, 'England's Empire in Europe', in *Identities in Early Modern English Writing: Religion, Gender, Nation*, ed. by Lorna Fitzsimmons (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), pp. 145-64.
- Hoppen, K. Theodore, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).
- Houghton, Walter E., Jean Harris Slingerland, and Josef L. Altholz, *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).
- Hult, Francis, 'Covert Bilingualism and Symbolic Competence: Analytical Reflections on Negotiating Insider/Outsider Positionality in Swedish Speech Situations', *Applied Linguistics*, 35.1 (2014), 63-81.
- Husserl, Edmund, *Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology*, trans. by Dorion Cairns (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1982 [1931]).
- Hutcheon, Linda, and Mario Valdés, eds., *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Huxley, Aldous, *Texts and Pretexts* (New York and London: Harper, 1933), <<https://archive.org/details/text00huxl>> [accessed 16 June 2018].
- Huxley, Julian, *On Living in a Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1944).
- Inal, Onur, 'Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes', *Journal of World History*, 22.2 (2011), 243-72.
- Intellectual Property Office, 'Government Response to the Consultation on Reducing the Duration of Copyright in Certain Unpublished Works', in *Gov.uk* (2015), <[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/399171/973\\_-\\_Government\\_Response\\_-\\_copyright\\_in\\_certain\\_unpublished\\_works.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/399171/973_-_Government_Response_-_copyright_in_certain_unpublished_works.pdf)> [accessed 3 February 2018].
- Jacob, Margaret, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

- Jasanoff, Maya, *The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World* (London: William Collins, 2017).
- Jay, Elisabeth, *British Writers and Paris 1830-1875* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Jay, Paul, *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2010).
- Jenkins, T. A., *Parliament, Party and Politics in Victorian Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).
- Jerdan, William, 'Germany', *Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 24 August 1850, pp. 601-03.
- Johnson, Samuel, and James Boswell, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987).
- Johnston, Judith, *Anna Jameson: Victorian, Feminist, Woman of Letters* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).
- , *Victorian Women and the Economies of Travel, Translation and Culture, 1830-1870* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
- Jones, H. S., 'The Idea of the National in Victorian Political Thought', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 5.1 (2006), 12-21.
- Julius, Anthony, 'English Literary Anti-Semitism', in *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-semitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 148-241.
- Kaelble, Hartmut, 'Die Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer und was jetzt?', *A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists*, (8 February 2005), <<http://www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-574>> [accessed 13 April 2017].
- Kaplan, Fred, *Henry James: The Imagination of Genius* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
- Karakasis, Evangelos, *Terence and the Language of Roman Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Kasperek, Christopher, 'The Translator's Endless Toil', *The Polish Review*, 28.2 (1983), 83-87.
- Kauppi, Niilo, ed., *A Political Sociology of Transnational Europe* (Colchester: ECPR Press University of Essex, 2013).
- Kay, Sarah, Terence Cave, and Malcolm Bowie, *A Short History of French Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Kearney, Dutton, and Joseph Pearce, eds., *Jonathan Swift: Gulliver's Travels* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2010 [1726]).
- Kelly, Gary, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790-1827* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Kemp, Sandra, Charlotte Mitchel, and David Trotter, *The Oxford Companion to Edwardian Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Kenney, Kevin, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Kete, Kathleen, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994).
- Khattak, Shahin Kuli Khan, *Islam and the Victorians: Nineteenth Century Perceptions of Muslim Practices and Beliefs* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008).
- King, Grace, 'Madame la Baronne Blaze de Bury', *Harper's Bazaar*, 26 (16 September 1893).

- Kinglake, Alexander, *The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan*, 8 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1863-1887).
- Kington-Oliphant, Thomas Laurence, *Rome and Reform*, 2 vols (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1971 [1902]), II.
- Kinna, Ruth, 'William Morris and the Problem of Englishness', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 5.1 (2006), 85-99.
- Kleingeld, Pauline, 'Kant's Cosmopolitan Law: World Citizenship for a Global Order', *Kantian Review*, 2 (1998), 72-90.
- , ed., *Immanuel Kant: Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*, trans. by Colclasure D.L. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
- , *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Online*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), <<https://plato.stanford.edu>> [accessed 23 April 2019].
- Klienberger, H.R., *The Novel in England and Germany: A Comparative Study* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1981).
- , *The Novel in England and Germany: A Comparative Study* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1981).
- Kohn-Bramstedt, Ernest, *Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany: Social Types in German Literature, 1830-1900*, 2 edn (London: P. S. King & Son, 1964).
- Korte, Barbara, 'From Picturesque to Political: Transcultural Perspectives on Germany in Victorian Popular Periodicals, 1850 to 1875', *German Life and Letters*, 68.3 (15 June 2015), 356-69.
- Koselleck, Reinhart, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. by Keith Tribe (Cambridge, MA: Columbia University Press, 1985).
- Kotulla, Michael, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte: Vom Alten Reich bis Weimar (1495-1934)* (Berlin: Springer, 2008).
- Kress, Gunther, *Communication and Culture: An Introduction* (Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1988).
- Kristeva, Julia, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).
- LaFrance, Marianne, Hiram Brownell, and Eugene Hahn, 'Interpersonal Verbs, Gender, and Implicit Causality', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60.2 (1997), 138-52.
- Landon, Brooks, 'A Cultural History of a Hybrid Genre', *Science Fiction Studies*, 33.1 (March 2006), 161-73.
- Laqueur, Thomas, 'The Queen Caroline Affair: Politics as Art in the Reign of George IV', *Journal of Modern History*, 54.3 (1982), 417-66.
- , *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- Lecourt, Sebastian, 'The Untravell'd World: The Difficulties of Thinking Globally in Victorian Studies', *Literature Compass*, 13.2 (2016), 108-17.
- Lester, Katherine, and Bess Viola Oerke, *Accessories of Dress: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2004).
- Levine, Caroline, 'From Nation to Network', *Victorian Studies*, 55.4 (Summer 2013), 647-66.
- Lewes, George H., 'Villette', *Leader*, 12 February 1853, pp. 163-64.



- Lewes, G. H., 'Review of Books', *National Magazine and Monthly Critic*, 1(1837), 445.
- Liddle, Dallas, *The Dynamics of Genre: Journalism and the Practice of Literature in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2009)
- Little, Richard, *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths and Models* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Livius, Titus, 'Books 1-2', in 'Ab Urbe Condita', ed. by Benjamin Foster, in *Perseus Digital Library* (2006), <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0151%3Abook%3Dfront%3Achapter%3D2>> [accessed 20 May 2019].
- Lloyd, John, and John Mitchinson, 'The Monkey-keepers', in *The Book of the Dead: Lives of the Justly Famous and the Undeservedly Obscure* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), pp. 243-74.
- Lloyd, T. H., *England and the German Hanse 1157-1611: A Study of their Trade and Commercial Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Lo Bianoc, Joseph, 'The Importance of Language Policies and Multilingualism for Cultural Diversity', *International Social Science Journal*, 61.199 (March 2010), 37-67.
- Löchte, Anne, *Johann Gottfried Herder: Kulturtheorie und Humanitätsidee der Ideen, Humanitätsbriefe und Adrastea* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005).
- Loudon, Jane, *Domestic Pets: Their Habits and Management* (London: Grant and Griffith, 1851).
- Lowenthal, David, *The Past is a Foreign Country - Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Lubin, Georges, ed., *George Sand: Correspondance* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1964-1991).
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, 5 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), 1.
- Macinnes, Allan, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Malcolm, Janet, *The Silent Woman: Sylvia Plath and Ted Hughes* (London: Granta, 2012).
- Mandler, Peter, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Burke to Blair* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
- Mantel, Hilary, *Can these Bones Live?*: BBC Radio 4, 8 July 2017, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08wp3g3>>.
- , *Adaptation*: BBC Radio 4, 15 July 2017, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08x9947>>.
- , *The Day is for the Living*: BBC Radio 4, 17 June 2017, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08tcbrp>>.
- Marandon, Sylvaine, *L'image de la France dans l'Angleterre victorienne 1848-1900* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1967).
- Marcus, Sharon, 'Same Difference? Transnationalism, Comparative Literature, and Victorian Studies', *Victorian Studies*, 45.4 (2003), 677-86.
- Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels, *Das kommunistische Manifest: Neue Ausgabe* (Leipzig: Verlag der Expedition des Volksstaat, 1872).

- , 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung 29 Juni 1848', in *Werke*, ed. by Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1891), pp. 133-37.
- McClelland, Charles, 'Treitschke and the Rejection of England' in *The German Historians and England: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp.168-190.
- McClure, Judith, and Roger Collins, eds., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- McDaniel, Melissa, Erin Sprout, Diane Boudreau, and Andrew Turgeon, 'Europe: Physical Geography', (National Geographic Society, 4 January 2012), <<https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/europe-physical-geography/>> [accessed 15 January 2017].
- McVeigh, Tracy, 'Fanny and Stella, the Pioneer Transvestites who Fought Victorian Anti-Gay Laws', in *The Guardian*, Online, (9 May 2015), <<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2015/may/09/fanny-and-stella-pioneer-transvestites-victorian-anti-gay-laws>> [accessed 15 February 2018].
- McWilliam, Rohan, *Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Meggs, Philip B., *A History of Graphic Design*, 3 edn (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1998).
- Mende, Fritz, ed., *Briefe an Heine 1842-1851: Säkularausgabe* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1979).
- Meyer, Joseph, *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, 4 edn, 16 vols (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1885-1892), III.
- Middell, Matthias, and Katharina Middell, 'Forschungen zum Kulturtransfer: Frankreich und Deutschland', *Grenzgänge*, 2 (1994), 107-22.
- Miller, Carolyn, 'Genre as Social Action', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 70 (1984), 151-67.
- Miller, Elizabeth, 'Reading in Review: The Victorian Book Review in the New Media Moment', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 49.4 (2016), 626-42.
- Mills, Sara, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991).
- Minneka, Francis, ed., *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill, 1812-1848* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1996).
- Moi, Toril, *Sexual/textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (London: Methuen, 1985).
- Montalembert, Le comt de, *Vandalisme et du Catholicisme dans l'Art (fragments)* (Paris: Debécourt, 1839).
- Moore, Thomas, 'Rhymes on the Road', in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore including his Melodies, Ballads, etc.* (Paris: Galignani, 1827), pp. 172-79.
- Moretti, Franco, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998).
- , *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005).
- , 'The Slaughterhouse of Literature', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 67 (2000), 207-28.
- Morgan, Bayard Quincey, *A Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1922).

- Morgan, Marjorie, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
- Morgan, Thais E., *Victorian Sages and Cultural Discourse: Renegotiating Gender and Power* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990).
- Morley, David, and Kuan-Hsing Chen, eds., *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- Morley, E.J., *Crabb Robinson in Germany 1800-1805: Extracts from his Correspondence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919).
- Morris, Mary, and Larry O'Connor, eds., *Women Writers* (London: Virago Press, 1994).
- Mortensen, Peter, *British Romanticism and Continental Influences: Writing in an Age of Europhobia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
- Motyl, Alexander, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, 2 vols (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 2001), II.
- Mullen, Richard, and James Munson, *"The Smell of the Continent": The British Discover Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2009).
- Muller, Frank Lorenz, *Britain and the German Question: Perceptions of Nationalism and Political Reform, 1830-1863* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).
- Murray, Scott W., *Liberal Diplomacy and German Unification: The Early Career of Robert Morier* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000).
- Musner, Lutz, 'Kultur als Transfer. Ein regulationstheoretischer Zugang am Beispiel der Architektur', in *Ent-grenzte Räume. Kulturelle Transfers um 1900 und in der Gegenwart*, ed. by Helga Mitterbauer (Wien: Passagen Verlag, 2005), pp. 173-94.
- Nayar, Pramod, *The Transnational in English Literature: Shakespeare to the Modern*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), in Online Oxford University Bodleian Library [accessed 25 September 2017].
- Neale, Stephen, 'Questions of Genre', in *Approaches to Media: A Reader*, ed. by Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Chris Newbold (London: Arnold, 1995), pp. 460-72.
- Newberry, Percy, ed., *Rescued Essays of Thomas Carlyle* (London: Leadenhall Press, 1892).
- Newbury, C. W., *Patronage and Politics in the Victorian Empire: The Personal Governance of Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon (Lord Stanmore)* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2010).
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 'Zur Genealogie der Moral: Eine Streitschrift', in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999 [1887]).
- Ning, Wang, and Sun Yifeng, eds., *Translation, Globalisation and Localisation: A Chinese Perspective* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008).
- Nipperdey, Thomas, 'Zwischen Reaktion und Liberalismus: Bismarck und das Problem der deutschen Einheit (1849-1866)', in *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (München: C. H. Beck, 1994), pp. 674-804.
- Novalis, George Philipp Friedrich von Hardenberg, 'Die Christenheit oder Europa', in *Hymnen an die Nacht und die Christenheit oder Europa* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1911 [1799]), pp. 31-61.
- Nye, Andrea, *The Princess and the Philosopher* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999).
- Nye, Joseph, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

- O'Connor, T. P., 'The New Journalism', *New Review*, 15.3 (1889), 423-34.
- O'Connor, Ulick, *The Joyce We Knew* (Cork: Mercier, 1967).
- Oda, Yukari, 'Wuthering Heights and the Waverley Novels: Sir Walter Scott's Influence on Emily Brontë', *Brontë Studies: The Journal of the Brontë Society*, 32.3 (2007), 217-26.
- Oergel, Maïke, 'The Redeeming Teuton: Nineteenth-Century Notions of the "Germanic" in England and Germany', in *Imagining Nations*, ed. by G. Cubitt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 75-91.
- Offen, Karen, '"What! Such Things Have Happened and No Women Were Taught about Them": A Nineteenth-Century French Woman's View of the Importance of Women's History', *Journal of Women's History*, 9.2 (1997), 147-53, <<https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jowh/summary/v009/9.2.offen.html>> [accessed 27 October 2017].
- Oliphant, Margaret, 'Modern Novelists - Great and Small', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 77 (1855), 554-68.
- Onslow, Barbara, *Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).
- Ortiz, Fernando, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, trans. by Harriet de Onís (Durham PA: Duke University Press, 1995 [1947]).
- Ormond, Leonee, *The Reception of Alfred Tennyson in Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).
- Ovid, 'Fasti', (Poetry in Translation, 2004), <<https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/OvidFastiBkTwo.php>> [accessed 15 January 2018].
- Oxford Centre for Life-Writing, 'Conference: Transnational Lives and Cosmopolitan Communities', at Wolfson College Oxford (Wolfson College Oxford: Oxford Centre for Life-Writing and Writing 1900 Research Network, 17 March 2018).
- Oxford Concise Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2008, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 15 February 2018].
- Online OED* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), <[www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)> [accessed 11 April 2019].
- Oxford Reference Online*, 2 edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>> [accessed 13 February 2018].
- Pailleron, Marie-Louise, *François Buloz et ses amis*. 4 vols (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914).
- , 'François Buloz et ses amis au temps du Second Empire: Henri Blaze de Bury et la Baronne Rose', *Revue des deux mondes*, 5 (1921), 100-36.
- , *François Buloz et ses amis* (Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1923 [1914]).
- , 'Les Blaze de Bury en l'autriche', *La revue de Paris* (July 1922), 126-52.
- Palmeri, Frank, ed., *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture: Representation, Hybridity, Ethics* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
- Palmner Chevasco, Berry, *Mysterymania: The Reception of Eugene Sue in Britain 1838-1860* (Oxford: P. Lang, 2003).
- Parrinder, Patrick, *Nation & Novel: The English Novel from its Origins to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

- Parry, Jonathan, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).
- , *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Partzsch, Henriette, 'Don Quijote globalisiert: Übersetzung und Universalität eines Klassikers der Weltliteratur', in *Quijotextos, Quijotemas, Quijoterias: Ocho acercamientos a Don Quijote/ Quijotexte, Quijothemen, Quijotheorien: Acht Annaeherungen an Don Quijote*, ed. by Marco Kunz (Bamberg: Universität of Bamberg Press, 2009), pp. 117-45.
- , 'Danger, You Are Entering the Garbage Vortex!: Salvaging the History of Women's Participation in European Literary Culture', *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 25.4 (2017), 334-39.
- Patel, Kiran, 'Transnationale Geschichte - ein neues Paradigma?', *A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists*, (2 February 2005), <[www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-573](http://www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-573)> [accessed 12 April 2017].
- Peterson, Linda, *Becoming a Woman of Letters* (Princeton, CA: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- Pinkard, Terry, *German Philosophy 1760-1860: The Legacy of Idealism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Pizer, John, *The Idea of World Literature: History and Pedagogical Practice* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).
- Pocock, J. G. A., Gordon Schochet and Lois Schwoerer, eds., *The Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 246-320.
- Poe, Edgar Allen, *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, 17 vols (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2009), vii.
- Pohl, Nicole, and Brenda Tooley, eds., *Gender and Utopia in the Eighteenth Century: Essays in English and French Utopian Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- Poole, Steven, 'Word of the Week: Truth', *Guardian Review*, 25 August 2018, p. 4.
- Poovey, Mary, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer: Ideology as Style in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Jane Austen, Women in Culture and Society* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984).
- , *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in mid-Victorian England, Women in Culture and Society* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
- , *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
- , *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
- Porter, Gerald, *Annals of a Publishing House*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1898), iii.
- Pratt, Mary Louise, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', *Profession* (1991), 33-40.
- , *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- Prendergast, Christopher, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

- Pykett, Lyn, *The "Improper" Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- Quintero, Ruben, ed., *A Companion to Satire: Ancient and Modern* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007).
- Radcliffe, Ann, *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794* (Dublin: William Porter, 1795).
- Rainsford, Dominic, *Literature, Identity and the English Channel: Narrow Seas Expanded* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
- Rance, Nicholas, *The Historical Novel and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century England*. ed. by Michael Egan, *Vision Critical Studies* (London: Vision Press, 1975).
- Rands, Patricia, 'Mary Hays' Female Biography: Innovative, Inspiring, Radical, Subversive', *Thesis* (York, University of York, 2012).
- Rauhut, Franz, 'Die Herkunft der Worte und Begriffe Kultur, Zivilisation, Bildung', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*, 35 (1953), 83-87.
- Ray, William, *Story and History: Narrative Authority and Social Identity in the Eighteenth-Century French and English Novel* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990).
- Rayner Parkes, Bessie, ed., *Essays on Women's Work, Cambridge Library Collection - British and Irish History, 19th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1865).
- Reddaway, W. F., ed., *Thomas Macaulay's The History of England*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), II.
- Reeve, Clara, *Progress of Romance*, 2 vols (New York: New York Text Facsimile Society, 1930 [1785]), I.
- Regan-Lefebvre, Jennifer, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire: Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Renaut, Alain, 'Présentation', in *Discours à la nation allemande*, ed. by Alain Renaut (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1992).
- Resewitz, Friedrich Gabriel, *Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend: Brief 294* (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1764).
- Reynolds, K. D., *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).
- Reynolds, Siân, *Paris-Edinburgh: Cultural Connections in the Belle Epoque* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- Riall, Lucy, 'The Shallow End of History? The Substance and Future of Political Biography', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40.3 (Winter 2010), 375-97.
- Richardson, Samuel, *The Novels of Samuel Richardson* (London: Robinson and Co., 1824).
- Richardson, Sarah May, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013).
- Richieri Griffin, Christina, 'Experiencing History and Encountering Fiction in Vanity Fair', in *Victorian Studies*, 58.3 (Spring 2016), pp.412-435.
- Riesner, Ann-Marie, and Martin Danneck, 'Blending, Mixture, Hybridisation: Theoretical Approaches to Genre Blending', in *Journal of Literary Theory Online* (2015), <<http://www.jltonline.de/index.php/conferences/article/view/689/1587>>.
- Rignall, John, '"One Great Confederation?": Europe in the Victorian Novel', in *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. by Francis O'Gorman (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 232-52.

- Rivlin, Geoffrey, 'Punishments through the Ages', in *Understanding the Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 243-58.
- Roberts, W., 'Dumas and Sue in English', *Nineteenth Century and After*, 92 (November 1922), 760-66.
- Röder-Bolton, Gerlinde, *George Eliot and Goethe: An Elective Affinity* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998).
- Room, Adrian, ed., *Dictionary of Pseudonyms: 13,000 Assumed Names and Their Origins* (NC: Jefferson: McFarland, 2010).
- Rosaldo, M., and Louise Lamphere, eds., *Woman, Culture and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974).
- Rossini, Manuela, and Michael Toggweiler, 'Cultural Transfer: An Introduction', *Word and Text: A Journal of Literary Studies and Linguistics*, 4.2 (December 2014), 5-9.
- Ruhkopf, Jan, 'Process of Social Decline Among the European Nobility: Conference Proceedings Report', in *Kommunikation und Fachinformation für die Geschichtswissenschaften* (2014), <<https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-5797>> [accessed 28 September 2018].
- Russell, John, *Essays and Sketches of Life and Character*, 2 edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821).
- , *A Tour in Germany: And Some of the Southern Provinces and the Austrian Empire, in 1820, 1821, 1822* (Edinburgh: Constable and Co., 1828).
- Saeed Al-Olaqi, Fahd Mohammed Taleb, 'English Literary Portrait of the Arabs', *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2.9 (September 2012), 1767-75.
- Saïd, Edward, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books 1979).
- , *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993).
- Saintsbury, George, ed., *The Later Nineteenth Century, Periods of European Literature*, 2 edn (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1923).
- Sample, Ian, 'Gender Identity and the Big Questions that Have yet to be Answered', *The Guardian* 10 July 2016, <<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jul/10/gender-identity-transgender-science-how-big-questions-unanswered>> [accessed 2 February 2017].
- Sand, George, *Lettres d'un voyageur*, trans. by Sacha Rabinovitch. ed. by Patricia Thomson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987).
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, *Being and Nothingness*, trans. by Arlette Elkaïm-Sartre (London: Routledge, 2003 [1943]).
- Sassoon, Donald, *The Culture of the Europeans: From 1800 to the Present* (London: Harper Collins, 2006).
- Saussy, Haun, 'Comparative Literature: The Next Ten Years', in *State of the Discipline Report*, on American Comparative Literature Association Website, (9 March 2014), <<https://stateofthediscipline.acla.org/entry/comparative-literature-next-ten-years>> [accessed 4 December 2019].
- Schieffelin, Bambi, and Elinor Ochs, eds., *Language Socialization Across Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- Schlossberg, Herbert, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2000).
- Schlosser, Johann Georg, *Johann Georg Schlossers kleine Schriften: Zweiter Theil* (Basel: Carl August Gerini, 1780).
- Schmidt, H. D., 'The Establishment of Europe as a Political Expression', *The Historical Journal*, 9.2 (1966), 172-78.

- Schmidt, Royal, 'Cultural Nationalism in Herder', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 17.3 (June 1956), 407-17.
- Schulz-Forberg, Hagen, *London-Berlin: Authenticity, Modernity, and the Metropolis in Urban Travel Writing from 1851 to 1939* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2006).
- Schulze-Engler, Frank, 'Theoretical Perspectives: From Postcolonialism to Transcultural World Literature', in *English Literatures Across the Globe: A Companion*, ed. by Lars Eckstein (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2007), 20-32.
- Sebay-Montefiore, Mary, ed., *A Victorian Quartet: Four Forgotten Women Writers* (Lichfield: Pied Piper, 2008).
- Sell, Jonathan, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing 1560-1613* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
- Seyhan, Azade, *Writing Outside the Nation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).
- Shakespeare, William, *Henry IV Part I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- , *Cymbeline* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- , 'The Rape of Lucrece', in *The Oxford Shakespeare Poems*, ed. by William James Craig (London: Oxford University Press, 2000 [1914]), <<https://www.bartleby.com/70/49.html>> [accessed 20 May 2019].
- Shapiro, Lisa, ed., *The Correspondence Between Princess Elisabeth of Bohemia and René Descartes* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
- Shattock, Joanne, ed., *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Sheehan, James, *German History 1770-1866* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- Shelley, Mary, *Rambles in Germany and Italy: in 1840, 1842, and 1843*, 2 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1844).
- Shiue, Carol H., 'From Political Fragmentation Towards a Customs Union: Border Effects of the German Zollverein, 1815-1855', *European Review of Economic History*, 9.2 (2005), 129-62.
- Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).
- , 'Writing and Sexual Difference', *Critical Inquiry*, 8.2 (1981), 179-205.
- , 'Twenty Years on: "A Literature of Their Own" Revisited', *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, 31.3 (Summer 1998), 399-413.
- , 'Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness', *Critical Inquiry*, 8.2 (Winter 1981), 179-205.
- Simmel, Georg, 'Die Kreuzung sozialer Kreise', in *Soziologie* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1908), pp. 305-44.
- , 'The Web of Group Affiliations', in *Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations* (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 128-95.
- Sked, Alan, 'Explaining the Habsburg Empire, 1830-1890', in *Themes in Modern European History 1830-1890*, ed. by Bruce Waller (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 123-58.
- Sklar, Elizabeth, 'Sexist Grammar Revisited', *College English*, 45.4 (April 1983), 348-58.
- Sluga, Glenda, 'Madame de Staël and the Transformation of European Politics, 1812-17', *The International History Review*, 37.1 (2015), 142-66.



- Sluga, Glenda, and Carolyn James, eds., *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).
- Smiles, Samuel, *A Publisher and his Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the Late John Murray*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1891), 1.
- Spence, Catherine Helen, *An Autobiography by Catherine Helen Spence*, (Project Gutenberg, 2009 [1910 posthumous]), <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/4220/4220-h/4220-h.htm>> [accessed 10 May 2019].
- Spencer, Vicki, 'Herder and Nationalism: Reclaiming the Principle of Cultural Respect', *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 43.1 (January 1997), 1-13.
- Sperling, Liz, and Charlotte Bretherton, 'Women's Policy Networks and the European Union', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19 (1996), 303-13.
- Staatshandbuch für das Grossherzogtum Sachsen: 1843*, (Weimar: Hofbuchdruckerei, 1843), <[https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=g4MAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=g4MAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)> [accessed 21 April 2016].
- de Staël, Germaine, *De l'Allemagne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1844 [1813]).
- Stendhal, *The Life of Henry Brulard*, trans. By John Sturrock (New York: New York Review Book, 2002 [1890]).
- St John, Ian, *Disraeli and the Art of Victorian Politics*, 2 edn (London: Anthem Press, 2010).
- Starkie, Enid, *From Gautier to Eliot: The Influence of France on English Literature, 1851-1939* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1960).
- Steedman, Carolyn, *Past Tenses: Essays on Writing, Autobiography and History* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1992).
- Stiles, Andrina, and Alan Farmer, *The Unification of Germany 1815-90*, 2 edn (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2001).
- Stock, Paul, *The Shelley-Byron Circle and the Idea of Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Stokes, John, *In the Nineties* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989).
- , *The French Actress and her English Audience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara, *Das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation: Vom Ende des Mittelalters bis 1806* (München: C. H. Beck, 2013).
- , *The Holy Roman Empire: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).
- Stråth, Bo, ed. *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2000).
- Strich, Fritz, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur*, trans. by C.A.M. Sym (Bern: A. Francke AG Verlag, 1946).
- , *Goethe and World Literature*, trans. by C.A.M. Sym (London: Routledge, 1949).
- Sturm-Trigonakis, Elke, *Global Playing in der Literatur: Ein Versuch über die Neue Weltliteratur* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007).
- Sutherland Edwards, H., *Old and New Paris: Its History, its People, and its Places* (London, Paris & Melbourne: Cassell and Company, 1893), <<https://archive.org/details/oldandnewparisi01conggoog/page/n7>> [accessed 6 July 2017].

- Sutherland, John, *Victorian Novelists and Publishers* (London: Athlone Press, 1976).
- , ed., *The Stanford Companion to Victorian Fiction* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989).
- , *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers* (London: Macmillan, 1995).
- , ed., *Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2009).
- Swales, John, *Genre Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Szymanski, Hans, *Die Dampfschiffahrt in Niedersachsen und in den angrenzenden Gebieten von 1817 bis 1867* (Bremen: Europäischer Hochschulverlag, 2011).
- Tacitus, *Agricola and Germania*. ed. by Anthony Birley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Tamecke, Martin, Janny de Jong, Lars Klein, and Margriet van der Waal, eds., *Europe - Space for Transcultural Existence?* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2013).
- Tätäsy de Zepetnek, Steven, 'From Comparative Literature Today toward Comparative Cultural Studies' in *CLCWEB: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 1.3 (1999), p. 2, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1041>> [accessed 21. November 2019].
- Taylor, Karen, *The Facts on File Companion to the French Novel* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2007).
- Thackeray, William Makepeace, *Paris Sketch Book* (London: John Macrone, 1840).
- , *Vanity Fair: A Novel Without a Hero* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1849 [1847-8]).
- The Victorian Review, 'CFP: The Victorian Review Special Issue: Trans Victorians', (2017), <<https://www.navsa.org/2017/05/15/cfp-the-victorian-review-special-issue-trans-victorians-10152017/>> [accessed 26 August 2018].
- Theunissen, Michael, *The Other: Studies in the Social Ontology of Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, and Buber*, trans. by Christopher Macann (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1984).
- Thompson, E.P., 'The Peculiarities of the English', in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London: Merlin, 1978), pp. 35-91.
- Thompson, Nicola Diane, *Reviewing Sex: Gender and the Reception of Victorian Novels* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).
- Thomson, Dorothy, 'Women, Work and Politics in Nineteenth-Century England: The Problem of Authority', in *Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914*, ed. by Jane Rendall (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), pp. 57-81.
- Thorold, Peter, *The British in France: Visitors and Residents since the Revolution* (London: Continuum, 2008).
- Thwaites, Tony, Lloyd Davis, and Warwick Mules, *Tools for Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (South Melbourne, VIC: Macmillan, 1994).
- Tilly, Charles, *Coercion, Capital, and European States* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).
- Tolstoy, Leo, *War and Peace*, trans. by R. Edmunds (London: Penguin, 1957 [1869]).

- Trilling, Lionel, *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2008 [1950]).
- Trollope, Anthony, 'On Anonymous Literature', *Fortnightly Review*, 1.1 (1865), 491-98.
- , 'On English Prose Fiction as a Rational Amusement', in *Four Lectures*, ed. by Morris Longstreth Parrish (London: Constable, 1938), pp. 91-139.
- Trollope, Frances, *The Old World and the New*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1849), iii.
- Trollope, Thomas Adolphus, *What I Remember*, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1887), II.
- Tuchman, Gaye, and Nina E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (London: Routledge, 1989).
- UK Census Online, <[www.https://ukcensusonline.com](https://ukcensusonline.com)> [accessed 2 March 2017].
- Umera-Okeke, Nneka, 'Transculturalism: A Path to the Integration of the Multilingual/Multi-Ethnic Learners of English as a Second Language in Nigeria', *African Research Review*, 10.5 (2016), 126-36.
- Underwood, Ted, *Digital Horizons: Digital Evidence and Literary Change* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2019).
- University of Aberdeen, 'Transnational Cultures (MLitt)', (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen), <<https://www.abdn.ac.uk/study/postgraduate-taught/degree-programmes/188/transnational-cultures/>> [accessed 23 August 2018].
- Unwin, Timothy, 'On the Novel and the Writing of Literary History', in *The Cambridge Companion to the French Novel: From 1800 to the Present*, ed. by Timothy Unwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1-15.
- 'V21: Victorian Studies for the 21st Century', *Website*, <<http://v21collective.org/>> [accessed 07 February 2018].
- Valdés, Mario, 'Rethinking the History of Literary History', in *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory*, ed. by Linda Hutcheon and Mario Valdés (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 63-115.
- van Dijk, Suzan, 'WomenWriters', in *Huygens* (The Hague: Huygens ING, 2009), <<http://neww.huygens.knaw.nl>> [accessed 11 June 2018].
- van Dijk, Suzan, Anke Gilleir, and Alicia C. Montoya, 'Before NEWW (New Approaches to European Women's Writing): Prolegomena to the Launching of an International Project', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 27.1 (2008), 151-57.
- Vargo, Gregory, *An Underground History of Early Victorian Fiction: Chartism, Radical Print Culture, and the Social Problem Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Varouxakis, Georgios, *Mill on Nationality* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- , *Victorian Political Thought on France and the French* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
- , 'Introduction: Patriotism and Nationhood in 19th-Century European Political Thought', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 5.1 (2006), 7-11.
- , 'Patriotism', 'Cosmopolitanism' and 'Humanity' in Victorian Political Thought', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 5.1 (2006), 100-18.

- , *Liberty Abroad: J.S. Mill on International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Vergerio, Claire, 'Context, Reception, and the Study of Great Thinkers in International Relations', *International Theory*, 11 (2019), 110-137.
- Voisine, Jacques, 'La Baronne Blaze de Bury (1813(?) - 1894) et son rôle littéraire', *Thesis* (Paris, Faculté des lettres de Paris, 1955).
- , 'La baronne Blaze de Bury (1813-1894) et ses amitiés cosmopolites. Avec des documents inédits', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 31 (1957), 229-53.
- Voisine, Jacques, and Felice Del Beccaro, eds., *Le dernier Alfieri: Lettres inédites du Sénateur Carlo Alfieri di Sostegno à la Baronne Blaze de Bury 1889-1893, Droit et lettres* (Lille: Université de Lille, 1960).
- Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet, *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1835 [1756]).
- Von Martels, Zweder, ed., *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*. ed. by E. J. Brill, *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).
- Von Treitschke, Heinrich, *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 5 vols (Paderborn: Europäischer Geschichtsverlag, 2015 [1894]).
- Walder, Dennis, ed., *The Realist Novel* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- Wales, Katie, *A Dictionary of Stylistics* (London: Longman, 1989).
- Walter, Gérard, ed., *Napoleon: Le mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964).
- Watson, Nicola, 'At Juliet's Tomb: Anglophone Travel-Writing and Shakespeare's Verona, 1814-1914', in *Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet, and Civic Life: The Boundaries of Civic Space*, ed. by Silvia Bigliuzzi and Lisanna Calvi (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 223-37.
- Wawro, Geoffrey, *The Austro-Prussian War: Austria's War with Prussia and Italy in 1866* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Weinstock, Herbert, *Bellini: His Life and His Operas* (New York: Knopf, 1971).
- Welsch, Wolfgang, 'Rethinking Identity in the Age of Globalization: A Transcultural Perspective', in *Aesthetics & Art Science*, 1 (2002), 85-94.
- , 'Transculturality - the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today', in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage, 1999), pp. 194-213.
- Whaley, Joachim, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: Maximilian I to the Peace of Westphalia: 1490-1648* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- White, Hayden, *The Practical Past* (Oakland, CA: University of California, 2014).
- White, James, 'Paul de Kockneyisms', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, March 1843, pp. 366-78.
- Williams, Colin, 'The Anglicisation of Wales', in *English in Wales: Diversity, Conflict, and Change*, ed. by Nikolas Coupland (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1990), pp. 19-47.
- Williams, Chris, ed., *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain, Blackwell Companions to British History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004).

- Williams, Ioan, *The Realist Novel in England: A Study in Development* (London: Macmillan Press, 1874).
- Williams, Raymond, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).
- Wilson, George, 'Narrative', in *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics*, ed. by Jerrold Levinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 392-407.
- Wilson, Kevin, and Jan van der Dussen, eds., *The History of the Idea of Europe* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- Wise, T. J., and J. A. Symington, eds., *The Brontës: Their Lives, Friendships and Correspondence*, 4 vols (Oxford: The Shakespeare Head, 1932).
- Wolf, Hans-Jürgen, *Geschichte der Druckpressen* (Frankfurt am Main: Interprint, 1974).
- Wolff, Larry, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (CA: Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).
- Wollstonecraft, Mary, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (London: Penguin Books, 1790).
- Wood, Michael, *Stendhal* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1971).
- Wood, Wallace, ed., *Conversations with Eckermann* (New York: M. Walter Dunne, 1901).
- Worley, Linda, 'Through Others' Eyes; Narratives of German Women Travelling in Nineteenth Century America', *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 21 (1986), 39-50.
- Wurzbach, Constant, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, 60 vols (Wien: Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1863), IX, XX, XXX, <<https://archive.org/details/BiographischesLexikonDesKaiserthumsOesterreichOcr09/10/30>> [accessed 10 May 2019].
- Wynne, Clive D. L., *Do Animals Think?* (NJ: Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
- Young, Robert J. C., *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- Youngs, Tim, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1815-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).
- Zaremba, Michael, *Johann Gottfried Herders humanitäres Nations- und Volksverständnis: Ein Beitrag zur politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Berlin: Oberhofer, 1985).
- Zytaruk, George, and James Boulton, eds., *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), II.

## Appendix A – Summary of *Mildred Vernon*

### List of Main Characters:

Lady Mildred Vernon (née Egerton)

Sir Edward Vernon: Mildred's husband

Mrs Egerton: Mildred's widowed mother

Philip Egerton: Mildred's cousin and heir to Mildred's late father's estate

Lady Augusta Denvers: Edward Vernon's guardian and old acquaintance of Mrs Egerton

Duc Gaston Montévieux: French aristocrat and future political figure in his twenties

Duchesse Madame Montévieux: Gaston's mother of the "old *nobless*"

Baronne Aurélie Cévèzes: Young wife, fashionable Parisian socialite and renowned beauty

Baron Cévèzes: Aurélie's estranged older husband and French diplomat

Vicomtesse Clémentine Moreton: Madame Montévieux's younger cousin

Vicomte Moreton: Clémentine's unfaithful husband

General Boislambert: French general fighting in Algeria and father of young family

Louise Boislambert: General Boislambert's teenage bride; now mother to two young children

Lionel Chavigny: Self-made Parisian socialite and childhood sweetheart of Louise Boislambert

Abbé de Nangis: Catholic priest and confessor to Paris aristocratic circles

Olympe: Gaston Montévieux's cousin and betrothed since infancy

### Plot:

Mildred Egerton, a girl from the country, falls in love with the ward of her mother's old friend Edward Vernon. They marry and go to Paris in 1843. Mildred, unlike her husband, finds the Parisian loose morals hard to deal with. This causes an estrangement between them. Edward falls for the "*Lionne*" of Paris the Baronesse de Cévèzes, who is married to a travelling diplomat and who has other lovers including Vicomte de Moreton and Lionel Chavigny. In Paris Mildred spends much time with the Duchesse de Montrévieux and also with the Duchesse's son the Duc Gaston de Montrévieux, with whom Mildred gradually falls in love. Paralell to these events, Madame de Boislambert leaves her husband and two children after attempting but failing to run away with Lionel Chaviny (who was her secret fiancé in teenage years and who later commits suicide). Madame de Boislambert (under the name of Fournier) goes to live

in a country cottage with her companion and under the guidance of the Abbé de Nangis. In this country setting, Mildred befriends Madame de Boislambert, without knowing her true identity. When Madame de Boislambert's identity is revealed, Mildred learns the lesson not to judge others by one's own rigid morals. Mildred goes back to her friends in England to escape the insult her husband is causing her in Paris with Madame de Cévèzes and also to distance herself from Gaston. However, Gaston finds her in England and their love is rekindled. Back in Paris Edward duels with Vicomte de Moreton over Madame de Cévèzes. Both are wounded and Madame de Cévèzes rejects both in favour of Chavigny. Edward nevertheless leaves for Baden-Baden in pursuit of her. Finally, the news of Edward's death reaches Mildred. She is now free to marry Gaston. However, Gaston was already engaged to his cousin Olympe from childhood. At first, he insists on breaking the engagement, as thought that Olympe has enough money to support herself and attract another husband. However, Olympe's brother had invested the whole family fortune in the railroads. A speech given by Gaston in Parliament shortly after, made the shares for the railway plummet, rendering Olympe penniless. Gaston then feels honour bound to marry Olympe. Gaston marries Olympe and Mildred travels the Rhine alone at the close of the story.

## Appendix B – Summary of *Léonie Vermont*

### List of Main Characters:

Mr Walden

Count de Briancour: Widower and aristocratic Parisian of the old “nobless”

Léonie Vermont: Daughter of Briancour’s subordinate army officer; adopted by Briancour

Philippe Vermont: Son of Briancour’s subordinate army officer; adopted by Briancour; Léonie’s brother; political agitator

Isabelle de Briancour: Count de Briancour’s daughter

Fernand de Briancour: Count de Briancour’s son and political activist

Pierre Larcher: Parisian workman

Noisette: Parisian *grisette* and childhood sweetheart of Pierre Larcher

### Plot:

The novel opens in 1847 just before the June uprising in Paris. The Englishman Mr. Walden provides the frame for the story. Léonie Vermont and her brother Philippe were brought up by Count de Briancour. Their father had saved Count de Briancour’s, his army officer’s, life at the expense of his own. Léonie and Philippe were brought up with Count de Briancour’s own children, Isabelle and Fernand. Pierre Larcher, a workman, embodies the honest Republican *ouvrier*, whom poverty, and a disgust at the vices of the rich and the corruption of Louis Philippe’s reign, have made dissatisfied with existing things and an easy mark for selfish agitators. Philippe Vermont becomes such an agitator, not because of his political beliefs but for personal aggrandisement. Noisette, is a *grisette*, who grew up with Pierre. In Paris, she is seduced by Philippe and ends up destitute in Paris where Pierre finds her and takes her in. The story, focuses on the romance between Fernand and Léonie. The first obstacle is a previous misalliance, and the certainty that if a marriage took place, the paternal doors would be closed against the lovers. As Fernand is without means, he procures his father’s consent to offer his services to the Government of Louis-Philippe; and his applications introduces some sketches of political society and the corruption of the Guizot ministry. However, Fernand



has just lost all chance of office and of marriage, through the rascality of a bourgeois Deputy and a bureaucratic Minister's secretary, when the Revolution of February breaks out, and all the chief characters are involved in its turbulence. Noisette commits suicide, causing her fiancé Pierre and his mother Larcher tremendous grief. As a National Representative, Fernand falls prisoner to the insurgents under Philippe's orders. Isabelle and Pierre try to free Fernand who in the meantime and unbeknown to Isabelle and Pierre has escaped imprisonment on his own. When the victory of the National Guard is close the cowardly Philippe flies for his life while the artisan Pierre fights on to the end. After the revolt has subsided Léonie sees that marriage to Fernand is impossible, not least for political reasons, so she enters a convent at the close of the tale.

## **Appendix C – Table of Contents of *Germania***

### VOLUME 1

CHAPTER I: COLOGNE AND ITS BANQUETS. FREDERICK

WILLIAM IV AND THE ARCHDUKE JOHN

CHAPTER II: BADEN AND THE REPUBLICANS

CHAPTER III: FRANKFORT AND THE PAULUSKIRCHE –

GAGERN

CHAPTER IV: HANOVER AND HERRENHAUSEN

CHAPTER V: HANOVER, AND THE TREATY OF THE THREE

KINGS

CHAPTER VI: BRUNSWICK AND THE HARZ

CHAPTER VII: LEIPSIC [sic]

CHAPTER VIII: THE FICHTELGEBIRGE – AND HOF

CHAPTER IX: NUREMBERG

CHAPTER X: MUNICH – SOCIAL LIFE

CHAPTER XI: MUNICH – ART AND ARTISTS

CHAPTER XII: MUNICH AND THE ROYAL FAMILY

CHAPTER XIII: MUNICH AND THE POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF

BAVARIA, VON DER PFORDEN AND PRINCE

WALLERSTEIN

CHAPTER XIV: BERLIN AND ITS BUILDINGS

CHAPTER XV: BERLIN – SOCIETY AND THE ARTS

CHAPTER XVI: PRUSSIA AND THE ROYAL FAMILY – THE

REVOLUTION OF BERLIN

### VOLUME 2

CHAPTER I: THE SNOW

CHAPTER II: THE FRONTIER TOWN

CHAPTER III: TO VIENNA!

CHAPTER IV: VIENNA – THE WALTZ-KING, AND THE FISH-

WIVES

CHAPTER V: TWO WEIGHTS AND TWO MEASURES – A

PARENTHESIS

CHAPTER VI: VIENNA AND ITS SOCIAL HABITS

CHAPTER VII: VIENNA AND ITS REVOLUTIONS

CHAPTER VIII: ABDICATION AND ACCESSION  
CHAPTER IX: FRANZ JOSEF AND AUSTRIA  
CHAPTER X: PRAGUE AND THE TCHÈQUES – WINDISCHGRÄTZ  
CHAPTER XI: HUNGARY – A SKETCH OF CHARACTER  
CHAPTER XII: JELLACIC AND CROATIA  
CHAPTER XIII: SERVIA – STRATIMIROWITCH AND  
KNITCHANIN  
CHAPTER XIV: REBELLION AND REPRESSION – HAYNAU  
CHAPTER XV: ANARCHY AND ABSOLUTISM – THE CZAR AND  
KOSSUTH  
CHAPTER XVI: STYRIA AND THE ARCHDUKE JOHN  
CHAPTER XVII: ITALY AND RADETSKY  
CHAPTER XVIII: THE ARMY AND ITS BARDS  
CHAPTER XIX: VENICE – BYRON AND THE GONDOLIERS  
CHAPTER XX: FRANCE IN VENICE. – HENRY V.  
CHAPTER XXI: VERONA AND SHAKSPERE [sic]  
CHAPTER XXII: VENICE, VIENNA, AND PARIS. THE POWER OF  
A PRINCIPLE

## **Appendix D – Summary of *Falkenburg***

### List of Main Characters:

Graf Waldemar Falkenburg: Impoverished German aristocrat and soldier

Helen Marlowe: Fifth child and only daughter of an impoverished Hampshire squire

Lilian Cameron: Orphaned cousin of Helen; Admired for her beauty; Born in Scotland

Wilfred Montague: Only son of a wealthy London-based aristocrat

Wilhelm Norberg: German untitled composer

### Plot:

A party of British tourists, amongst them the cousins Lilian Cameron and Helen Marlowe, as well as Wilfred Montague, travels along the Rhine to Friedrichsbad, mainly to improve Lilian's health, where they stay for a few months and take the waters. Whilst in Germany they meet an up and coming German composer Wilhelm Norberg, who falls passionately in love with Lilian, and the local Waldemar Falkenburg, a young aristocratic yet impoverished soldier, who is fascinated by Helen (and vice versa). After at first trying to unsuccessfully ensnare her into an affair, Waldemar actually falls in love with Helen. By the time Lilian and Helen leave Germany to return to England Waldemar and Helen are as good as engaged. Whilst back in England Lilian and Helen's great aunt dies. Due to a recent misunderstanding the great aunt had only just changed her will, which now left her vast fortune to Lilian instead of to Helen. Waldemar arrives in England on military business and rekindles his romance with Helen. However, by chance (i.e. through a letter misdirected and left in a sewing basket by accident) Helen learns of Waldemar's financial trouble and of his brother, who is entirely dependent on Waldemar. When realising this, Helen releases Waldemar from their engagement as she did not want to cause him and his brother complete financial ruin. In the meantime, Lilian, unaware of the connection between Waldemar and Helen has come to think herself as in love with Waldemar, (particularly after newspaper reports of his heroism in London during a fire, in which

he saved many lives). Lilian travels back to Germany and eventually becomes engaged to Waldemar. Meanwhile, Wilhelm has risen to great fame as a composer in London. However, he is so heartbroken when Lilian finally rejects him for Waldemar, that he collapses and dies. Later the reader is informed that Lilian and Waldemar are wealthy but unhappily married, whilst Helen has married Wilfred and is content surrounded by a growing family.

## Appendix E – Table of Blaze de Bury’s Network Corresponding to Figure 2

Name:	Life:	Contact with Blaze:	Profession:	Source:
Appleton, ?Samuel, Daniel, William, John, or George?	1820s-1890s	1860	Publishers	Primary
Arnold, Matthew	1822-1888	1860s-80s	Writer	Primary
Bagration, Princess	1783-1857	1844-1845	Russian Aristocrat	BdB
Baring, Mr		1845		BdB
Baring, Mrs		1845		BdB
Bassenheim, ?Charlotte or Caroline? Waldbott (Gräfin von)		1849	German Aristocrat	BdB
Beaumont, Gustave de	1802-1866	1849	Lawyer and companion to de Tocqueville	BdB
Beaumont, Wentworth Blackett (Baron Allendale)	1829-1907	1864	Industrialist and British Politician	Voisine
Bentley, Richard	1794-1871	1840s-50s	Publisher	Primary
Berryer, Pierre-Antoine	1790-1868	1860	French Politician	Voisine
Bismarck, Otto von	1815-1898		German Politician	King
Blackwood, John	1818-1879	1863	Publisher	Porter
Blanc, Albert	1835-1904		Italian Politician	Pailleron
Blanc, Marie Thérèse	1840-1907	1880s-90s	Writer	King
Blaze de Bury, Henri	1813-1888	1840s-1888	Musicologist (husband)	Primary
Bligh, ?perhaps of the family of the Earl of Darnley?		1849	British Statesman	BdB
Boito, Arrigo	1842-1918		Poet and Librettist/Composer	Pailleron
Bonnay, la Marquise de (née Countess O'Neil of Copenhagen)		1845	French Diplomat's Wife	BdB
Bourget, Paul	1852-1935	1852-1894	Publisher	Pailleron
Brandenburg,	1792-1850	1850	German Politician (Minister President of Prussia / Son of King Freidrich Wilhelm II)	BdB
Brewster, David	1781-1868	1859	Scottish Academic	Wellesley Index
Broglie, Jacques-Victor-Albert (duc de)	1821-1901	1845-1862	French Politician and Aristocrat	BdB
Brougham, Henry	1778-1868	1840s-60s	Statesman, writer	Primary
Browning, Robert	1812-1889	1850	Writer	Primary
Brunod, de		1850	Russian Politician	BdB
Bueke, Don Giovanni		1846		BdB
Buloz, Francois	1803-1877	1841-1877	Publisher	Primary

Bulwer-Lytton, Robert	1831-1891		British Statesman and Poet (Owen Meredith)	Voisine
Bushe, John		1849	Friend of Campbell	BdB
Caldwell, George Benjamin		1844-1849	Friend of Dunbar	BdB, Voisine
Campbell, Ford		1849-1850	Friend of Dunbar	BdB
Chambord, Henri de (Henry V of France)	1820-1883	1849	French Royal	Pailleron
Chasles, Philarète	1798-1873		Writer	Voisine
Clarendon, George Villiers (Earl of)	1800-1870	1849	British Diplomat	BdB
Colburn, Henry	1784-1855	1847-1851	Publisher	BdB
Colloredo, (Gundaccar II or Josef I)	1802-1852 or 1813-1895	1849-1850	Austrian Lieutenant or Austrian Statesman	BdB
Cooke, John George	1820-1880	1860s	Banker	Voisine
Cotignola, August Giacomo Jochmus von	1808-1881	1860-1872	Austrian Lieutenant and Statesman	Primary
Cousin, Victor	1792-1867		Philosopher and Political activist	Pailleron, Voisine
Cowley, Charlotte Lady	1781-1853	1844-1845	Diplomat's Wife	BdB
Cowley, Henry Wellesley Lord	1773-1847	1844-1845	British Diplomat	BdB
Crampton, Philip	1777-1858	1844	Surgeon	BdB
d'Angoulême, Marie-Thérèse Charlotte (of France)	1778-1851	1849	French Aristocrat	Pailleron
D'Aumont, Madam		1845	French Noblewoman	BdB
Dejardins, Paul	1859-1940	1880s-90s	Journalist	King
Delacroix, Eugène	1798-1863		Artist	Pailleron
Dickens, Charles John Huffam	1812-1870	1846(56?)	Writer	Pailleron, Voisine
Dickson White, Andrew	1832-1918	1886	Diplomat	Dickson White
Dumas, Alexandre	1802-1870		Writer	Pailleron
Dunbar		-1851		BdB
Easthope, Elizabeth	1803-1865	1853-1862	British Diplomat's Wife and Writer	Voisine
Elgin, James Bruce (Lord)	1811-1863	1860-62	Diplomat	Primary
Enzenberg, Arthur (Graf von)	1841-1925	1860	Austrian Lawyer	Fröbel
Esterházy, Sarah Frederica (née Lady Villiers, Princess)	1822-1853	1850	British Noblewoman and Hungarian Aristocrat's Wife	BdB
Fane, Julian	1827-1879	1850	British Diplomat and Poet	BdB
Forcade, Eugène	1820-1869	1849	French Journalist	BdB
Fröbel, Julius	1805-1893		Educationalist	Fröbel

Girardin, Émile de	1802-1881	1845-1849	French Politician and Journalist	BdB
Glyn, Georgina Maria (Baroness Wolverton)	-1894	1860s	Wife of British Politician and Banker	Voisine
Grassalkowick, Princess		1849		BdB
Guizot, François	1787-1874	1845	French Politician	BdB
Halloux, de		1849		BdB
Hayward, Abraham	1801-1884	1862	British Writer	BdB
Hannover, Ernst August I (König von)	1771-1851	1849	King of Hannover	BdB
Hannover, Sarah (Königin von)		1849		BdB
Hapsburg, Elisabeth (Empress of Austria)	1837-1898	1860s	Empress of Austria	Voisine
Harris, George Baron	1810-72	1844	British Politician	BdB
Heine, Heinrich von	1797-1856	1846	Writer	Primary
Hock, Carl Ferdinand Freiherr von	1808-1869	1860s	Austrian Statesman and Finacialist	Murray
Holland, C		1848		Primary
Humboldt, Alexander von	1769-1859	1850	Scientist and Philosopher	Primary
Ibbetson, Adela "Addy" Consande Maria (née Villiers, Lady)	1790-1844	1849	British Noblewoman	BdB
James, Henry	1843-1916	1876	Writer	Anesko
Jelacic, Josip Buzimski (Graf)	1801-1859	1849	Ban of Croatia	BdB
Jersey, Sarah Sophia Villiers Countess	1785-1867	1849	English Noblewoman	BdB
Kalchberg, Joseph Ritter von	1801-1882	1860s	Austrian Statesman	Murray
Kerner, Justinus Andreas Christian	1786-1862	1841-1845	Poet and Physician	Primary
King, Grace	1852-1932	1890s	Writer	King
Kinglake, Alexander William	1809-1891	1861-73	Historian and Writer	Primary
Ladvocat, Pierre-François (Camille)	1791-1854	1849	French Writer and Editor	BdB
Lanckosousky, Count		1850	Polish Noble (Chamberlain to Emperor)	BdB
Liszt, Ferencz	1811-1886	1850-1851	Composer	Primary
Llewelyn Roberts, Arthur	1855-1919	1890-93	Secreatary of Royal Literary Fund fromm 1884-93	Primary
Malet, Mary Anne Dora (Lady)	-1891	1868-69	British Diplomat's Wife	Voisine
Melbourne, Frederick James Lamb, Viscount	1782-1853	1849	British Diplomat	BdB
Mensdorff-Pouilly, Alexander (Graf von)	1813-1871	1866	Austrian Statesman	Voisine
Merdien, de Madame		1845		BdB
Merlin, Madame		1845-1849		BdB
Meyerbeer, Giacomo	1791-1864		Composer	Pailleron



Mofrat, de		1845		BdB
Molé, Louis Mathieu	1781-1855	1845	French Statesman	BdB
Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de	1810-1870	1860	Writer and French Politician	Pailleron, Voisine
Montesury, Madame		1849		BdB
Morgan, Sydney (Lady)	1781?-1859	1858	Novelist	Voisine
Morier, Robert Burnet	1826-93	1860s	Diplomat	Primary
Mosshill, Lawrence		1845		BdB
Napoleon, Charles-Louis Bonapart (Emperor of the French)	1808-1873	1836-1837	French Emperor	Fröbel
Narbonne de Rambuteau, Marie Adélaïde Charlotte de	1790-1856	1852-55	French Aristocrat	Primary
Neulan, Madame		1845		BdB
Ngér, Herman		1862	Editor of Ausburger Gazette (Allgemeine Zeitung)	BdB
Oliphant, Laurence	1829-1888	1863	British Diplomat and Writer	Porter, Voisine
Orges, Hermann Ritter von	1821-1874		Publisher	BdB
Pailleron, Marie-Louise	1870-1951	1880s-90s	Writer (Niece)	Pailleron
Palmerston, Henry John Temple (Viscount)	1784-1865	1849-1862	British Statesman	BdB
Park, Baron		1847		BdB
Parnell, Delia and "Family" (Charles Stewart)	1816-1898; 1846-1891	1860	Irish Politician	Primary, Voisine
Preussen, Elisabeth Ludovika (Königin von)	1801-1873	1850-51	Queen of Prussia	BdB
Preussen, Friedrich Wilhelm IV (König von)	1795-1861	1850-51	King of Prussia	BdB
Rambuteau, Claude-Philibert Barthelot (compte de)	1781-1869	1845	French Statesman	BdB
Rawlinson, Henry (Sir, Baronet)	1810-1895	1844	British Army Officer and Politician	Voisine
Rechberg, Bernhard von	1806-1899	1860s	Austrian Foreign Minister and Diplomat	BdB
Reeve, Henry	1813-1895	1856	Journalist (Editor of Edinburgh Review)	Voisine
Rochefoucauld, François ?XIII, XIV, XV, XVII? de la			French Aristocrat	Pailleron
Rothschild, Jakob Mayer (baron de)	1792-1868	1845, 1864	Banker	BdB, Voisine
Ruskin, John	1819-1900	1835, 1845, or 1849	British Artist, Journalist, and Critic	BdB

Russel, John Lord	1792-1878	1845-1862	British Politician and Aristocrat	BdB
Schlick, Franz Josef (von Bassano und Weisskirchen)	1789-1862	1849	Austrian Nobleman and General	BdB
Schmerling, Anton von	1805-93	1840s	Austrian Statesman	Pailleron
Shelley, Mary	1797-51	1844	Writer	Primary
Smythe		1845	Historian	BdB
Sostegno, Carlo Alfieri di	1827-97	1889-93	Italian Politician	Voisine
Spence, Catherine Helen	1825-1910		Scottish-Australian Author and Suffragist	Spence
Stadion, Franz Seraph (Graf von Warthausen und Thannhausen)	1806-1853	1849	Austrian Statesman	BdB
Staint-Priest, Alexis de	1805-1851		Diplomat	Pailleron
Stendhal, Marie-Henri (Beyle)	1783-1842		Writer	Pailleron
Sulean		1849		BdB
Taillandier, Saint-René	1817-1879	1847	Writer	Primary
Toqueville, Alexis de	1805-1859	1840s-50s	French Statesman and Writer	Primary
Trollope, Thomas Adolphus	1810-92	1840-41	Writer	Trollope
Vigny, Alfred de	1797-1863		Poet	Pailleron
Villemain, Abel-François	1790-1870	1860	French Politician	Pailleron, Voisine
Wagner, Charles	1852-1918	1880s-90s	Theologian	King
Watson Fullom, Stephan	1818-72	1850s	Writer	Primary
Westmorland, Pricilla Countess	1793-1879		Diplomat's Wife	Primary
Wilkinson, Reverend		1849	English Chaplain to King of Hannover	Primary
Wrangel, Friedrich (Graf von)	1784-1877	1850	Baltic Nobleman and Prussian Generalfeldmarschall	BdB
Wynford, William Draper Mortimer Best Baron	1826-99	1849	British Politician	BdB

## Appendix F – Further Documentation (Including Copyright Permissions)

Copyright permission granted by The Right Honourable Earl of Westmorland:

**Burghie Westmorland**

Sat, 7 Oct 2017, 16:35



to Rachel ▾

Dear Rachel

Apologies for not getting back to you sooner but have been travelling and did not receive your first correspondence. I have no problem with you copying/publishing Priscilla's letters in your PhD however in so far as "any future" publications perhaps you could be more specific when or if the occasion arises

Yours

Anthony WESTMORLAND

Correspondence with Archivist at Stadtarchiv Mainz:

Mon, 23 May 2016, 15:54



to me ▾

Az. 471210 Tgb. Nr. 10910/16

Sehr geehrte Frau Egloff,

eine kursorische Durchsicht der Akten der Sicherheitspolizei Mainz aus dem fraglichen Zeitraum (Signaturen: 70/14779 und 70/14780) ergab leider keinen Beleg einer möglichen Verhaftung von Marie Rose Pauline Blaze de Bury 1836/37.

Auch in unseren sonstigen Beständen finden sich keine Hinweise zu dieser Autorin.

Ich stehe Ihnen für Rückfragen gerne zur Verfügung und verbleibe mit freundlichen Grüßen

i. A.

Frank Teske



Landeshauptstadt  
Mainz

Landeshauptstadt Mainz

Stadtarchiv

**Dr. Frank Teske**

Stellv. Archivleiter