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Between Obligation and Refuge. Emotional Place Attachment and Sayyida Sālme's/Emily Ruete's Migration to Germany

By

Katharina Krause

Abstract

Informed by perspectives from Migration Studies and Emotional Geography, this article investigates the nexus between emotion, migration, and space, and sets out a possible roadmap for future historiographical analyses of migrants' place attachment. To this end, I engage the self-narratives of Sayyida Sālme bint Saʿīd/ Emily Ruete as sources of an Omani Zanzibari individual's experience in Germany during the late nineteenth century. I argue that the emotional reactions to her spatial and social environment in Germany were impacted by both its foreignness as well as prevalent contemporary Orientalist and racialized discourses. The ambiguous emotions triggered by her migration were mitigated by her German husband, who functioned as a translator of the new environment and customs, as well as her continued attachment to Zanzibar, which she reinforced through practices of remembrance and writing. Overall, her emotions towards Germany and Zanzibar mirrored the overarching colonial context which they were felt in and, while being linked to certain material spaces and objects, were marked by their association with obligation to her husband and memories that misaligned with (spatial) reality. Her case and the analytical lens suggested in this article serve as a vignette for writing an aggregate emotional history of migration that broadens our understanding of the historical processes of global entanglement from below.

About the author

Katharina Krause received her BA in History and Philosophy from Ruhr-Universität Bochum and is currently pursuing an MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Oxford. Her research interests include the histories of imperial and colonial involvement as well as nationalisms and state formation in the wider Middle East, with a particular focus on trans- and intraregional mobilities and exchanges, identity-related public discourses, and their intersection with emotions.

INTRODUCTION: MIGRATION, EMOTION, AND SPACE

As an important focus of forerunners of the discipline, migration still takes center stage in the field of global history. After all, the transregional mobility of people and goods can be considered the very foundation of the globalized world. Despite this ubiquity of mobility, however, there remains a relative lack of historiographical analyses concerned with cases of migration from precolonial or colonized regions to Europe in the period of high imperialism, while the lives of Europeans abroad have been dealt with in abundance. Exceptions are rare and often focus on the post-1914 twentieth century.

Historians addressing the topic of migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries must undoubtedly take into account that virtually all movement from Asian and African regions was affected, enabled, or forced by the impacts of European empires' colonial involvement. Studies drawing attention to the opportunities for native actors to permeate what in hindsight appear as rigid structures in colonized territories are therefore especially important when considering migration because they draw attention to 'colonized' individuals' agency in the face of colonial administrations.[1] Like interpreters or native agents in the colonies, migrants from colonized regions pervaded different spheres of empire and thereby transgressed geographic and racial segregation. Tracing their life trajectories thus enables a more holistic reconstruction of the realities of colonialism and, in particular, its impact on the European metropole.

While taking these perspectives into account, this article's topic has grown out of recent explorations in the disciplines of Migration Studies and Cultural Geography that focus on the significance of migration for individuals' identities.[2] David Conradson and Deirdre McKay coin the term "translocal subjectivities" to describe what they refer to as "multiply-located senses of self amongst those who inhabit transnational social fields."[3] In reference to their concept, Paolo Boccagni and Loretta Baldassar draw attention to the aspect of emotion and, relying on empirical studies focusing on contemporary migrant experiences, highlight that migration involves the "transmission, reproduction and evolution of emotions in relation to belonging, identity and 'home'" and is characterized by the "ambiguities and tensions around emotional connections to 'here' and 'there'."[4] Their perspective seeks to conjoin advancements in Cultural and Postcolonial Geography that include discussions of emotions in the discipline as well as perspectives of a New Materialism that concedes agency to inanimate objects.[5]

One current dealing with the connections between space and emotion explores "Place Attachment", basing its research on the assumption that humans often form emotional bonds to the places, spaces, or regions they inhabit or have formative experiences in.[6] One kind of place scholars generally assume individuals to form emotional connections with are "secure places", such as the home space.[7] Accordingly, Home Studies, another sub-discipline of Geography, empirically demonstrates the interconnection of spatial, or trans-spatial, experiences and emotions. Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling define home as "an idea and an imaginary […] imbued with feelings" while "intrinsically spatial" and, consequentially, as a “spatial imaginary” that is “both a place/physical location and a set of feelings.”[8] Their account similarly highlights the importance of domesticity for empires as well as the multi-faceted meaning of home for contemporary migrant and diasporic communities.[9] Migrants, in particular, often understand home as a “site of memories” and are generally attached to more than one place.[10]

While some historiographical studies have scrutinized the concept of the European home as well as aspects of domesticity in the context of colonialism, it is currently only scholars from the social sciences that have explored the nexus between emotional place attachment and migration.[11] Still, with historiography’s own ‘emotional turn,’ some historians have addressed the intersection of space and emotions, mostly with regard to how their relation is influenced by aspects of hegemony or the built environment.[12] Yet, few have so far connected the historical study of migration and the study of emotions.[13]

Building on this variety of contexts, this article will explore the relation between emotional place attachment and migration during the period of high imperialism by focusing on the case of Sayyida Sālme/Emily Ruete from Zanzibar,[14] daughter of Omani Sultan Saʿīd (r. 1804-56), who married a German merchant and relocated to Germany in 1867.[15] Several studies have engaged with her self-narratives as a source for various kinds of histories, and some of these accounts touch in passing on the emotionality underlying the writings about her translocal experience. However, none have dedicated a distinct analysis to what emotions the new spatial environment in Germany stirred in her and how her migration to Germany impacted her attachment to Zanzibar, the place of her upbringing.

Joseph Ben Prestel’s suggestion to make use of an understanding of emotions as socially situated practices in order to bridge the dichotomy between universalistic and phenomenological definitions forms the methodological foundation of this investigation.[16] Emotions, understood as practice, “bridge the social, the body, and the mind.”[17] By contextualizing Emily Ruete’s emotions and relating them to her spatial environment, social constellations, and, particularly, their colonial circumstances, this study will contribute insights reaching beyond her individual case and function as a roadmap for future historiographical analyses of migrants’ place attachment.

Before Migrating, There was Love

Sālme bint Saʿīd was born in 1844 in Zanzibar as one of thirty-six children of Omani Sultan Saʿīd and the only child to one of his Circassian concubines.[18] She was brought up in several of the sultan’s island palaces among his ethnically diverse concubines and siblings. The description of her childhood in her memoirs includes innumerable traces accounting for the translocal environment that nineteenth century Zanzibar represented: the children were gifted donkeys from Muscat in mainland Oman and toys from Europe, food and weapons were imported from Arabia, the Ottoman Empire, and Persia, their beds were made of East Indian wood, and a manifold of languages were spoken in her father’s harem, including

Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Circassian, Swahili, Nubian, Abyssinian, and Arabic.[19] These aspects testify to Zanzibar's far-reaching connections fostered during Sultan Saʿīd's reign.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Bū-Saʿīd dynasty had moved their administrative headquarters from Oman to Zanzibar, owing to the island's growing economic importance. The Omani Sultanate had long been a maritime empire with informal strongholds along the Indian Ocean littoral in the Persian Gulf and East Africa. Clove plantations as well as the slave and spice trades had created a bustling commercial environment in East Africa that increasingly attracted European trading companies to the island in the nineteenth century. Among them were the Hamburg-based firms O'Swald and Hansing on whose initiative three Hanseatic cities concluded a friendship agreement with the Zanzibari Sultanate in 1859.[20] Sālme's later husband, Rudolph Heinrich Ruete (*1839-1870), worked for Hansing and, as a member of the local German merchant community, can undoubtedly be counted as a member of what Ulrike Lindner termed a pre-colonial German "expatriate society."[21] Sālme was "on the most friendly terms with the Europeans in Zanzibar [...] in so far as the custom of the country permitted."[22]

She met Ruete in 1865 during a "troubled time": following Saʿīd's death in 1856, she had acted as scribe to the cause of her brother Barghash's uprising against her other brother, reigning Sultan Mājid.[23] As their "palace revolution" failed, it led to the split of the sultanate in two spheres of influence, with one geographically limited to Oman, and the other to Zanzibar and parts of mainland East Africa. This development enabled the further encroachment of the British Empire in Zanzibar and similarly caused Barghash's accomplices during the attempted revolution, which included Sālme, to be met with "hatred" and "dissension" by members of the ruling elite.[24] Having moved out to the city due to these dissonances, her house was situated next to Ruete's.[25] While contacts to European women were permissible, her friendship and later "deep love" for Ruete was not in accordance with the local cultural script.[26] Her decision to leave Zanzibar for Aden in 1866 with the help of the British consul and his wife was most likely due to the fact that she was pregnant.[27] Ruete remained in Zanzibar for nine more months to conclude his business on the island before joining her in Aden. As soon as he arrived there in April 1867, she was baptized and took on the name Emily Ruete, they were married and left for Europe.[28]

The rough outline of their love story was widely known in Germany due to many retellings in contemporary newspapers and journals.[29] Lora Wildenthal argues that these public accounts of their romance "suited perfectly to an Orientalist narrative according to which a Christian man liberates an oppressed Muslim woman from her cruel family and introduces her to marriage based on romantic love."[30] Although Emily herself rejected these versions of her story, they bear testimony to the asymmetrical gender relations and the ubiquity of Orientalist stereotypes in the investigated historical context.[31]

Navigating Foreign Space: Feelings of Unbelonging

Most of Emily's now published writings were originally composed in German, meaning that she only started writing them after she had mastered the language.[32] They include her memoirs (*Memoiren einer arabischen Prinzessin*), which were first published in 1886 and which are widely considered as the first autobiography of an Arab woman, as well as her originally unpublished *Letters Home* (*Briefe nach der Heimat*), which are not actually letters but were composed as a diary-resembling una

d text between 1867 and 1884.[33] While the Letters mention at least one unknown female addressee, whom she refers to as her "dear friend", likely a person residing in Zanzibar, it is unclear whether she wrote them with the intention of actually sending them, given that they were also written in German.[34]

In contrast to the Letters, which include a myriad of emotional references, her memoirs are largely void of emotional remarks. This may point to the fact that a lack of emotionality was common in women's published writing during that period.[35] What is striking about her Letters, on the other hand, is that although they are rather rich in descriptions of her emotional life, they do not include references to her initial feelings for Heinrich Ruete, her time in Aden, her four pregnancies, the death of her first child, or her relation to Ruete's family.[36]

The Letters begin with their departure from Aden and with her remarking that "life, manners, customs and perceptions of the people of the North" differed so completely from those of her native country that she "needed years to get out of the quiet astonishment about everything which surrounded [her]."[37] This is a rather different impression from the one she gives in her memoirs where she contends that she "soon accustomed [her]self to the strange circumstances."[38] Contrarily, in the Letters she admits that she did face many hardships in Europe. Among these were the emotions her new environment stirred in her: for example, throughout the Letters she recurringly refers to feelings of fear. Already when leaving Marseille, the first European city they reached, for Hamburg, Ruete's native city, she recounts:

> While we were driving from our hotel to the railway station, I was seized by such a fear, otherwise unknown to me, that I would have preferred to cry aloud. It seemed to me as if from now on my homeland would be removed from me more and more and that all bridges had collapsed behind me. My soul was crying out for all of you and seemed to blend with a thousand voices from my beloved island, calling me back with one warning: "Go no further! Instead come back!" I fought a terrible fight with myself. Mechanically I mounted the train whose purpose it was to bring me as quickly as possible to an unknown country, to perfect strangers, as if I too were in the greatest hurry to reach my future destination as soon as possible – and so we drove on and on towards the North.[39]

This clearly illustrates her attachment to Zanzibar as a safe space, while she associated her still unknown destination, the "North", with fear. This feeling, she recounts, was a new sensation to her, since as a child she claims to not have known it, yet "became so anxious here in these new surroundings that it might seem hardly understandable" to her addressee.[40] Even though she does not explicitly mention what it was about her new environment that induced this emotion, one can make out two distinct contexts she associated with feelings of unfamiliarity and foreignness in her early days in Germany.

One of these contexts was the home space in the city mansion she lived in with her husband. In general, she was rather displeased with the outline of their rooms which made her feel “confined and oppressed” and longing to breathe fresh air.[41] The closed doors struck her as odd and the custom to keep the windows closed as inexplicable.[42] She was surprised at the amount of furniture in a European household: “When we were arranging it, there was no end to the streaming in of hundreds of objects.”[43] Sitting on chairs caused her pain, the duvets appeared to her as “monsters” whose use she was unsure of, and she felt disgusted by the prospect of taking a bath in a bathtub whose water was not regularly drained.[44]

The other space associated with feelings of foreignness were the social gatherings she attended and public places she frequented with her husband in Hamburg. As a member of Hamburg’s bourgeoisie, Heinrich Ruete was a common invitee to various social events, to which his wife often accompanied him. While they were welcome opportunities for Emily to become more acquainted with Germany’s societal customs, her appearance in public was, much to her dismay, often met with an intrusive curiosity:

> In the first years I […] suffered incredibly from the fact that only very few exotic people were to be seen in Germany […]. During parties, in the theatre and at concerts, I continuously felt observed, which I found extremely annoying. One day I went for a walk with my husband when some ladies drove by in a carriage. They did not content themselves with inspecting us conspicuously while driving by, but when I turned by chance I saw both ladies kneeling on the back seat, to be able to have a better look at us. Later I learned that these ladies belonged to the high society of Hamburg. These experiences brought about such a shyness that I usually drove in a closed carriage and declined invitations whenever I possibly could.[45]

Remarkable here is the contrast to her preferences in the domestic space: due to the perceived inquisitiveness of people on the street, she chose the closed carriage, while closed doors and windows in her new home made her feel uncomfortable. Similarly, she emphasizes Germany’s hostile social environment during that period. A scarcity of non-white individuals coupled with stereotypes of non-Europeans that were influenced by the emerging discipline of Oriental Studies undoubtedly influenced reactions to her in the public sphere.[46] Her anxiety of social situations mirrors an increasingly racialized discourse in Europe:

> [B]ecause of my awkwardness, people will perhaps go beyond that and presently try to find the clumsiness of our race behind it. This worry troubled me most, when I thought how easily I might blunder against European customs and usages without having even the faintest notion of them.[47]

Being from a privileged background and having grown up in a translocal and multicultural environment in Zanzibar, these feelings must have stirred a feeling of dissonance in her that added to a general sense of foreignness.

A LOVER AS A TRANSLATOR OF SPACE

While the new environment in Hamburg induced feelings of fear and unbelonging, her migration to Germany had been motivated by a rather positive emotion. Unlike in many other cases of inter-racial marriage during the colonial period, her writings offer no reason to doubt the sincerity of her emotional attachment to her husband. However, it is indeed likely that the dynamic of their relationship changed significantly after their relocation to Germany: here, she was a foreigner, albeit her privileged heritage was known of, and initially she was familiar with neither the German language nor the country's societal customs.

Margrit Pernau draws attention to the difficulties associated with cross-cultural relationships, among them the fact that the emotions between lovers do not exist separately from a "network of emotion" that includes those felt towards other persons, such as family members and friends.[48] While agreeing with her intervention, I propose to extend this concept of contextual emotional networks to include the emotions felt towards space. Within the new environment then, it was Emily's feelings of longing towards Zanzibar and fear towards Germany—fear due to its and her foreignness—that formed part of the emotional context of her relation to Ruete. In addition to his role as a husband, he was now also a translator of the new space she found herself in.

On the most basic level, this meant that she depended on him to go about her day. Without him around, she was unable to converse with anyone.[49] Ruete would translate conversations to Swahili in and outside of their house, such as at the doctor.[50] His absence during the day meant that all she could do was wait, "idly and lonesome in the veranda room," for him to return from work.[51]

Emily explicitly underlines the importance of Ruete's translation of the new environment to her emotional well-being. When her husband leaves to his office in the mornings, for example, she affirms that she felt an "unnerving terror" and was "indescribably depressed to have to live in all these new surroundings."[52] When he prepares to go on a three-week-long business trip to England, she hopes to join him as she "continuously felt lonely and in need of help" whenever he was not around.[53]

Ruete seemed well aware that the cause of her troubles resulted from her missing Zanzibar. He actively tried to invoke her attachment to the island by returning from work with tropical fruit which made her cry as "they brought back so many remembrances."[54] Similarly, he teased her for going to bed early as he knew that she often dreamt of Zanzibar.[55] These gestures seem to imply Ruete's commitment to alleviate her emotional stress caused by their relocation to Germany by reinforcing her emotional connection to the island.

Still, as Benno Gammerl et al. have rightfully asserted, cross-cultural emotional understanding is "complicated and laborious" and dependent on cultural norms as much as intersubjective understanding.[55] Emily, too, was therefore unable to communicate certain emotions to her husband owing to cultural differences. These concerned mainly her initially “miserable and deprived” feelings towards her conversion from Islam to Christianity, which she felt she could not openly discuss with her husband.[57] These emotions primarily resulted from the discord between her new outward Christian identity, most prominently represented by her new name, and the fact that, internally, she still felt Muslim.[58] Her hesitance to address this matter with him may have revolved around his adherence to prevalent stereotypes of Islam as a supposedly backward religion incompatible with civil development and European modernity.[59]

A similar feeling of discomfort is the subtext of a visit to the theatre, where they watched a play called “The African Woman,” which Ruete insists “will remind [her] of [her] home country.”[60] On the contrary, however:

> When my husband asked me whether I liked the play, I could only answer in the negative. I then asked him whether the performers were mad. “By no means,” he answered, laughing. “But why do they act like this, if indeed they are not mad?”, was my totally uneducated question. “These people want to imitate life in Africa." What could I, for my part, reply to that? Nothing at all! As is well known, Africa is very big; but European imagination seemed even bigger to me.[61]

Just as with the feelings concerning her conversion, she chooses not to address the matter with her husband, but is obviously critical of the way her native continent and its people are represented in the play. Ruete’s prior suggestion that it will remind her of Zanzibar implies that he does not regard it as a wrongful portrayal, which again points towards his potential adherence to stereotypes of Africa and Africans despite having lived there himself. This dissonance is not bridged, yet apparently not a reason for Emily to actively correct him. Rather, her silence seems to indicate a strategy to unilaterally negotiate their cultural differences, even if they might have aroused unpleasant emotions in her. Ruete’s translation was therefore evidence of her dependency as well as enabling her to increasingly reflect on her experiences in Germany.

Grieving in Space: Divided Place Attachment

In 1870, about three years after their move to Germany, Heinrich Ruete died from injuries sustained in a tram accident. By that time, Emily “had gradually become somewhat accustomed to the climate, the people, the food and the circumstances.”[62] With the loss of Ruete, however, she similarly lost her translator of German language, customs, and spaces. The experiences she had following his death can be broadly categorized as illustrating the “ambiguities and tensions around emotional connections to ‘here’ and ‘there’” often felt by migrants: while her early time in Germany was dominated by feelings of unfamiliarity, the descriptions of her grieving indicate that her place attachment was increasingly divided between Zanzibar and Germany.[63]

Her accounts of the first months after Ruete’s death are marked by gloomy descriptions of their family home, where everything “seemed to remind [her] of [her] loss”, with the house seeming "totally deserted, though only one of the inhabitants was missing."[64] Her husband's smoking room became her "constant abode."[65] In spring 1871, about half a year after Ruete's death, she was forced to move to a cheaper house:

> Since the latter was much smaller than the villa in which we had resided so far, I was forced to sell with a heavy heart several pieces of furniture. Parting from the former house was very hard on me, oh, so hard that I cannot describe it for you. It was not only innumerable memories which bound me to this house, with in whose walls I had lived to see happiness and ineffable unhappiness and which made parting so very heavy. I had also to fight another feeling. At this move I experienced for the first time in my life the pungent feeling of beginning poverty.[66]

Selling the furniture, which during the early period of her residing in Germany had struck her as unnecessary, now contributed to her sadness of being forced to leave the house. The house itself was no longer solely associated with her inability to communicate with her housekeepers or unfamiliarity due to the ever-closed doors and windows, but a site inherently connected with the memories of her marriage. In addition, the loss of the house represents the social and financial hardship Ruete's death had plunged her into: having belonged to Hamburg's bourgeois society, she was now a foreign single mother without a steady income.[67] Ruete had not only been her necessary mediating link with Germany, but similarly represented her social security in the foreign country.

These obstacles significantly contributed to her increasingly missing Zanzibar. While references to her longing pervade the Letters, it was only after Ruete's death that she expressed for the first time a wish to return to East Africa and confessed that she had not "felt such a burning homesickness" before.[68] Her Letters suggest that she corresponded with her half-sister who urged her to return home.[69] Still, she struggled to make a decision:

> I had to go through a tremendous fight with myself—which lasted for years—to reach a decision. My complete existence was firmly attached to you and to the earthly paradise at home. But between the two of them now stood my husband's memory which I had to honour. With bleeding heart I denied myself the reunion and decided, in memory of my husband, to let his children grow up in this country, as he certainly would have wished.[70]

Her conflict points to her increasingly divided place attachment: her husband's death demonstrates the consequences of the transnational marriage for her feelings of obligation and her relation to Germany.[71] No longer just a foreign place, the country similarly signified the remaining connection to Ruete, whose supposed wishes she wanted to respect despite his no longer being there. While Ruete had functioned as a mediatory and emotional link to Germany, Germany consecutively served as an imaginary and emotional link to her husband for Emily and her children.

ZANZIBAR AS "EMOTIONAL REFUGE"

As research on contemporary migration suggests, throughout Emily's time in Germany, Zanzibar remained an important point of emotional reference. In this section, I interpret her continuing place attachment to Zanzibar not merely in terms of the “imaginative space” of a once-abandoned home, but by means of William Reddy’s concept of “emotional refuge.”[72] As laid out by Reddy in his study on emotions in Revolutionary France, emotional refuge refers to a “relationship, ritual, or organization […] that provides safe release from prevailing emotional norms and allows relaxation of emotional effort […].”[73] Building on Reddy’s definition, I here propose to expand his concept of emotional refuge to incorporate place attachment and the practices and materialities Ruete associated with it.

According to Reddy, emotional refuges provide release from the pressures of a prevailing “emotional regime”, or a “set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and emotives that express and inculcate them,” that necessarily underpins political regimes.[74] In Emily’s case, this emotional regime is represented by the racialized and Orientalist discourse that pervaded the scientific and public spheres, and is therefore manifest in many of her own interactions in Germany.

First, it becomes apparent with regard to her race. As already mentioned above, Hamburg’s bourgeois society reacted to her public appearance with an exoticizing interest that brought her discomfort. In addition, it appears that rumors about her circulated in the city which compared her presumed appearance to stereotypes of other ‘Oriental’ women’s physiognomies. The following excerpt from her Letters illustrates how these rumors and stereotypes shaped her encounters at the events she frequented with her husband:

> […] the most nonsensical stories were told about Arab women. Among other things it was said that I was as fat as a barrel, though at that time I looked more like a bean-pole. I was said to have the hair and complexion of a negress, and to have feet as small as chose of a Chinese woman, so that I, of course, was unable to walk. […] Often enough my husband had to take pains to explain to the worthy Northerners that there is a great difference between Arabs and Negroes, and that there are also people other than the last mentioned living throughout the vastness of Africa. A very naive lady became engrossed in my so-called negro-hair and took the peculiar freedom to even touch it.[75]

Not only does this demonstrate the inappropriate behavior she was met with, but also a general ignorance to the diversity of peoples inhabiting the African continent. The fact that stereotypes of Chinese and Black women were employed to imagine her appearance furthermore points to the monolithic representation of other races in Germany’s public discourse.

Similarly, when searching for apartments in the years following Ruete’s death, Emily was constantly interrogated about her origin.[76] One of these experiences in the Thuringian countryside even leads her to conclude that “a small German town is not exactly the place for a foreigner from overseas to feel happy […].”[77]

Second, the emotional regime is palpable in her references to aspects of “civilization,” which are practices she generally understands as culturally customary to Europe and not the wide-ranging geographical realm she refers to as the “South.” Broadly, these can be categorized as spanning aspects of education, work ethic, materialism, clothing rules, and gender relations. Her discomfort in situations she felt ‘uncivilized’ in points to the relation between emotion and civility underlined by Margrit Pernau and Helge Jordheim.[78] Emily's feeling out of place induced her to comply with the supposedly 'civilized' manners imposed and expected by German society, thereby submitting herself to a narrative that formed an important pillar of the world-spanning order imposed by European colonialism.

Third, the absence of awareness of this Orientalist discourse's prevalence dominated her experiences following her husband's death. Her deteriorating financial situation was disregarded by her circle of acquaintances in Hamburg who assumed life as a single mother in the city to be manageable, without taking into account, however, that her situation differed substantially due to her being a foreigner.[79] This ignorance of intersectionality still dominates many contemporary gendered migrant experiences.

Seeking relief from this normatively rigid environment, Emily turned her memories of Zanzibar into practices, or rituals in Reddy's terms, that functioned as an emotional refuge and, despite its physical distance, maintained her place attachment to the locus of her upbringing. The first practice is the remembrance of the island, its nature and customs, as well as the characters and spaces of her youth.[80] Often, these thoughts were reinforced by material objects she connected with Zanzibar:

> […] my Arabic ornaments and clothes were not left in peace at all. For with these I could silently exchange my thoughts without needing words. Were they not the only objects which called you and my beloved home country to my mind? However childish this may seem to you, I frankly admit that, at this occupation which took place only behind closed doors, I often hugged and kissed the lifeless objects.[81]

The second practice was writing about Zanzibar.[82] Her memoirs, while less obviously emotional in tone, certainly carry a degree of sentimentality in their descriptions of her childhood, family, and culture in Zanzibar. Her aversion to the small rooms of her European accommodation and the closed doors, for example, is contrasted by the memoir's descriptions of the wide and lofty architecture and lively atmosphere of the palaces she inhabited on the island.[83] Similarly, the narrative sequence of the memoirs itself relies on spaces, recounting her early childhood days in Bet il-Mtoni and her subsequent moves to Bet il-Watoro, Bet il-Sahel, Bet il-Tani, her plantation estates Kisimbani and Bububu, and the apartment in Stone Town, where she would end up meeting Ruete. Each space represented different social relations, to her parents, siblings, friends, or European acquaintances, and emotions, such as the happiness at Bet il-Sahel, unhappiness at Bet il-Watoro, or the "carefree" and sociable time spent at Bububu.[84] Structurally then, the memoirs, like other autobiographical accounts, were a "narrative itinerar[y] to the formative places of the past," which in Emily's case were the locations of her childhood and youth in Zanzibar.[85]

In addition, if we understand the memoirs as an attempt "to correct prevalent stereotypes about the East," as Al-Rawi suggests, Emily understood the practice of writing as a means to correct the regime she sought refuge from.[86] This is exemplified by her passing comments about Europe's "holy civilization" that border on sarcasm, or the chapters she spends explaining the "woman's position in the Orient," Arab marriage, slavery in the Omani sultanate, or Islamic traditions and festivities to her audiences in Europe and the US.[87] This, too, overlaps with Reddy's definition of emotional refuges, which asserts that "[t]hey may make the current order more livable for some people," or "may provide a place from which contestation, conflict, and transformation are launched" for others.[88] While thinking of Zanzibar made Germany more livable by providing solace, writing about it represented a space for contesting the norms she faced as an 'Oriental' individual in Europe.

THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF RETURN

In 1885, Emily was given the opportunity to return to Zanzibar for a visit, along with her three children. Her journey formed part of Germany's efforts to strengthen colonial influence in East Africa and was instigated and facilitated by the government.[89] As the reigning Sultan Barghash, her brother, had rejected his approval of the protectorate treaties entered into by mainland African chiefs with the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (DOAG), chancellor Bismarck sent a navy squadron to Zanzibar in order to pressure Barghash into accepting the treaties.[90] Emily seems to have been aware of this official objective of the journey.[91] While she intended to inquire with her brother regarding the payment of a financial allowance from her father's inheritance, the German government sought to instrumentalize her presence in case of Barghash's continuing refusal.[92] The instrumentalization of her relations to both Zanzibar and Germany by German colonial officials highlights Blunt and Dowling's insistence on the political dimension of home in the context of imperial formations.[93] Moreover, her writings about the trip allow an examination of how she experienced East Africa as a returning emigrant.

Before recounting the journey, she emphasizes that since she had "last seen [her] dear native country," she experienced an "eventful," "turbulent," and "miserable" time and underwent "remarkable changes."[94] Upon seeing the island from the German ship she was arriving with, she is moved by the sight, yet senses the ambiguity of her return that is inherently connected to these changes:

> When early in the morning I went on deck, the palm-trees of my home greeted me already from afar. At the magical sight of them, what else could I do but retire to my cabin as quickly as possible and thank the Almighty for His great kindness! The events of my life are all too manifold, and my feelings and sentiments are geared to them. For a great part the human being is only what life, experience and the commanding circumstances make of him: I left my home a complete Arab woman and a good Muslim and what am I now? [A bad Christian and somewhat more than half a German!] But at this moment it seemed to me as if my entire youth returned once more to make up for the many miserable and sorrowful years.[95]

Despite having changed from a "complete Arab woman" to "somewhat more than half a German," from the distance of the harbor Zanzibar still remained the emotional refuge and locus of memories that had buffered the emotional troubles of being foreign in

Germany. Upon actually entering Stone Town, however, her sentiment changed as she witnessed its condition: “The evident decay of the inner town struck me as indescribably sad.”[96] In a similar vein, she recalls her visit to Bet il-Mtoni, which Sultan Barghash no longer used as his residence:

> When we went for the first time to the house where I saw the light of this world, I was deeply shocked. What a sight for me! In place of a house I saw a completely decayed ruin; no sound and no noise was able to free me from the oppressive feelings which convulsed me at this totally unexpected picture; for a long time I was not able to compose myself […]. More than half of the house lay in ruins exactly as it had tumbled down […]. Everything had decayed or was about to decay! […] From every slanting door awaiting collapse, from the rotten heaps of beams lying one over the other, even from the mountain-high rubbish heaps I thought the figure of a former inhabitant was coming forward. For a short while I was transported from the oppressive present, and my mind again lived entirely in the beautiful years of my youth.[97]

Against this background, it seems that the journey to Zanzibar, rather than being the return she had longed for, was quite a traumatic experience. Not only had she herself changed, but the material realities of her former home no longer aligned with the memories which had provided her solace throughout the experience of her migration to Germany. Even when actually in Zanzibar, the remembrance of the spaces of her youth mitigated her overwhelming emotions.

In addition to these experiences of Zanzibar’s material change, it was the conditions of Emily’s journey that underline her transformation. During her youth, she had been in public “only veiled and at night”, while she was now “in the streets in broad daylight and accompanied by gentlemen.”[98] Similarly, she recounts that it was a “strange coincidence” that she celebrated her birthday during her visit, a tradition she adopted only after converting to Christianity, and that for the occasion the accompanying German commander killed a pig in her honor, which sharply contradicted Islamic provisions.[99]

Not only did her personal experiences and Zanzibar’s transformed material space influence her emotions during her visit, but they also had an impact on the growing awareness that her cultural outlook now differed substantially from the conditions of her upbringing. This is once more underlined by the fact that during a second visit to Zanzibar in 1888, Arab land owners asked her to mediate between them and the German regime in East Africa, which had recently implemented new tax laws, arguing that she knew their “manners and customs better than all the Germans in East Africa taken together.”[100] It is not known whether she satisfied their demands, since she had her own falling out with German officials who denied their diplomatic support for her continued effort to claim a financial inheritance from the Zanzibari Sultanate. Declining her relatives’ offers to reconvert to Islam in order to join the sultanate’s harem and being denied British citizenship to be able to reside in Zanzibar without having to live in the sultan’s household, Emily first relocated to Jaffa in 1888 and to Beirut in 1892.[101] She returned to Germany upon the outbreak of World War I to move in with one of her daughters. Her visit to Zanzibar in 1888 was her last.

CONCLUSION

Emily Ruete's case illustrates, above all, the ambiguities of place attachment associated with migration that have been addressed in the fields of Migration Studies and Emotional Geography. These ambiguities are grounded, first, in the complicated emotional networks created by her relation to individuals and experiences in different spaces, such as the relation and feelings of obligation to her husband that caused her growing place attachment towards Germany and her youth in Zanzibar that served as an emotional coping mechanism. Second, the political and discursive circumstances of colonialism had enabled both her falling in love with Ruete and her migration. These very same circumstances similarly resulted in her strong feelings of exclusion in Germany and facilitated her return to a homeland that was itself marked by increasing colonial influence and no longer congruent with her memories.

Beyond her individual case, I propose to engage the concepts and analytical angles of this study as a vignette for writing a global emotional history of migration that takes place attachment seriously.[102] Not only would such a history emphasize the complicated and ambiguous webs of belonging that increasing global mobility created, but it would also enable us to trace the emotional impact social and political norms and structures had on migrating individuals. This especially holds for the experiences of individuals migrating from regions of European colonial involvement to the metropole which strikingly demonstrate, as exemplified by Emily Ruete, the emotional consequences of the exclusionary mechanisms and racialized discourses colonial empires relied upon. Contextualizing these emotions is crucial, precisely because it allows us to unveil patterns that reach beyond the microhistory of a single case. The guiding questions of this article may then function as a starting point for an aggregate emotional history of migration that is able to explain overarching frameworks accompanying the world's growing entanglement from below. Therefore, while scrutinizing why an individual migrated, we should similarly pay attention to what migrating individuals felt towards their places of origin and destination, what these feelings were triggered by, how they changed or developed, and what strategies were employed to process them.

In the present case study, I have suggested translation and an amended understanding of Reddy's concept of emotional refuge as methods Emily employed to relieve the emotional misunderstandings and stress caused by her migration and Germany's prevalent emotional regime. Both her husband as translator and writing as emotional refuge were effectively means that enabled her to interact with the societal and normative conditions in Germany: her husband as a buffer for mediating her foreignness and the unfamiliarity of the public sphere as well as her memoirs as a space for critiquing mechanisms of exclusion allowed her to negotiate differences. While practices of translation and emotional refuge may differ depending on locale, period, and an individual's social circumstances, an emotional history of migration should be sensible to nexuses between individual emotional needs and the social environment as loci of both agency and dependency. An experience of return or the loss of important relationships, on the other hand, may function as lenses that illustrate the conditions and reasons of divided place attachment as well as emerging conflicts or changes of identity.

NOTES

[1] Achim von Oppen and Silke Stickrodt, eds., *Biographies Between Spheres of Empire. Life History Approaches to Colonial Africa* (London/New York: Routledge, 2018).

[2] In this approach, I follow de Vries's call for increased engagement with the social sciences, albeit somewhat differently than he intended. See Jan de Vries, "Changing the Narrative. The New History That Was and Is to Come," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 48 no. 3 (2018): 313-334.

[3] David Conradson and Deirdre McKay, "Translocal Subjectivities. Mobility, Connection, Emotions," *Mobilities* 2, no. 2 (2007): 168.

[4] Paolo Boccagni and Loretta Baldassar, "Emotions on the Move. Mapping the Emergent Field of Emotion and Migration," *Emotion, Space and Society* 16 (2015): 2.

[5] Boccagni and Baldassar, "Emotions on the Move," 3. See Alison Blunt and Cheryl McEwan, eds., *Postcolonial Geographies* (New York/London: Continuum, 2002); Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi and Mick Smith, eds., *Emotional Geographies* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007); Mick Smith, Joyce Davidson, Laura Cameron and Liz Bondi, *Emotion, Place and Culture* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009).

[6] Jeffrey S. Smith, "Introduction. Putting Place Back in Place Attachment Research," in *Explorations in Place Attachment*, ed. Jeffrey S. Smith (London/New York: Routledge, 2018), 2.

[7] Smith, "Introduction," 7.

[8] Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, *Home* (London/New York: Routledge, 2022), 9, 28.

[9] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 189-246, 247-308.

[10] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 254, 269.

[11] Paolo Boccagni, *Migration and the Search for Home. Mapping Domestic Space in Migrants' Everyday Lives* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). For historical studies on the European concept of home, see for example: Jon Stobart, ed., *The Comforts of Home in Western Europe 1700-1900* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020); Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, *At Home with the Empire. Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[12] See Benno Gammerl and Rainer Herrn, "Gefühlsräume — Raumgefühle. Perspektiven auf die Verschränkung von emotionalen Praktiken und Topografien der Moderne," *Suburban. Zeitschrift für kritische Stadtforschung* 3, no. 2 (2015): 7-22; Benno Gammerl, "Emotional Styles. Concepts and Challenges," *Rethinking History. The Journal of Theory and Practice* 16, no. 2 (2012): 164; Margrit Pernau, "Space and Emotion. Building to Feel," *History Compass* 12, no. 7 (2014): 541; Joseph Ben Prestel, *Emotional Cities. Debates on Urban Change in Berlin and Cairo*, 1860-1910 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[13] See Marcelo J. Borges, Sonia Cancian and Linda Reeder, eds., *Emotional Landscapes. Love, Gender, and Migration* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2021). Most of the studies in the volume focus solely on intra-European migration and contemporary history and center individuals not immediately affected by colonial structures. See also Marcelo J. Borges and María Berg, "Emotions and

Migration," in *The Routledge History of Emotions in the Modern World*, ed. Katie Barclay & Peter N. Stearns (London/New York: Routledge), 495-511. The article makes no direct mention of the relation between emotions and space.

[14] The correct transliteration of her Arabic name is most likely Sālama. Most accounts transliterate her name as Salme, which appears to be a shortened version comparable to a nickname. Throughout the article, I will refer to her first by Sālme and, following the year of her baptism and move to Germany in 1867, by her Christian name, Emily Ruete.

[15] Emeri J. van Donzel, "Introduction," in *An Arabian Princess between Two Worlds. Memoirs, Letters Home, Sequels to the Memoirs, Syrian Customs and Usages by Sayyida Salme/Emily Ruete*, ed. Emeri J. van Donzel (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 20.

[16] Prestel, *Emotional Cities*, 12-14. On emotion as practice, see Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193-220.

[17] Prestel, *Emotional Cities*, 14.

[18] According to her, in total around seventy-five concubines (surrīya) lived in the harem: see Sayyida Salme/Emily Ruete, "Memoirs of an Arabian Princess," in *An Arabian Princess between Two Worlds*, 154. In addition, he had two wives with whom he had no children: see Patricia W. Romero, "Seyyid Said bin Sultan BuSaid of Oman and Zanzibar. Women in the Life of this Arab Patriarch," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 3 (2012): 374.

[19] "Memoirs," 140, 156, 164, 175, 216, 334.

[20] Aischa Ahmed, *Arabische Präsenzen in Deutschland um 1900* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 39. While Zanzibar itself was never part of Germany's later formal colonial possessions, the German merchant community was still referred to as a "Deutsche Kolonie" in German governmental records.

[21] Ulrike Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen. Deutschland und Großbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika. 1880-1914* (Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus, 2011), 159-185. These expatriate societies consisted of male European experts working in the colonies or pre-colonial African regions between 1850 and World War I as engineers, plantation agriculturalists, or commercial officers. According to Bang, the Germans had one of the most well-established foreign trading communities in Zanzibar, with some members active on the island since the 1840s. They remained influential even after the Heligoland-Zanzibar-Treaty concluded in 1890. See Anne K. Bang, "Cosmopolitanism Colonised? Three Cases from Zanzibar. 1890-1920," in *Struggling with History. Islam and Cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean,* ed. Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse (London: Hurst & Company, 2007), 181-82.

[22] "Memoirs," 371.

[23] According to Emily, she only participated in his uprising because of her half-sister. See "Memoirs," 341.

[24] "Memoirs," 371. She describes the events in the chapter "My mother's death. A Palace Revolution," 334-356. Barghash was subsequently sent to Bombay by the British. See "Memoirs," 356.

[25] "Memoirs," 371.

[26] "Memoirs," 371.

[27] "Memoirs," 371. Her child died either in Aden or on the journey to Marseille.

[28] Donzel, "Introduction," 20. Unfortunately, neither her memoirs nor the Letters mention any emotional impact her name change may have had. Similarly, it is not possible to judge whether her

husband, her children, or her German friends and acquaintances exclusively referred to her by her Christian name. There are at least two instances, however, in which she made use of her Arabic name post-conversion. One is in a letter in Arabic to her brother, by then ruling Sultan Barghash, in 1875 which she signs as Sālme bint Saʿīd. It seems likely that she continued to be referred to as Sālme by her Zanzibari relatives. The other instance was in the German editions of her memoirs, which only include her Arabic signature as the author's name. In contrast, the English and French editions indicate the author as Emily Ruete, "née Princess of Oman and Zanzibar" and "née Princess d'Oman et Zanzibar" respectively. There is reason to assume that she had more influence on the design of the German edition and thus actively chose to only include her Arabic name, but this cannot be ascertained.

[29] Jessica Rauch, "Hybride Identitäten. Die Ikonographie der 'arabischen Prinzessin' und 'Hamburger Kaufmannsfrau' Emily Ruete von 1868-1916," (MA diss., Heidelberg University, 2015), 11, 61.

[30] Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire. 1884-1945* (Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press, 2001), 111.

[31] "Memoirs," 371.

[32] Her children may have assisted her writing the Memoirs. Her unpublished writings are held by the Ruete Archive at the University of Leiden. For a collection guide refer here: https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/2086823?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=eab24a80a5a4d7240aab&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=4. Documents in Arabic appear to be marginal among these records.

[33] Ahmed K. Al-Rawi, "The Portrayal of the East vs. the West in Lady Mary Montagu's 'Letters' and Emily Ruete's 'Memoirs'," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (2008): 15; Jeremy Prestholdt, "From Zanzibar to Beirut. Sayyida Salme bint Said and the Tensions of Cosmopolitanism," in *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*, ed. James L. Gelvin and Nile Green (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 204.

[34] "Sayyida Salme/Emily Ruete, "Letters Home," in *An Arabian Princess between Two Worlds*, 407; Ahmed, Arabische Präsenzen, 92. It is also unlikely that the Letters were intended for publication since her daughters objected when her son wanted to publish them. See Abdalla El-Fakki El-Bashir, "The Fading of Yearnings for Liberation and Passage When the Bet on Love Is Lost. A Study of the Memoirs and Letters of an Arabian Princess," *Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* 18 (2020): 6.

[35] Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore. Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 161.

[36] She only remarks that upon arriving in Hamburg they "were received in the kindest manner by [her] husband's parents and relatives". See "Memoirs," 372.

[37] "Letters,"407.

[38] "Memoirs," 372.

[39] "Letters," 410.

[40] "Letters," 419.

[41] "Letters," 415.

[42] "Letters," 415-16.

[43] "Letters," 415-16.

[44] “Letters,” 416-17.

[45] “Letters,”421.

[46] Ahmed, *Arabische Präsenzen*, 29-70. Despite her being othered by Germans and the emotional repercussions of said treatment, she still made use of her ‘Oriental’ appearance in her memoirs with a cover page, description, and an image series in ‘Oriental’ dress decidedly playing with Orientalist stereotypes of the time (see also Rauch, “Hybride Identitäten”). According to Roy, this was owed to the fact that the memoirs were “designed to sell”, mainly to raise money after her husband’s death, and therefore intentionally engaged with expectations influenced by Orientalist assumptions in German society. See Kate Roy, “Only the ‘Outward Appearance’ of a Harem? Reading the *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess* as Material Text,” *Belphégor* 13, no. 1 (2015): 22.

[47] “Letters,” 428-29.

[48] Margrit Pernau, “Lovers and Friends. Encounters of Hearts and Bodies,” in *Encounters with Emotions. Negotiating Cultural Differences since Early Modernity*, ed. Benno Gammerl, Philipp Nielsen and Margrit Pernau (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2019), 259.

[49] “Letters,” 414.

[50] “Letters,” 417.

[51] “Letters,” 423.

[52] “Letters,” 419.

[53] “Letters,” 440.

[54] “Letters,” 419.

[55] “Letters,” 440

[56] Benno Gammerl, Philipp Nielsen and Margrit Pernau, “Encountering Feelings — Feeling Encounters,” in *Encounters with Emotions*, 3.

[57] “Letters,” 412.

[58] “Letters,” 411.

[59] Christian Bailey, “Germany. Redrawing of Civilizational Trajectories,” in *Civilizing Emotions. Concepts in Nineteenth-Century Asia and Europe*, ed. Margrit Pernau and Helge Jordheim (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 89.

[60] “Letters,” 426.

[61] “Letters,” 426.

[62] “Letters,” 442.

[63] Boccagni and Baldassar, “Emotions on the Move,” 2.

[64] “Letters,” 454.

[65] “Letters,” 455.

[66] “Letters,” 464.

[67] In addition, most of his inheritance was lost which she blamed on her husband's corporate representative in Zanzibar as well as her lawyer. See Donzel, "Introduction," 30.

[68] "Letters," 452-53.

[69] "Letters," 454.

[70] "Letters," 455.

[71] Errington has pointed to "Webs of Obligation" in a study on Transatlantic migrants in the nineteenth century. See Elizabeth Jane Errington, "Webs of Affection and Obligation. Glimpse into Families and Nineteenth Century Transatlantic Communities," J*ournal of the Canadian Historical Association* 19, no. 1 (2008): 1-26.

[72] William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 128.

[73] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 129. I argue that her marriage to Ruete does not qualify as an emotional refuge due to the emotional and cultural misunderstandings sketched in the preceding chapter. In some way, her marriage represented the reason she was in need of an emotional refuge in the first place: she was exposed to the emotionally draining environment in Germany only because of this relationship.

[74] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 129.

[75] "Letters," 422.

[76] "Letters," 470.

[77] "Letters," 494.

[78] Margrit Pernau and Helge Jordheim, "Introduction," in *Civilizing Emotions*, 1-24.

[79] "Memoirs," 373; "Letters," 467.

[80] For examples, see "Memoirs," 236; "Letters," 423, 482.

[81] "Letters," 418.

[82] One may also argue that her writing counts as a "productive use of nostalgia". See Borges and Berg, "Emotions and Migration," 503. After all, the Memoirs were a source of income for Emily.

[83] "Memoirs," 171, 176, 316.

[84] "Memoirs," 165, 174, 363.

[85] Friedrike Eigler, "Critical Approaches to 'Heimat' and the 'Spatial Turn'," *New German Critique* 115 (2012): 41.

[86] Al-Rawi, "The Portrayal of East vs. West," 27.

[87] "Memoirs," 211, 268-79, 280-85, 327-33, 296-318.

[88] Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 128.

[89] In 1883, Emily even sent a letter to Barghash urging him to enter an alliance with Germany rather

than the British. In return, Wilhelm I granted the payment of a monthly allowance to Emily from August 1883. See Emeri J. van Donzel, E., “Sayyida Salme, Rudolph Said-Ruete und die deutsche Kolonialpolitik,” *Die Welt des Islams* 17, no. 1 (1987): 19.

[90] Donzel, “Introduction,” 73. The communities in Africa were Usagara, Useguha, Nguru, and Ukami, which Barghash asserted belonged to his formal sphere of influence.

[91] In her memoirs she claims that she “followed Germany’s colonial efforts with warm interest”. See “Memoirs,” 402 fn96.

[92] Donzel, “Introduction,” 69-70. According to Donzel, Sultan Barghash was on unamicable terms with Emily and refused to assent to her request for financial support due to her conversion to Christianity and her reconciliation with Mãjid following his uprising after Sultan Saʿīd’s death. See Donzel, “Introduction,” 31.

[93] See Blunt and Dowling, 191-92.

[94] “Memoirs,” 383.

[95] “Memoirs,” 389. The text in brackets was only included in the memoirs’ first edition.

[96] “Memoirs,” 393.

[97] “Memoirs,” 394.

[98] “Memoirs,” 390. The gentlemen are the soldiers of the navy squadron that escorted her.

[99] “Memoirs,” 393.

[100] “Letters,” 520. The discord would erupt in the Araberaufstand (1888-90) in East Africa shortly after her departure to the Levant.

[101] Donzel, “Introduction,” 87-89, 95, 97.

[102] This remark can be understood as a response to some of the methodological difficulties outlined by Claudia Ulbrich, “Self-Narratives as a Source for the History of Emotions,” in *Childhood and Emotion. Across Cultures 1450-1800*, ed. Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas Max Safley (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), 59-71.