

SEUME AND THE ENGLISH

by Robert L. Kahn

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed an astonishing increase in the number of books of travel coupled with an equally surprising change in the very nature of the genre. The reasons for this development in the European literature of travel were manifold. In the economic and political spheres the rise of the middle classes, the accelerating process of industrialization, and the continuous decay of feudal institutions and boundaries were contributory factors. In the philosophical area the ideas of enlightenment, cosmopolitanism, and egalitarianism during the preceding era, even the reaction to the Age of Reason by subjective, sentimental, and emotional forces, all these conspired to bring about a greater interest in foreign lands, peoples, customs, and cultures. Whereas rationalism tended to stress scientific and anthropological features of the foreign milieu, sentimentalism was primarily concerned with questions of the heart and humane values of both author and observed men.

The older travelogues from Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville down through the seventeenth century, on the whole, had been naive accounts of an adventurous and fantastic sort. In the early eighteenth century the narratives tended to be factual and simplistic, as for instance *George Ansons Voyage round the World . . .* (London, 1748). The late eighteenth century saw the rise of the sophisticated and feeling novelistic voyager, initiated perhaps by Laurence Sterne in his *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (London, 1768).

"Mr. Yorick's" moving account of his experiences abroad, particularly his strictures against the prejudiced traveler,¹ fell on fertile ground in Germany. Among the many literary travelers who followed in Sterne's footsteps are found the renowned names of Moritz August von Thümmel (1738-1817), Goethe (1749-1832),

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Wilhelm Heinse (1749-1803), Karl Philipp Moritz (1727-1793), Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg (1750-1819), the two Forsters (Johann Reinhold F., 1729-1798, and Johann George A. F., 1754-1794), the two von Humboldts (Wilhelm von H., 1767-1835, and Alexander von H., 1769-1859), and Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860).

To this list should be added the name of Johann Gottfried Seume (1763-1810)² whom Goethe, in reviewing the work of another traveler, called "a more important voyager."³ Similarly, in 1819, when E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776-1822) in the *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr*, without caring to give a name, referred to "the example of a brave officer. . . , who had walked from Leipzig to Syracuse, without once having his boots repaired,"⁴ he could expect his German readers to know immediately that he meant Seume. Later, at the beginning of this century, Professor August Sauer (1855-1926) called Seume "not just the widely read intelligent reporter and versatile author . . . the clever narrator of contemporary events and the untiring moralist . . . the intrepid wanderer and admired travel writer, but primarily . . . the great Stoic driven hither and thither on land and sea. . . ." ⁵ It is with Seume, "the widely-read intelligent reporter and versatile author," that this study will deal, with "the clever narrator of contemporary events" as affecting the English and England.

It was the fate of George Forster, Arndt, and Seume to become directly involved in the social and political conflicts of their times—in Seume's case, the American Revolution, the Polish Insurrection of 1794, and indirectly the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The last quarter of the eighteenth century was one of strife and conflicting allegiance in all areas of public life, and while Forster died prematurely in exile defending the Rights of Man before Bonaparte's rise to power, Arndt and Seume ten years later vigorously proclaimed German liberal nationalism in the face of French imperialism.⁶ Seume, the political theorist, who stoutly declared himself a republican whose destiny twice placed him in a position where he had to take up arms against liberty,⁷ as well as Seume, the *Aufklärer*, who speaks out against fiction in favor of serious historical writing (*Spaziergang*, W, I, 156), is indubitably as much a spokesman of the age and its public opinion as are men of greater literary stature.

A large portion of Seume's work alludes to England because of her domineering role towards the end of the century both in literature and politics, and perhaps because Seume's unfortunate

early experiences in Canada had brought him into close touch with one of the worst features of British foreign policy. It is to Seume's great credit that he tries to be fair even in his account of those days. His opinion of the English can certainly be taken to have been that of the majority of intelligent observers on the continent at the turn of the century. Therefore it should be worthwhile to study Seume's experiences with the English in North America, insofar as these have not been investigated previously, to review Seume's meetings with Britons on his other travels, and to learn of his observations and opinions on English life and politics.

I

Seume's experiences as a Hessian conscript during the Revolutionary War have been treated in some none too recent articles,⁸ all based on his own account of these years in the unfinished *Mein Leben* (W, I, 57-98). This study will attempt to throw some light on his experiences with Englishmen throughout his life, and will therefore also dwell on his stay in Nova Scotia. However, since all of Seume's writings and other sources shall be used, it should be possible in this first section to enlarge on previous investigations of his American adventures, although our main attention is to be directed to his meetings with and observations on Englishmen.

In his posthumously published autobiography Seume narrates that, when he attended the Nicolaischule in Leipzig, he bought at the age of sixteen (1779), "a history or geography in nineteen volumes written by some old codger whose name I have forgotten, for one thaler. Schäfer [Seume's classmate] was glad to be rid of the pigskin so as to have more room; yet I studied hugely in the old opuscle to make up for my deficiencies, so that I really believe I learned more from it than from many a wearying and costly lecture. When I was able to appraise the book, I got rid of it with little loss and much gain" (W, I, 46). This anonymous old book may well have started turning the wheels that made Seume one of the famous travelers of the period. One year after this episode, when he was enrolled at Leipzig University for the study of theology, he decided to leave for Paris without telling anyone of his plans. He promptly fell into the hands of a Hessian press gang and was eventually sent to Canada. After the Peace of Versailles he was returned to Germany and, escaping from the Hessians, fell into the clutches of the Prussians. Twice having attempted escape from them and always being recaptured, Seume finally succeeded

in buying his freedom for eighty thalers late in 1787 or the beginning of 1788.

He returned to Leipzig, received his M.A. in philology in 1792, went to Warsaw as a tutor and became secretary to General Count Igelström, the governor of Russian-occupied Poland, with the rank of lieutenant in the Russian service. He was captured by the Poles who staged their unsuccessful rebellion under Kosciusko in 1794 and released after Suvarov took Warsaw. From 1797 until the autumn of 1801 he stayed in Grimma, working as a proofreader for Georg Joachim Göschen (1752-1828) on the new Klopstock and Wieland editions. In 1801 he left for Sicily on foot, publishing the famous travelogue in 1803 which made him famous. In 1805 he set out on another tour, mostly on foot, to Russia and back through Scandinavia, giving an account of it in 1806, which only served to enhance his reputation. In 1810 he died in Teplitz, Bohemia.

Seume, the democrat, the foe of privileges of any group within the state (W, IV, 160 ff.), looked at the English with mixed feelings. He realized that as far as social and political institutions were concerned, they were greatly superior to the rest of Europe. But as far as his ideal of a democratic republic was concerned, they failed to reach it. In addition, as a German citizen and patriot who defined his era as the shame of his people (W, IV, 223), he would at one time admire and at another hate England. One is thus faced with a duality of attitude in Seume's approach to England which it would be well to remember.

The portrait of Seume, done by his friend Veit Hans Schnorr (1764-1841), which faces the title page of the Hartknoch edition of his works (W, I, i), indicates how impressive his face was: thin, with searching eyes under bushy brows, and a long slender nose. That he had a striking face is not only attested by a remark of Herder to Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867),⁹ but also by Goethe.¹⁰ Even more revealing is the sentence in the *Spaziergang* where Seume writes with apparent enjoyment that often he was taken for an Englishman on his trip: "I could protest as much as I wanted in Southern Italy and in Sicily and insist on my Germanness, I was still *Signor Inglese* and *Eccellenza*: and the bill was made out accordingly" (W, II, 137). Similarly, in what is probably one of his last letters (to Tiedge, Leipzig, May 16, 1810) he described himself as the "*knight of the woful [sic] countenance.*"¹¹ But Seume did not only look like an Englishman, he had been in touch with Englishmen, more so than many of his compatriots,

since the age of eighteen, and despite his unfortunate early experience with them, he apparently felt little resentment to the individual Briton.

The more surprising is the fact that he, as far as we almost definitely know, never set foot on English soil. In his autobiography, to be sure, he writes on his return to Europe after the conclusion of the American War of Independence: "We lay anchored off Deal in the Downs for a short period of time, and some of us were permitted to go on land; this, therefore, was the whole of my stay in old England, and hardly worth mentioning" (W, I, 96). The wording is so vague that one can assume that he was not one of the favored few. Again, in 1805, shortly before setting out on his northern tour, he writes to Hartknoch, his publisher, "Since things aren't quite peaceful in England right now, I shall walk to St. Petersburg."¹² These statements, at least, indicate his interest in a visit to England which, however, never came to pass.

As for the Revolutionary War, from which his acquaintance with the English dates, Seume, the convinced democrat, never had a good word for it. In the *Spaziergang* he refers ironically to his experiences in the American war with the words, ". . . where I had the honor of helping the king lose the thirteen provinces" (W, I, 236). In *Mein Sommer 1805* (Leipzig, 1806), discussing the financial basis of the British state, he writes similarly: "This active and passive commercial spirit is less damaging only for individual Britons; but nevertheless to their discredit; and their armies have had a taste of the consequences from the hands of Washington. [In English:] '*To buy and to sell is the soul of their wisdom*'" (W, III, 11).¹³ Again, in discussing the policy of Catherine II with regard to the banishment of political malcontents to provinces this side of the Ural Mountains, he writes that one could "indeed fear with sufficient reason, that upon some change in the government the provinces will play the role of the American British colonists" (W, V, 226). The fact, too, that just before the signing of the Treaty of Versailles he was ready and willing to escape from the English to the American lines, indicates where his sympathies lay. Referring to his republican sentiments, he writes in the Introduction to the *Spaziergang*: "One may think it strange, that a man, who twice took the field against liberty, should talk in this fashion. The solution of this puzzle is not difficult. Destiny has pushed me along . . ." (W, I, 157). It is the aim of the following remarks to observe more closely part of the workings of this destiny on Seume during his Hessian service at home and abroad.

Near the conclusion of his *Spaziergang* Seume mentions that on his way home from France in 1802 he again passed through the territory of Hesse-Cassel. He writes: "In Vach [Vacha] the handy-men of the old Landgrave¹⁴ had seized me and delivered me to Ziegenhain and Cassel and from there to America. Now one hears that such arbitrary acts have been stopped" (W, III, 199). And he goes on describing the conditions at the court of Hesse-Cassel, and how the dependence of all subjects on the will of this one ruler had led to the sale of Hessian troops to the English. The manner in which Seume had been inducted into the army is not clear. It is highly probable that he was simply arrested at the inn where he had found lodging for the night, for he was on Hessian soil (W, I, 59). His academic identity card was torn up, he became a stateless individual, and he was made over into a Hessian soldier.

In *Mein Sommer* he remarks that while walking from St. Petersburg to Vyborg, perspiration "poured down from me more than at the time, when I stood at attention with my battalion for several hours and labored with hand and foot to the sound of the drum" (W, III, 115). One can imagine how brutally the conscripted troops were drilled. Seume never ceases to refer to the military problem in the state, and on the basis of his own experience requires that there be just cause for war (W, IV, 178); this is particularly true, if it is a war for one's country (W, III, 205). He thus through his experiences with the Hessians introduces the concept of a national war (before J. G. Fichte) of either liberation or of defense, the former becoming a fact after his death.

Now comes his first meeting with an Englishman. In Seume's autobiography, in the passages dealing with his training at Ziegenhain, he mentions that the conscripts were supposed to be shipped to America in the spring of 1782 after "Fawcet's inspection" (W, I, 59). And later, on the way to Bremen and the British transports, he writes that they were inspected by the "Faultfinder [Mäkler] Fawcet" (W, I, 66). It should rather read "Makler Fawcet," Fawcet the Broker. Colonel William Faucit or Fawcett (1728-1804), of the Guards, came to Germany towards the end of 1775 as the emissary of Henry, 12th Earl of Suffolk (1739-1779), the Lord Privy Seal and Secretary of State, to make the treaties for the allied forces of Britain.¹⁵ Faucit spent all these years in Germany inspecting the troops of the eight states with whom treaties had been signed and insuring their readiness for battle. When he inspected Seume's contingent, they all had to shout with the kind help of the butt-end of rifles, "Long live the King" in German (W, I, 66). It is to be

imagined that Faucit was not popular among the conscripts or anywhere in Germany.¹⁶

Although the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, was the real end of the war, the British government was loath to admit defeat. Parliament renewed the grant for the allied troops, and the German recruits were forwarded as usual. Max von Eelking, in *The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence, 1776-1783*, translated and abridged by J. G. Rosengarten (Albany, 1893), writes:

On June 10th, 1782, the transport fleet of 15 vessels, escorted by three men-of-war, sailed with Hessian, Hanau, Brunswick, Ansbach, and Zerbst recruits.

Col. v. Hatzfeld led 900 Hessians,¹⁷ the eighth regular reinforcement—consisting of Yägers, artillery-men and infantry—leaving Cassel on April 10th. Their route lay through Prussian territory, and in spite of the report that Frederic the Great would not allow German recruits for America to go through his kingdom, or that he exacted the same duty that was paid on cattle sent to England, no effort was made to interrupt their march—indeed, their number was increased by Prussian soldiers deserting to join the new recruits (Chap. XIV, p. 231).

This is borne out by Seume's account of his contingent's transport from Cassel to Bremen and then by ship to the new world. Colonel von Hatzfeld is also mentioned by Seume. As a matter of fact, he had an argument with him later in Canada, when his duties as a clerk became too much for him (W, I, 83-84).¹⁸ Seume, upon arrival in Halifax, together with twenty other recruits, was assigned to the Regiment Crown Prince (Erbprinz), which he never saw (W, I, 78). That is not surprising, for it had been the strongest of the Hessian regiments at Yorktown, and according to von Eelking, had suffered proportionately heavy losses (p. 212).

Seume's own account of his miserable voyage to America is well known. Von Eelking writes of Seume's contingent: "Arriving in Halifax in August [1782], the men were disembarked, on the report of a large French fleet near by; but it proved to be a British fleet, with 1,500 men and provisions for the army" (p. 231). Time and again in his other writings Seume alludes to his terrible experiences on board the transports. In the *Spaziergang* he remarks concerning the lodging he found on his way to Sicily, "I think, it is not as bad by far as on an English transport vessel, where we were packed in like pickled Swedish herrings" (W, I, 173). Similarly, in *Mein Sommer* he writes of another crossing, this time from Copenhagen to Kiel: "I had to sleep on the first chest that I could find, which in every way was quite as bad as

being packed in like pickles on the English transports destined for America during the Colonial War" (W, III, 187). Writing about the water he found between Trieste and Venice, he states, "In order to appreciate the goodness and value of it [a clear spring], you must have been shipped to America by the English" (W, I, 235-236), and he goes into a detailed description of the nauseous liquid they had been forced to drink on those ships. On his way to Vyborg in 1805 he found only ill-smelling water and was compelled to drink it while holding his nose, "in the same manner as formerly aboard the English transport vessels" (W, III, 116). As for the ocean crossing which he says took twenty-two weeks (W, I, 72), thus disputing von Eelking's figures above, he writes in the *Spaziergang*, "I have never been seasick on all my voyages, thanks to my good training" (W, II, 72), referring, no doubt, to these many weeks. Similarly, in *Mein Sommer* he writes, "Neptune apparently does not favor me. Even my first voyage from the North Sea to America lasted twenty-two weeks" (W, III, 173). Thus throughout his life Seume vividly remembered his involuntary crossing of the Atlantic Ocean.

On board the ship which took him to America he met two more Englishmen, this time at close quarters. One was the "stout first mate" who wanted to chase him off the quarterdeck where he was reading his Horace, and for whom he has few kind words. The other was the captain who came to his rescue and who encouraged him with his reading not only of Latin authors but also of English works by lending him some of his books. Their exchange in English is written up by Seume in the original (W, I, 69). When the time for parting came, both the captain and Seume were sorry at being forced to separate. Seume writes: "When I said good-bye to the ship's captain, he shook hands with me in cordial friendship. '*It is a pity, my boy,*' said he, '*you do not stay wits [sic] us; you would soon become a very good sailor.*' '*Heartily I would,*' said I, '*but you see, it is impossible.*' '*So it is,*' he exclaimed, '*god speed you well!*' With a grateful wish for the humane man I climbed down the ladder into the boat and rowed towards shore" (W, I, 76-77). The sailors on board the ship were not men to Seume's liking. In his first written story, the "Schreiben aus Amerika nach Deutschland" in J. W. von Archenholtz' *Neue Litteratur- und Völkerkunde*,¹⁹ he mentions their most common expressions as being "God damm [sic]" and "Give here the bottle."

On landing in Halifax (which he invariably spells Hallifax) Seume resumed garrison duty. He rose to the rank of sergeant,

became fourrier for his company, and was put in charge of its records. He undoubtedly met Englishmen, Canadians, and even loyal Americans, but he apparently did not mix with them socially, or he would have remarked on it. In Halifax he began his long friendship with Karl Ludwig A. H. von Münchhausen (1759-1836), a junior officer at the time.²⁰

In his other writings Seume often looks back to the year he spent in Canada. In the *Spaziergang* he refers to a warning given to him by a Benedictine abbot on climbing Mt. Etna in April during the cold season. Seume writes: "However, I did not permit myself to be crushed by this information; for I would not have been worthy the experience of the North American and Russian winters" (W, II, 32). Sicily, he states, "looks dreadful in the interior. Here and there some spots are cultivated; but the whole is a desert, the like of which I have scarcely seen in America" (W, I, 331-332). In *Mein Sommer* he tells of a rest he took while walking through Denmark. He writes: "As I now sat alone on my knapsack and once more traveled many a road from Hallifax [sic] to Syracuse and lived through many an hour . . ." (W, III, 145). In the same book he also mentions a piece of agricultural equipment, referred to by another traveler, Karl Gottlob Küttner (1755-1805), on which wheat or grass is dried after cutting. He remarks: "I have noticed them also in North America, and I would be very surprised, if one should not find them in Scotland as well" (W, III, 176). There is little doubt that his stay in Canada was indelibly impressed on his memory.

This is even more obvious in his poems. Apart from the first two lines of "Oeser's Manen" which read: "Lonely I stood and thought of the time which, reaping men, / I had lived by the shores of the Saint Lawrence [Laurenzstrom] and the Vistula, / . . ." (W, VII, 176), several of these owe their very existence to Seume's experience in Canada. The most famous of the poems is undoubtedly "Der Wilde," with the well-known first lines "A Canadian, who had not yet discovered / That the civility of Europeans is only a veneer, / . . ." (W, VII, 72-75) which appeared in Schiller's *Neue Thalia*,²¹ where the opening line reads "An American, who. . . ." Less well known is this excerpt from Seume's letter to Schiller, accompanying the poem, dated Leipzig, June 5, 1793: "The incident which I describe in 'dem Wilden,' was told me as a fact by some trustworthy people during the last war, with the supplementary information, that the farmer was a German" (PR, p. 89). In a footnote to the poem Seume says: "This tale I have heard as a

true story, when I myself was in America and in the region described. It caught my interest by virtue of its genuine, purely primitive humanity which so rarely gains anything through our higher civilization. Although several similar stories are known, I still did not wish to suppress it here" (W, VII, 351, 352, fn. 2). Another poem, also in this Rousseauesque vein, called "Der Geburtstag," appeared first in Friedrich Bouterwek's *Neue Vesta*.²² It had originally been planned as part of a larger poem to be named "Asträä" (HW, X, 213 fn.). Its setting, too, is in a primitive society which Seume had come to know among the Indians in Canada.

In his autobiography, in the passages dealing with his experiences of the North American Indian, Seume quotes from memory a poem which he had composed in 1782 (W, I, 86). It is reprinted in his volume of poetry under the title of "Die Natur (Fragment)." The last strophe reads:

Yet perhaps an Indian [ein Wilder] can listen in,
Who sharpens his crooked knife for the kill,
So that with a rapid rustling sound
He could snatch the scalp from our skulls . . . (W, VII, 273).

This is an aspect of primitive Indian culture on which Seume also dwells in his memoirs. He says: "The scalping by the Indians is sufficiently well-known; and one tells dreadful stories of it. No such case became known to me at that time. They took their scalps honestly from their enemies; and our Indians were thoroughly friendly people" (W, I, 86-87). His account of the Indians is quite detailed and betrays his sympathy for them. Perhaps not too well known is a statement he makes in his first printed article, the above mentioned "Schreiben." In speaking of the Hurons and "Mahoks" (sic), he writes: "A journeyman weaver from Berlin has held the position of such a majesty [chief] not far from here for eighteen years; he is completely assimilated by them, and is said to enjoy also a great reputation among the other tribes." Later references to the Indians appear even in a footnote to his partial translation of Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*, in which he draws attention to the Abbé Raynal's statements about their advanced civilization (W, III, 224). Finally, the "friendly Hurons" are mentioned in his poem "Abschiedsschreiben an Münchhausen" (W, VII, 26). It is apparent that Seume only learned about the Indians in a relatively casual manner; he did not spend much time with them or delve too deeply into their affairs. He remarks, however, on the fact that the English, unlike the French, did not send missionaries to the natives (W, I, 90).

Of peculiar interest are some casual lines to be found in the poem "Fragment über den Kuß," in which Seume vainly tried to achieve the lightness of touch of the Anacreontic poets. In his memoirs he relates that upon his sudden departure from Leipzig the rumor spread that he had taken flight in consequence of an affair with the daughter of an honest artisan. He writes, "It was definitely a lie, for the attraction to the fair sex came rather late with me" (W, I, 58). We know of his later unhappy infatuation for Wilhelmine Reder and Johanna Christiana Loth (PR, *passim*). It is not impossible that we can discover an English girl or woman in Canada as his first inamorata on the basis of this poem. The verses in question read as follows:

Well, to tell the truth, I have . . .
. . . I will confess, kissed in the old
And in the new world, too . . .
.
It was a girl, superb and beautiful and rich
In every rarity of gifts divine.
Forsooth, I often swore
She would have conquered
With her soulful glance
The gods on Mount Olympus;
And if the fairy world had born her,
Urania would with pleasure
Have selected her as friend,
So much the graces had bestowed on her.
A girl she was who often, when
My fantasy ran riot
And lulled me into paradise,
Where I with joy in seven Heavens dwelled,
More strongly pulled me to Columbia
Than Washington and Franklin ever did.
Now think, my friends, a kiss like that
Which I at first stole from the haughty British girl,
And which she finally allowed altogether
And by herself returned, as I believed,
Was certainly a kiss
Of precious joy . . . (W, VII, 111-113).

These lines make it highly probable that there was an English girl who attracted Seume in the new world.²³

Having added some new details to Seume's experiences in North America, we can now return to the main theme of this study, his meetings with Englishmen during his various tours. It was noted that the first Englishman whom Seume met was Colonel William Faucit. Next came the first mate, the good captain, and the

anonymous sailors on the transport vessel that took him to Nova Scotia. His social life in Halifax appears to have been strictly limited to his friends in the camp, with the exception of the "Brittin" mentioned in the previously quoted poem. He also became acquainted with the Indians near Halifax, but not to any great degree. On his way back to Europe the ships lay at anchor off Deal, but it can be assumed that he did not manage to go on land.

II

Upon Seume's return to Germany there follows a long silence about meetings with Englishmen until the year 1786. In a letter to his boyhood friend, Johann Gottlob Korbinsky, from Emden (where he had been forced to do garrison duty with the Prussians), dated October 13, he writes vaingloriously, "I am considered a strong Englishman, and native Britons have praised the purity of my English verses" (PR, p. 53). In the light of this remark it can be assumed that Seume met several Englishmen in Emden, and perhaps even mixed socially with them. However, no trace or mention of these occur in his writings. This silence about Englishmen continues through his release from the Prussians, his four years in Leipzig where in 1792 he received the M.A. degree in philology (classical languages), his stay in Poland and later in Grimma.

Finally, in the fall of 1801, Seume set out on foot from Saxony to Sicily. From Grimma to Weimar and Jena he traveled in the company of Henry Crabb Robinson (cf. the third article in note 2 of this paper which discusses their encounter). While walking through Bohemia and Austria to Vienna in the company of Schnorr, he met no Englishmen. But after his arrival in Italy he apparently encountered quite a number of Britons, for his *Spaziergang* is full of little incidents involving Englishmen and anecdotes concerning the English in Italy. As was to be expected, in 1802, shortly after the Peace of Amiens and before the outbreak of renewed hostilities, quite a few Britons traveled on the continent. Most of those whom he met he found in hotels or on public vehicles. Perhaps he would have come across his first Englishman in Venice, if the hotel "The Queen of England" had not been full, forcing him to seek lodgings in a more modest inn (W, I, 239). In Naples, at last, he lived in a boarding house run by a Frenchwoman. "The company," he writes, "consists mostly of foreigners, Englishmen, Germans, and Frenchmen; the latter are now in the majority here" (W, I, 313). Yet he apparently did not make friends with any of them.

Seume eventually fell in with a group of Englishmen, and his narrative at this point becomes more lively and entertaining. He devotes ten pages to the account of his adventures on Mt. Etna in the company of several British officers who were stationed on the Isle of Malta. They are first introduced anonymously by a messenger as a "very distinguished foreign party" (W, II, 35). Then one hears the disappointing news "that the Englishmen would not come" but would remain in Nicolosi (W, II, 36). At last, however, Seume writes, "when I climbed down [from the Monti Rossi above Catania] I met two Englishmen of the group in Nicolosi who too had walked to this spot. They were five officers in all from the garrison at Malta who had come from Naples and on their way wanted to have a look at the mountain: a Major, a Captain, and three Lieutenants. They were glad to have an addition to the group, and I quickly fetched my knapsack . . . and joined the Englishmen in the inn at Nicolosi, where previously my guide had taken lodgings" (W, II, 37). He goes on telling how pleasantly they spent the night together, not sleeping much, for the gentlemen "told of their adventures, military and galant, on the rivers Thames and Nile: and at one time they criticized a general and at another a girl" (W, II, 37). At last around midnight they left the inn to climb Mt. Etna. It was either the sixth or seventh of April, 1802, so Seume writes. On their way they had a lot of fun, singing, reciting poems, making puns, some of which are quoted by him in English. Particularly the major was an inexhaustible source of merriment. Soon they got higher and found snow. Upon reaching the top, they fell silent. "At last the Major, giving vent to his feelings with a deep sigh, said, [in English] 'Now it is indeed worth a young man's while to mount and see it; for such a sight is not to be met with in the parks of old England.' More you cannot expect from a genuine Briton . . ." (W, II, 40). Seume remarks particularly on the manner in which the officers had equipped themselves for the climb. Instead of wearing stout boots over heavy socks, the Englishmen experimented with shoes, and socks drawn over these. Of course, the latter were soon torn, and as a result several of the Englishmen had frozen toes and one of them frozen fingers (W, II, 44 and 39). In a letter to Göschen, Seume writes, "On Mt. Etna two of my comrades, two English officers from Malta, froze their feet. . ." (PR, p. 357; Florence, May 31, 1802). Upon reaching the valley, where they all had dinner together, Seume states, "We said good-bye, the Englishmen rode back to Catania, and I went on my way to Taor-

mina" (W, II, 45). Seume certainly enjoyed the meeting with the British officers. This is not only shown by the above letter to Göschen which was written about seven weeks after the episode, but also by his later jocular allusion in the *Spaziergang* to "the compatriots of Buttler," a reference to the satirist Samuel Butler (1612-1680).

In Messina Seume noticed four English frigates, and remembering his own experiences on the transports, he writes: "They are splendidly beautiful ships, and as often as I see something of the British navy, I involuntarily pardon the insolent islanders for their proud 'Britannia rule the waves'" (W, II, 50). He was, however, not very eager to make the acquaintance of the sailors, although he praised the English vessels who came to the rescue of a ship which had difficulty in reaching the port (W, II, 53). On the return trip from Syracuse he took the boat from Palermo to Naples. Because of the insecurity of the times, a Neapolitan warship accompanied the convoy. Seume writes: "The Russian and English ministers are on the large vessel; we therefore have the additional honor of sailing very slowly. . ." (W, II, 73). The English minister to whom Seume refers here was probably Sir Arthur Paget (1771-1840), the successor to Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803), the minister to Naples from 1764 until 1800, who shall be mentioned in greater detail later. Before reaching Siena, Seume must again have met an Englishman, for he quotes an anonymous Briton who expressed surprise at the "foolish" names of the Italian towns Acquapendente and Acquafiascone (W, II, 117). On his way to Paris, Seume passed through Switzerland. He writes, "In the Hotel 'Krone' in Schaffhausen there was a very fine company of merchants, salesmen, and Englishmen" (W, II, 158). Thus we have reached the end of the *Spaziergang*. The high spot of the tour certainly was Seume's Mt. Etna expedition with the Englishmen.

Compared to the southern trip, the northern tour which followed in 1805 is disappointing from our point of view. Apparently on that journey, which is written up in *Mein Sommer 1805*, Seume did not meet more than one Englishman, a fact easily explained by the renewed outbreak of hostilities between England and France. The wise English traveler stayed at home until Napoleon's final defeat. The lone Englishman, whom Seume met during the crossing of the Baltic Sea between Copenhagen and Kiel, is presented as a foolish man. He is silent throughout the voyage and

remains on board after all the other passengers have left (W, III, 188 and 190).

We now come to certain anecdotes concerning Englishmen which Seume delights in narrating. Most of these show up the British as eccentric persons, an eighteenth-century tradition on the continent by which Lord Byron later profited. While in Rome, Seume visited his friend Johann Christian Reinhart (1761-1847) who lived there like so many other German artists. He belonged to the classical school of German painters, the one of Adam Friedrich Oeser (1717-1799), Asmus Jakob Carstens (1754-1798), Angelika Kauffmann (1741-1807), and Joseph Anton Koch (1768-1831). The anecdote which Seume relates in the *Spaziergang* (W, II, 113-115) concerns Reinhart and Frederick Augustus Hervey, 4th Earl of Bristol and 5th Baron Howard de Walden, Bishop of Derry in Ireland (1730-1803), the famous "Lord Bristol" of the ancient family of whose members it was said, "God created men, women, and Herveys." He certainly was a twig off the old tree. Among his escapades was an affair with the Countess Lichtenau, the mistress of Frederick William II of Prussia. An inveterate traveler, he spent most of his later years on the continent, the reason why so many hotels in Germany and Italy are named after him. Seume heard of him in Rome, where he lived until his death in Albano. Previous to that he had spent eighteen months in a French prison in Milan. Bristol was a genuine lover of the arts, cultured and versatile, but certainly not a man who made religion his only business. Seume is none too kind to him in his remarks, perhaps because a friend of his was involved in the incident to be related below.

He starts his story with the following unflattering observation: "For some years a wealthy Briton has been living here whose eccentric character, to say the least, is rather famous throughout Europe. He cannot, either in his capacity as a lord be considered the pride of his nation, or as a bishop be called an ornament of the Anglican Church. This gentleman has the whim, natural to the rich, to play the connoisseur and Maecenas of the arts; and he likes to be the arbiter of taste, but in such an unhappy manner that his opinions can occasionally damn a work among those in Italy who support the artists" (W, II, 113). Seume continues by stating that many promising talents who are now in his clutches by virtue of his liberality are destined for mediocrity. This noble lord even attempted to have "our compatriot" join his entourage, but the latter proved to be less of a courtier than many others. The

Englishman was wont to ask the painter to his house; he rode and went out with the German in order to entice him; all to no avail. He could not win over the artist. One day, at a luncheon in his palace, to which "our friend" had been invited, he introduced the latter in his customary boorish manner, making fun of the German's homeland by rhyming "Prussiano" with "ruffiano." The painter, deeply hurt, left the palace. On reaching his home, the artist wrote a letter to the lord (which Seume quotes in full), in which he paid back the insult he had received in like manner. The noble lord laughed loudly on reading it, for he may have been used to similar flatteries. But he ceased laughing when a cartoon, depicting a pig surrounded by empty and broken wine bottles, and undoubtedly drawn by the artist, began circulating in Rome. Everyone knew who was represented: the Earl of Bristol; and the painter's name, Reinhart, was on everybody's lips. Seume concludes the anecdote by expressing his disbelief in a rumored change in Bristol's customary behavior. If for nothing else, the story is interesting for betraying Seume's obvious dislike of a man who lived a dissolute and irresponsible life.

In his *Apokryphen* (written between 1806 and 1807) Seume again quotes the Earl. He writes, this time with greater approval, because he himself had become discouraged by conditions in Germany: "The late Lord Bristol, of dissolute memory, divided all the Germans in Rome into winedrinkers and beerdrinkers; with the observation that the former were rogues and the latter blockheads. Although much cynical arrogance is shown in this view, one must indeed confess that the man could have been led to it through a study of our public affairs. Now, to be sure, we have considerably fewer winedrinkers, but a proportionate rise in beerdrinkers; and thus in no way have improved" (W, IV, 277-278). This concludes Seume's remarks on Bristol whom he never met in person, but who, of course, was known to all Germans who kept abreast of world news.

Of considerable interest are Seume's observations on Horatio Nelson (1758-1805), the British naval hero, Lady Emma Hamilton (ca. 1765-1815), and Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803), the British envoy to the court of Naples. The strange and intriguing story of these three was, of course, well known throughout Europe, when Seume started out on his tour through Italy. As is to be expected, Seume, the liberal and moral critic, does not approve of any of them. In the *Spaziergang*, he mentions first Sir Hamilton, writing from Naples that he saw "the pretty bungalow of the

Knight Hamilton, where he had continually the sight of Mt. Vesuvius before his eyes. . ." (W, I, 318). He is referring here indirectly to Hamilton's interest in archeology, his series of observations on the action of volcanoes at Vesuvius and Etna in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, of which he became a member in 1766, and his later works in this field. Seume continues: ". . . one probably does him an injustice, if one concludes from the locality of his amusements to a similarity of taste with the beautiful Queen, who perhaps has been treated worse by rumor than she actually deserves." The Queen, of course, is Maria Carolina of Naples, daughter of Maria Theresia, and the notorious friend of Lady Hamilton with whom she intrigued behind the back of King Ferdinand IV (*il rè lazzarone*, as he was called) and Sir Hamilton. Seume is very severe about the actions of Nelson who was won over by the loyalists (of whom Lady Hamilton and the Queen were the ring leaders) and who by far exceeded his powers as commander of the British naval squadron by intervening in the internal affairs of Naples. The story of Nelson's refusal to accept the capitulation of the Parthenopaeian Republic in Naples is well known, as is the fact that one of their leaders, Prince Francesco Caracciolo (1732-1799), was court-martialed by Italian officers aboard an English naval vessel in 1799, and many other patriots hanged and shot as a result of it. Even Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo (1744-1827), the leader of the Royalist forces, would not be a party to this action. Seume writes on the brutality committed by the loyalists: "This happened under Ruffo, whose humanity is even lauded here and there. The story of the patriots of St. Elmo [fortress in Naples] is well-known. Nelson and his lady, the former wife of Hamilton, nullified the capitulation in the name of the government, and the hangman had his hands full. . . . The name of the Admiral, and even more that of the lady, is uttered generally with loathing and under curses, and one gives proof for one's assertions" (W, II, 151). Ruffo, too, comes in for his share of criticism. Seume states, "In Naples people say publicly that the Prime Minister, being half English, is selling the Nation to the British" (W, II, 153). One notices that Seume is indeed very critical of Nelson's Neapolitan adventure.

Similarly, Seume's sympathies are all with the Danes when he discusses the Battle of Copenhagen of 1801 in *Mein Sommer*. Remarking on the width of the Sound and its improper defenses, he expresses the view that "not only Nelson but every other Briton or Batavian could sail through it, if he has a good wind and a

strong squadron of naval vessels" (W, III, 173). In his observations on the battle, he believes that the victory of the English was not so complete. "If," he says, "the Russian and Swedish fleet had been able to arrive at the same time, the daring exploit of the Triton Nelson could indeed have gone wrong" (W, III, 184). We find throughout that Seume's sympathies are for the underdog, here for the Danish people whose fleet was destroyed by Nelson in the surprise attack of the Baltic campaign.

Other Englishmen active in public life who are mentioned by name in Seume's writings are "Pitt" (William Pitt, the younger, 1759-1806; W, IV, 87), "Pitt, Lord Chatam" (sic; actually William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham, 1708-1778; W, VII, 362, fn. 18), and "Wilberforce" (William Wilberforce, 1759-1833; W, VII, 133 and 354, fn. 6). In jest Seume writes of a man active in still another field, "The miraculous bed of Doctor Graham in London. . ." (W, IV, 87). He is referring here to James Graham (1745-1794), the quack doctor, enthusiast, and lunatic, who became famous for his earth-baths, the Temple of Health, and particularly his celestial bed. He promised relief from sterility to those who slept on it. It was an astounding structure made for him by Denton, a skillful mechanic. During the year 1780 he was lampooned by George Colman (1732-1794) in the play *Genius of Nonsense*. There appears to have been a connection between Dr. Graham and Emma Hamilton in the early eighties.

Finally, Seume tells two anecdotes concerning Englishmen in Russia, both in his essay on the life and character of Catherine II (Leipzig, 1797), which show again how Seume gave credence to the traditional view of the British. He writes of the first: "An Englishman came with British tempo from London to St. Petersburg simply to view the splendid stone balustrade along the Neva, of which his compatriots had told him so much. He came, got off, viewed it, walked a few paces up and down, got again into the coach and returned, as did another of his eccentric fellow countrymen who journeyed to Egypt, measured the Pyramid and went back home" (W, V, 222). The second anecdote concerns a British officer who had served with the Russian navy. He reached St. Petersburg with the report of a victory won by the Russians. After he had informed the Czarina of the news, he still stood before her, even after she had dismissed him. When she inquired what else he wished, he asked to look at her face through his binoculars, since he would resign shortly and wanted to tell his countrymen that he had seen the queen, whom he had served. The

Czarina graciously consented. "The Englishman," writes Seume, "took his field glasses and looked at the queen, who stood a short distance before him, put them away again, saluted, and left" (W, V, 244).

We have noticed in these last stories that Seume, although he likes the individual Briton, is not a great friend of England. He is particularly troubled by the commercial interests of the English nation. Not only does he blame the loss of the United States on the British "commercial spirit" (W, III, 11), he also fears for the nation's character (W, III, 13 and 175; IV, 156) and is incensed at the slave trade carried on by English ships from Bristol and Liverpool (W, VII, 354, fn. 6; III, 183). Obviously Napoleon's propaganda during these years had something to do with this generally unfavorable opinion of England on the continent. The phrase coined by Napoleon, "a nation of shopkeepers," reverberated through Europe.²⁴ In the Introduction to his translation of Robert Percival's *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope* (Leipzig, 1805), in which he defends himself against French criticism, Seume disagrees with Percival's dictum that without England anarchy would rule the rest of the world (W, VI, 79). As a matter of fact, he states expressly that the English in their imperialistic ambition were as bad as the French (W, VI, 78). Nevertheless, he remarks that a patriot like Percival deserves respect (W, VI, 81). In a passage in his essay on the "Impertinences" Seume writes that "the Englishmen are the prototypes of impertinence of money and power in all matters concerning the rule of the sea and of trade; otherwise, they are sufferably decent" (W, VI, 94). Yet he enviously states in the years 1806 and 1807 that the English through their isolation are the only nation that is safe (W, IV, 176). While formerly he had talked of the English as a liberal people (W, IV, 7), he now finds that their demand for commercial privileges indicates a lack of concern for individual liberty (W, IV, 259). One notices that Seume views developments in the relation of England to Europe during the Napoleonic era with more and more alarm and, like many other continentals, grew more and more dubious about the trustworthiness and stability of England in the endless war.

Thus we have seen that Seume throughout his life was interested in the English. Those Englishmen whom he knew personally generally found his approval, particularly the captain and the five officers from Malta and perhaps the girl whom he had met in Canada. Toward Nelson and Lady Hamilton he was understandably bitter.

Others, of whom he only heard, he viewed with respect, unless they were known to be fools or rogues. His attitude toward the English as a nation cooled progressively, the longer the continental war lasted. We noticed, too, that Seume's description of Englishmen is largely traditional. He follows the eighteenth-century view, so prevalent in Europe, of regarding the English as eccentric, notwithstanding his own personal meetings with them.

NOTES

1. *The Works of Laurence Sterne*, ed. George Saintsbury (London, 1894), IV, 31.

2. The author of this study has previously dealt with Seume in the following essays: "Seume's Knowledge of the English Language," *The Germanic Review*, XXIX (1954), 131-145; "Seume's Knowledge of English Literature," *Symposium*, VIII (1954), 249-272; "Seume's Reception in England and America," *The Modern Language Review*, LII (1957), 65-71.

3. Jubiläums-Ausgabe, XXXVII, 210. Translations from the German are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

4. *E. T. A. Hoffmann's sämtliche Werke*, Serapions-Ausgabe (Berlin and Leipzig, n.d.), I, ii, 118.

5. *Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1903), p. 50.

6. Cf. Horst-Joachim Willimsky, *Johann Gottfried Seume als Reise-schriftsteller*, (diss. Greifswald, 1936), Part VII: "Parallelen zu Forsters Reisebeschreibungen," pp. 69-85.

7. *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* (Braunschweig and Leipzig, 1803)—hereafter cited as *Spaziergang*—in *J. G. Seume's sämtliche Werke*, Sechste rechtmäßige Gesamtausgabe in acht Bänden (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1863)—hereafter referred to as W, followed by volume, and page number—W, I, 157.

8. For a listing of these, see my article "Seume's Reception in England and America," *The Modern Language Review*, LII (1957), 70-71.

9. *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, selected and edited by Thomas Sadler (London, 1869), I, v, 107.

10. Jubiläums-Ausgabe, XXX, 407.

11. *Prosaische und poetische Werke von J. G. Seume* (Berlin: Gustav Hempel, n. d.)—hereafter cited as HW, followed by volume and page number—HW, X, 176.

12. Oskar Planer and Camillo Reißmann, *Johann Gottfried Seume, Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften* (first edition: Leipzig, 1898)—hereafter cited as PR—p. 470; Leipzig, January 16.

13. This remark resembles Thomas Jefferson's statement, "England is a nation which nothing but views of interest can govern" (letter to James Madison, 1785). For an impartial statement on the German view of England at the beginning of the nineteenth century see one of Robinson's letters to his brother which reads in part: "I found indeed throughout and particularly in the trading Town a strong dislike to the English Government with a decided, rather insinuated than avowed, attachment to the french [.] This arises from the imagined despotism as it is called, of the English in com-

mercial affairs And our Monopoly of Trade [.] As I however generally yielded these points to my Adversaries I had little difficulty in others, in bringing them to agree with me in the superiority of the English to the french Character—Which for the last six Months has been my favorite Topick . . ." (*Crabb Robinson in Germany, 1800-1805. Extracts from his Correspondence*, ed. by Edith J. Morley [London, 1929], p. 80; Grimma, September 21, 1801).

14. Frederick II of Hesse ruled from 1760 to 1785.

15. On the 15th of January, 1776, he signed the treaty with the Hessian Government, represented by Baron Martin Ernst von Schlieffen (1732-1825), by which Hesse agreed to furnish fifteen regiments, in all 12,500 men, in exchange for about three and a half million pounds. Actually, Hesse-Cassel furnished more than 16,000 men during the whole war, and thus received a proportionally larger compensation. It was the tenth treaty of this kind that Hesse had made since the seventeenth century, and it was the best treaty the country had ever signed, for now it received yearly £50,000 more than it ever got before for the same number of soldiers. But Britain desperately needed men and was willing to pay for them. As a special concession the treaty stipulated that the Hessian soldiers were to be employed only on the North American Continent, and not in the unwholesome West Indies. The treaty was printed at Leipzig in 1776 and in the *Parliamentary Transactions*, Nos. 17 and 18.

16. In his account Seume also mentions that he was employed for a while as a clerk by the "old General Gore," i.e., General von Gohr who was in command of the camp at Ziegenhain.

17. Edward J. Howell, in his *The Hessians and the other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War* (New York, 1884), Appendix D, p. 299, writes that Hesse-Cassel sent 961 men on April 10.

18. Von Hatzfeld's name occurs in the "Roll of Foreign Accounts of the 23rd year of King George the Third—Anglia—Lieutenant Colonel William Handfield deputy quarter master General . . .," published in the *Report*, Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1937), Appendix B, p. 24. The entry in question reads: "More paid 200 days Forage Baggage and Batt Money for the year 1783 to Colonel de Seitz's Hessian Regiment, the Foreign Recruits under the Command of Colonel Hatzfeld (sic), the Brunswick Troops and Anspach Yagers £1245." There are several more entries of payments made to "Hessian Recruits" without reference to the commanding officer. It is more than probable that part of these moneys went through Seume's hands since he was fourrier and in charge of the records for his company (W, I, 85). No other information concerning Seume's stay in Halifax could be elicited from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia by correspondence. In "A List of the Officers of the Hessian Corps serving under Generals Howe, Clinton and Carleton, 1776-1783," appended to M. von Eelking, *The German Allied Troops*, von Hatzfeld, listed as plain Halzfeld (sic), is recorded amongst the colonels of the Grenadier Regiment Marquis D'Angelelli (1781-1783; formerly the Regiment Woellwarth, 1778, and Trumbach, 1779-1780) from March 1782, until 1783 (p. 321). Another Hatzfeld listed under that name, and probably a close relative, is carried on the lists of the same regiment as an ensign from March 6, 1782 (p. 323). Franz Carl von Seitz, colonel, and commanding officer of the Regiment von Seitz (1779-

1783; formerly Regiment Steyn, 1778) is listed among the Hessian troops from February 28, 1774, and as a colonel from 1778 (p. 316).

19. Vol. II (1789), pp. 362-381, dated Halifax, 1782.

20. Several officers by the name of Münchhausen (with various spellings) are listed in von Eelking, op. cit., on pp. 291, 293, 298, 308, none exceeding the rank of captain. The Baron H. von Münchhausen who rose to become a colonel in the Regiment Bose (p. 324) was his brother. He himself rose to become an "Oberstleutnant" with the Hessian army in the French wars 1792-1793. In 1807 he was made an "Oberförster" in the service of King Jerome of Westphalia, and in 1809 he was acquitted of participating in Dörnberg's rebellion. Subsequently he retired to his estate Lauenau. Apart from Seume, his literary friends included L. G. Kosegarten (1758-1818), F. D. Gräter (1768-1830), and F. Ch. Horn (1781-1837). In 1791 he published a drama, *Sympathie der Seelen* (Cassel), in 1798 a romance, *Der neue Schiffer* (Marburg), in 1801 a collection of poems entitled *Versuche* (Neustrelitz). Together with Gräter he edited the *Bardenalmanach der Deutschen auf 1802*, and he also participated in some of the later issues of the *Göttinger Musenalmanach*. In conjunction with Seume he published *Rückerinnerungen von Seume und Münchhausen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1797; reprinted in 1823), p. 96. They thus started a friendship in Halifax which lasted until Seume's death in 1810. Among the small group of officers that gathered around these two men, Seume mentions a certain young man by the name of Buttler whose great interest in camp life was to bake and cook for his friends (W, I, 80). In the previously mentioned list appended to von Eelking, op. cit., a Friedrich von Buttler is listed in the Regiment Dittfurth (1778-1783) as a second lieutenant, having risen from the rank of ensign; a Carl von Buttler is listed as an ensign, and so is a plain Buttler (p. 306). No further information could be obtained on various other recruits and friends whom Seume remembers in his account of his Halifax days.

21. 1793, Vol. III, pp. 255 ff.

22. Leipzig, 1806, pp. 105-120.

23. Of added interest in this connection is a letter which Seume wrote on Mme. de Stael's *Corinne ou L'Italie*, in the years 1804-1805, to the previously mentioned Johanna Christiana Devrient née Loth (1784-1857). He says: "The fact that she has drawn the Scotsman so undecided and uncertain can be justified by his 'Seelenstimmung'; for most passions have something uncertain about them. The English women will not be very grateful to the authoress; and she certainly has done them wrong. Everyone will agree to that who knows even a little about English national culture. One would believe that all art and all graciousness had been banished from the circle of English ladies" ("Ungedruckte Briefe und Gedichte von Seume," ed. by Luise Devrient, in *Unsere Zeit. Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart*, ed. by Rudolf von Gottschall [Leipzig, 1880], Vol. II, pp. 68-69). The allusion is to Livre XIV of the book in which Corinne tells of her experiences in England. The statement shows Seume's sympathy for "a circle of English ladies," and perhaps for only one of these a long time ago.

24. It is even quoted as late as 1826 by Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau (1785-1871) in his letters on England (*Briefe eines Verstorbenen* [1830-1831], passim, particularly the First and Second Letters).